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CO
(Somerset)

Somersetshire

SOMERSETSHIRE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL

AND

NATURAL HISTORY

SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS,

1874.

VOL. XX

TAUNTON

FREDERICK MAY, HIGH STREET

LONDON: LONGMANS GREEN READER AND DYER

MDCCCLXXV

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Preface.

The bringing out of this Volume has been much delayed by the pains and time which have been spent upon its illustrations. It is hoped that it will be acknowledged that these have not been spent in vain. The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. J. T. Irvine for the sacrifices which he has willingly made in the midst of a press of work, in order that he might worthily illustrate his paper on the Cathedral Church at Wells; to Mr. H. Hutchings, who has presented the plan of his house to the Society; to Mr. G. T. Clark, who prepared for us the plan of Sherborne Castle, and to all who have contributed matter to this volume.

W. H.

ERRATUM.

Page 77, *line* 28, *for* know *read* known.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1874.

THE Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Society was held at SHERBORNE, on Tuesday, August 24th, 1874, in the Town Hall.

The public proceedings began at 12.30 p.m. The Chair was taken by the President, the LORD BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS. The President said that he resigned his office with satisfaction, because he felt that he had the power of nominating an able successor. He had great pleasure in proposing Mr. H. DANBY SEYMOUR as President for the year, and, he believed that, that gentleman would be able to perform the duties of the office more effectually than he had been able to do. The proposal was seconded by the Rev. THE PROVOST OF ETON. The Bishop then left the Chair, and Mr. H. D. Seymour was voted into it with acclamation. The new President thanked the Society; he repudiated the idea that the duties of the office had not been ably performed by his noble and learned predecessor. He felt sure that the

Society was deeply thankful to the Bishop, not only for the singularly interesting address delivered by him last year, but for the kind interest which he had shown on all occasions in their proceedings.

The Honorary Secretary, Mr. O. W. MALET, then read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

"The Members of the Society may remember that at the last Annual Meeting the Council reported that, it was in contemplation to purchase the old Castle at Taunton by public subscription, in order that the building might be used for the purposes of the Society.

"The Council now have to report that the purchase has been completed for the sum of £2,850. Of this, £1,350 was supplied from realised subscriptions, and £1,500 was a loan from Stuckey's Banking Company. An additional sum of £87, also from realised subscriptions, was paid for fixtures, furniture, &c. Up to this date about £500 more has been collected by subscriptions. One of our tenants has notice to quit at Michaelmas, after which we hope to begin to move our collection. To the above sum must be added about £6, obtained by letting out the Hall for public meetings, entertainments, &c. These sums will, of course, go to reduce the debt due to Stuckey's Banking Company. It is calculated that about £400 will be required for alterations of the building, so that, altogether about £1,500 is required, including furniture and other expenses. With a hope of raising a large part, if not the whole of the amount still owing on this account, it is proposed that a series of fêtes be held for a week in the course of next spring, to be called the "Castle Week." These may include a bazaar, a ball, and other entertainments, and especially an exhibition of science and art. The sanction

of this meeting is requested to this proposal of the Committee.

"The Council are glad to be able to report that, during the progress of collecting they have received most encouraging offers of support from almost every one of the influential residents in the county, and nearly all have stated how fully they concur in the wish to preserve and utilize the Castle as proposed. Many have given real proof of their sympathy, by increasing or doubling their original subscriptions; to these especially, to all who have aided in the work, and to all who have given the encouragement of kind words, the Council beg to express their most grateful thanks.

"As one of their chief supporters in this matter, the Council trust the Society will permit the special mention of one of their late Vice-Presidents, Mr. Gore-Langton, M.P., who, with his natural kindness and liberality, was always ready, even at personal inconvenience to himself, to give the Society his most valuable and valued aid. While regretting the loss of his assistance, the Council wish to put on record this tribute of respect for the memory of one who had gained the affection of all who knew him.

"On account of the purchase of the Castle, and also on account of the large amount of valuable property now in the Museum, and under the advice of Counsel, it has been found necessary to make some alterations and additions to the Rules of the Society. These were accordingly done on the 26th March, at a Special General Meeting convened for the purpose. If the Members will kindly refer, they will see that to Rule I. has been added "and the establishment of a Museum and Library;" to Rule II. the word "Trustees;" to Rule VIII. "The property of the Society shall be held in trust for the Members by six

Trustees, who shall be chosen from the Members at any General Meeting;" Rules VII. and XIX. were also slightly modified, but Rule XX. only requires notice on this occasion. This provides that, "In case of dissolution, the real property of the Society in Taunton shall be held by the Trustees for the advancement of literature, science, and art, in the town of Taunton, and county of Somerset.

"At the same Special General Meeting the following Members of the Society, their consent having been previously obtained, were appointed to act as Trustees:—Messrs. H. J. Badcock, of Trull; J. Batten, of Yeovil; H. G. Moysey, of Bathealton; G. F. Luttrell, of Dunster Castle; W. A. Sanford, of Nynehead Court; and W. E. Surtees, of Tainfield. The thanks of the Society are due to these gentlemen.

"At our last meeting the Bill for the Preservation of Historical Monuments, promoted by Sir John Lubbock, had not been brought before Parliament. It has since been so. It was lost; but perhaps this is less to be regretted, as the list of monuments was incomplete. The Council reiterate the wish that all owners or occupiers of land on which objects of interest are situated will do their best to preserve them; and hope they will forward to the Museum, or give notice of, any that may be in danger of destruction.

"Several additions have been made to the Museum during the past year, but nothing worthy of special notice, except a large plesiosaur, from Street, by Mr. Sanford; a kite (now a rare bird), by Mr. Helyar; a red deer, from Exmoor, by Mr. Bisset; and two silver pennies of William I. and II., to the purchase of these Mr. Marshall, of Belmont, kindly contributed.

"As education advances the Society grows in popularity.

No less than twenty-one new Members have joined since the last Annual Meeting. The Museum is now seldom without daily visitors, and on fête days the place is thronged.

"The Council have to report that the copies of the Wells Registers mentioned in the last two yearly reports have been received, but, in the present state of the finances, the Council cannot recommend that the Society should burthen the general fund with the expense of their publication. The papers also require some further editing. The Council therefore recommend that a Committee be formed for the purpose of taking into consideration the question of publishing, and the mode of publication, of the papers now in our possession, and also of selections from the Episcopal Register.

"The Council are very anxious to make their Annual Volume of Proceedings more efficient, and especially to secure its regular publication before the meeting of each year. This year, owing to the unavoidable late appearance of Vol. XVIII., there has been considerable difficulty in doing this; but by making strong efforts, kindly aided by the contributors, Vol. XIX. is now in course of distribution. It is hoped that all who are kind enough to supply papers will send them at once to the Secretaries, and in a form ready for immediate publication.

"In conclusion the Council beg to bring prominently to the recollection of Members of Society that they are now the proprietors of a Castle of the oldest known foundation in Great Britain. To repay Stuckey's Banking Company, and to restore the Castle to its former state, funds are wanted. It is earnestly hoped that all interested in this matter will do their utmost to further the scheme of the "Castle Week" by their personal patronage and assistance, and thus make the whole affair a success."

Mr. F. H. DICKINSON, in moving the adoption of the Report, congratulated the Society upon the work which it was doing, and upon the purchase of Taunton Castle. He confidently expected that, though there was still some pecuniary difficulty, the Society would be able to surmount it. He referred to the proposed publication of the Indexes of the Registers of the Dean and Chapter, and advocated also the preparation and publication of Indexes of the Bishops' Registers. He pointed out the great value which these documents had, as they were in almost unbroken succession from about 1310 down to the present time. He hoped that a Committee would be appointed to consider how the Indexes which had been prepared might be published, and, if necessary, to make alterations in them.

The BISHOP agreed with Mr. Dickinson as to the value of efficient Indexes to the Wells Records, and, on his Lordship's motion, a Committee was formed, consisting of Mr. F. H. Dickinson, Mr. J. Batten, Mr. T. Serel, and the Hon. Secretaries, with power to add to their number, to take such steps as might appear advisable to them to publish by subscription or otherwise Indexes to the Wells Records.

Mr. T. SEREL, in seconding the adoption of the Report, brought under notice the state of the Chapel and Hall of the Vicars' Close at Wells. The former, "one of the architectural gems of the city," was, he said, in a deplorable state of decay and dilapidation, so much so that, if prompt steps were not taken, it must inevitably share the fate of other rare examples of mediæval art which had disappeared in Wells within the last few years. After briefly sketching the history of the Close, and its possessors, the Vicars Choral, he proceeded to say that, within

the previous three or four months the Vicars had rejected a voluntary proposition to thoroughly repair and restore the Chapel and Hall, at a cost of nearly £600. He stated that it seemed to him that the Vicars altogether forgot their legal obligations, as well as the obligations they owed to their founders and benefactors; they forgot that they held their Close more in the character of *trustees*, with incident conditions and responsibilities, than as absolute owners. Mr. Serel continued, "It is but fair to say that the Vicars themselves cannot undertake so costly a work, but when the means were ready, without resorting to their own exchequer for a penny, it is unaccountable that the generous offer made to them has been so unceremoniously and so inconsiderately rejected." He then suggested that a representation should be made to the Vicars, either direct, or through the Lord Bishop as their "Visitor," who had power to deal effectually with the subject. He then spoke of another matter of almost equal importance to the preservation of the Close. It appeared from his remarks that the Vicars had a few years ago surrendered their estates to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in consideration of an annual money payment. This had given the Commissioners power to alienate, absolutely and for ever, the houses in the Close, except those which were retained for the present body of Vicars. In this way the Close, so valuable and interesting in its connexion with the Cathedral, might be wholly severed from the church, and its ancient characteristic feature obliterated to suit the tastes and conveniences of its new owners. To avoid this danger, as well as to consider the question of repairing the Chapel and Hall, Mr. Serel suggested the appointment of a Committee with powers to act in the name and on behalf of the Society, quoting the words of Mr. Freeman

in one of his lectures on the history of the Cathedral, when referring to the destruction of old buildings in Wells, "We must keep a sharp eye about us, or this city of ours may lose, almost without knowing it, the distinctive character which makes it unique among the cities of England."

The BISHOP said that he had not yet made up his mind exactly as to the course to pursue, but they would agree with him that the powers of a visitor ought to be exercised with the greatest reservation. He was not by any means indifferent to the condition of the Chapel of the Close. During the last twelve months certain negotiations had been going on between the Vicars and those interested in the Theological College, and a part of the plan proposed was the restoration of the Chapel. Whilst these negotiations were going on it was undesirable to exercise visitorial powers, but, if necessary, he should be prepared to take means to put the Chapel in such repair as was necessary for the decent observance of the worship of Almighty God.

Mr. F. H. DICKINSON was glad to hear the statement of the Bishop. What Mr. Serel wanted, however, was that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners should not sell the property in the Close by lots and bits, so as to deprive it of its distinctive character. He proposed the appointment of a Committee, consisting of the Bishop, Canon Meade, the Members of Parliament for the division of Mid-Somerset, Mr. W. A. Sanford, Mr. T. Serel, Mr. F. H. Dickinson, and the Rev. W. Hunt, as secretary, to secure the preservation of the buildings of the Close, and to forward any plans for judicious restoration.

Mr. MEADE KING asked what powers the Committee would possess.

Mr. F. H. DICKINSON said that they would have no

powers beyond that of conferring with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in order to obtain a more definite promise from them that they would not part with the reversions.

Mr. MEADE KING did not think that any benefit would arise from the action of the Committee, and considered that in its appointment the Society was travelling out of its proper province. At the same time, if the meeting considered the appointment necessary, he would not oppose it.

The Committee was appointed as proposed.

The Report of the Council was then declared adopted.

The following FINANCIAL STATEMENT was then presented by the Treasurers :—

The Treasurers in Account with the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

Dr.

1873. Aug. 12.	£	s	d
By Balance of former Account	25	0	4
„ Excursion Tickets ...	12	12	6
„ Museum Admission Fees..	22	11	3
„ Entrance Fees	13	10	0
„ Subscriptions	204	0	0
„ Sale of Volumes	3	9	0
„ Donation from Mr. J. Marshall towards purchase of coins	3	11	0
„ Transferred from Castle Purchase Fund, on account of Printing, Postage, &c.	20	0	0
	£304	14	1

Cr.

1873-4.	£	s	d
To Annual Meeting Expenses, Advertising, &c. ...	26	5	2
„ Repairs, &c.	1	5	6
„ Stationery, Printing, &c. ...	24	11	7
„ Coal, Gas, &c.	14	6	4
„ Curator's Salary (1 year to August 3, 1874)	57	10	0
„ Rent (1 year, to Midsummer 1874)...	30	0	0
„ Insurance	4	1	6
„ Purchase of Books and Specimens	11	17	3
„ Balance of account for printing Vol. XVIII.	96	6	6
„ Illustrations, Photographs, &c.	12	3	6
„ Subscription to Ray Society, 1874	1	1	0
„ Ditto, to Palæontographical Society, for 1874	1	1	0
„ Ditto, to Harleian Society, 1874	1	1	0
„ Postage of Volumes of Proceedings	7	3	8
„ Sundries	1	2	4
„ Postages, Carriage, &c. ...	14	5	4
Balance		12	5
	£304	14	1

H., H. J. & D. BADCOCK, *Treasurers.*

Examined, compared the vouchers, and found correct, Aug. 14th, 1874.

HENRY ALFORD.
R. MEADE KING.

The Report of the Treasurers was received and adopted.

The Vice-Presidents, the Treasurers, and the Hon.

General Secretaries were re-appointed. The Local Secretaries were re-elected, with the addition of the Rev. W. Lyon, the Vicar of Sherborne.

Mr. W. Bidgood was re-elected Assistant Secretary and Curator, and the Rev. W. HUNT, Hon. Secretary, expressed to the Society his sense of the value of Mr. Bidgood's laborious and intelligent services.

The Rev. H. H. WINWOOD proposed that the next Annual Meeting should be held at Frome, and that Lord Cork should be asked to accept the office of President on that occasion.

Mr. W. A. SANFORD said that he had hoped that the Society would meet at Dulverton, as there was a fine field for work in that neighbourhood.

Mr. F. H. DICKINSON seconded the proposition made by Mr. Winwood, and it was carried unanimously. At the same time it was resolved that, if possible, a meeting should be held at Dulverton in 1876.

Seven gentlemen were then elected by acclamation as new Members of the Society, the rule requiring previous notice being suspended for the occasion.

The PRESIDENT then delivered his

Inaugural Address.

THE Somersetshire Archæological Society has this year chosen as the place of their meeting this charming town in the neighbouring county of Dorset, in which, notwithstanding many objects of attraction, there is no archæological society.

The ground is therefore free; we are trespassing on nobody's especial province, and we may hope, before long, either that a separate Society may be founded in Dorsetshire, or, as the county is not a large one, that persons interested in our pur-

suits may join our Society, or offer to unite with us in a body, and extend the area of our researches to both counties.

Should such a proposal ever be made, I am sure it would receive, whether accepted or not, most careful consideration from the members of our Society.

Dorsetshire possesses many objects of interest, both in an archæological and in a natural history point of view. The beautiful churches of Wimborne and Sherborne, the remains of John of Gaunt's Palace at Canford, the mouldering stones of Corfe Castle, the splendid pile of Milton Abbey, and some very few remains of antiquity where once stood the celebrated Abbey of Shaftesbury, are places of great historical and archæological interest.

Then, in a natural history point of view, we have the curious formation of the Isle of Purbeck; the fine clay beds about Poole; the curious phenomenon of the Chesil beach; the landslip at Lyme Regis, and the wonderful beds of lias there, so productive of vestiges of the earlier creation. If Somersetshire be considered too small an area for our Society, we are fortunate in having so rich a region within easy distance, and accessible by railway.

By the kindness of the proprietors, we shall be able at this meeting to examine two of the most remarkable country seats in the county of Dorset. We shall visit to-day the lovely domain of Sherborne Lodge, as it was formerly called, which must ever remain associated with the name of the chivalrous Sir Walter Raleigh, who built the house, and laid out the grounds, perhaps on plans talked over between him and his great contemporary, Lord Bacon—"For this royal ordering of gardens" was one of the many sumptuous and seductive tastes in which they both agreed. They considered, in the language of that day, "a garden as amongst the purest of human pleasures, without which, building and palaces are but gross handyworks."[1] Hardly anywhere else are the tokens of

(1). Essay xlvi. "Of Gardens."

Raleigh's love of planting so conspicuous as at Sherborne. He loved the place for the remembrance of the domestic happiness he found there. From 1591 to 1594, he enjoyed, perhaps for the longest interval ever accorded to him, the rural and domestic pleasures of a seat—

> Where winds, perhaps, our woods sometimes may shake,
> But blustering care could never tempest make ;
> Nor murmurs ere come nigh us,
> Saving of fountains that glide by us.

We shall have the great advantage of being shewn over the old Castle by Mr. Clark, and we must ever regret that this masterpiece of military architecture, as it is called, of old Bishop Roger, of Salisbury, was sacrificed, but not by Raleigh, for the sake of its materials, to complete the Lodge.

To morrow, by the kindness of Lord Ilchester, we shall visit the ancient seat of Melbury, under the able guidance of Mr. Parker, and shall see several other objects of interest on the way.

This is the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of our Society. Its inaugural meeting, at which I had the honour of being present, was held at Taunton, and Dean Buckland made there a remarkable, but somewhat eccentric speech. You know that shortly afterwards the reason of this eminent pioneer of geology gave way, and that he never afterwards recovered. No man knew our county better than he did, and the studies which made him famous were prosecuted at the Banwell caves and other spots within our boundaries.

Mr. Freeman also assisted us at the beginning, and has ever since shone among us as a star of the first magnitude.

The late Mr. Henry Drummond, in his inaugural address at the foundation of the Surrey Archæological Society, in 1854, spoke of the use of local societies like ours, to obtain accurate materials for the general history of our country, and told an anecdote of Mr. Hume, the philosopher and historian. "All our histories," says Mr. Drummond, "are but compilations; you may take Hume, he is nothing but a compiler, and very

inaccurate." I remember Mr. Bruce, one of the very first and ablest persons in the Record Office, stating that he had shewn Mr. Hume some very valuable documents in connexion with the history of the country, and he, on looking at them, said, "I admit they are very interesting, but, if I begin to read them, I shall have to write my history over again, for I am all wrong."

Now, Gentlemen, without in the least depreciating the peculiar merits of Mr. Hume's history, to which I am fully alive, I will say that there is a gentleman among us, Mr. Freeman, who, since Mr. Drummond spoke, has given us a real history of a portion of our national life; and who would write and re-write his history a dozen times, so long as he thought there were any materials unused which would alter the bearing of any portion of it.

Then we have the names of Sir Walter Trevelyan, Mr. Boyd Dawkins, Mr. Ayshford Sanford, and others, who have helped to keep up the reputation, and to insure the prosperity of our Society—so much so, that our list of members is now longer than it has ever been.

Especially, we have an admirable Museum, and natural history collections scientifically arranged, for which we have, I believe, especially to thank Mr. Sanford. We hope these will shortly be removed to a building worthy of them—namely, the magnificent old Castle of Taunton.

The period since 1849 has been one of great activity and much progress all over the world, both in archæology and in natural history. For we will use the term, natural history, in the more extended meaning which the ancients attached to it, as including everthing that does not relate to the results of human skill, and the products of human faculties.

In every country men have sought to know more of those who have preceded them on the earth, and of the works which they accomplished. In the present day we are able to take a much wider view of archæology than those before us. Our

horizon is no longer bounded by what is called the Classic period. Bunsen calls the time of Abraham the middle ages of the world, and our knowledge of what we may call the early history before that time has been much increased in the last twenty-five years. In 1859, Layard published the account of his discoveries at Nineveh, and Rawlinson gave us the key to the treasures of the Mesopotamian libraries. We are now familiar with the appearance and manners of the Mesopotamian peoples, of whom our knowledge was previously very scanty.

The labours of Max Müller, and others, have traced the thread of our connexion with the earliest ages, and every schoolboy now knows that he belongs to the Aryan race, that the Persians and the Hindoos are his distant cousins, and that his relationship to them may be proved by his language, and the traditions which we have in common. One great fact brought out by the successful prosecution of this study of early history, is that not the meanest piece of knowledge is useless, and the most abstruse studies of the learned may now said to be principally occupied with clodhoppers' dialects, nursery tales, and old women's stories.

Again, Birch, Lepsius, Brugsch, and Mariette, have immensely increased our knowledge of the literature and manners of ancient Egypt, so closely connected with biblical studies and Assyrian history. Dr. Brugsch Bey is certainly one of the first Egyptologists of the present day, and I am engaged, in translating his remarkable *History of Egypt*, drawn from the ancient monuments. He writes to me a few weeks ago—"I must inform you, my dear Sir, that the second edition of my history, which is now preparing, contains exceedingly interesting results of my last studies on the subject of the history of this curious people, especially for that part which is contemporary with the events of the Exodus. I have made remarkable discoveries, which prove to me that the monuments entirely agree with the accounts of Holy Scripture.

You shall receive a pamphlet on this subject in a week or two, &c."

Then we have that remarkable expedition to Palestine, sent out by the Society of Biblical Archæology, which has already produced most interesting results, and promises us an increase of knowledge into the pre-Jewish history of Palestine.

Lycia and Asia Minor have enriched our National Museum with treasures, which have given us important knowledge on the early history of art. A portion of two out of the seven wonders of the world now exist in our British Museum, and some of the most important parts of the temple of Diana of Ephesus, and the magnificent tomb of Mausolus, erected by his queen, may now be seen in London, adorning our capital, where Sir Gilbert Scott has erected another monument for a widowed queen, which, I venture to think, goes far to equal the work of antiquity.

Mr. Schliemann is now engaged, with astonishing assiduity and liberality, in investigating the site of ancient Troy, and has been rewarded by the discovery of golden treasures, which have, perhaps, laid hid ever since the fatal night when the wooden horse entered the walls of Troy, and Æneas led the young Iulus to found the still more celebrated city of Rome.

The sacred flame of archæological investigation has even crossed the Atlantic; and, about the year of your foundation, there appeared in the new country of the United States, as the first of the *Smithsonian Transactions*, a most interesting memoir on the remains of ancient nations in the valley of the Mississippi. Since then the Americans have been most active in prosecuting researches into the pre-Columban, as they call it, history of their country, and they have many flourishing archæological societies.

Our horizon, too, has widened; we are no longer contented with mere historical research, we ascend to ages which have long been hidden, and pre-historic investigations must now be considered an important part of archæology.

In this pursuit, the two separate divisions of our Society—the archæological and the natural history section—may combine; and while the one looks with interest on the works of art, and other labours of our pre-historic forefathers, the knowledge of the geologist, and of the palæontologist, is required to approximate the time of these earliest vestiges of the human race.

Archæology is peculiarly suited to be pursued with success by local societies.

It is founded on a minute and accurate study of details. For good historical, or scientific observation, accuracy is the first thing required; and it is no easy matter to be a correct observer. But the place where we live, or which we very often visit, where we know every feature, where we have time for patient reflection, is just the place which we may describe thoroughly, so that the work need not be done over again. We can also collect traditions before they fade, and describe monuments before they pass away.

As it has been said that a man can never know any language perfectly, except his own mother tongue, so it may be said that a man has peculiar facilities for intimately knowing the country where he has been born and bred.

What admirable papers have been contributed to many local societies, such as the Caen Society, and the Archæologia Cambrensis, or Cantiana, or to our Society, by such men as Mr. Freeman, and Mr. Boyd Dawkins!

One of the most curious discoveries of modern times, that of the Lake Villages, was made by a private member of the Zurich Archæological Society, Dr. Keller, whom I hold in affectionate remembrance as my tutor when a boy. That discovery led to similar discoveries in various countries, from Italy to Ireland, of records of ancient nations, where, to the ordinary eye, there appeared no vestige of any human community ever having dwelt.

There's not an atom of yon earth
But once was living man;
From the most gloomy glens
Of Greenland's sunless clime,
To where the golden fields
Of fertile England spread,
Thou canst not find a spot
Whereon no city stood.

If ever we have a really good history of Somersetshire, we shall owe it, probably, to the interest inspired by our Society, and some of its distinguished members.

If some gentleman in every parish was to collect the details connected with it, and accurately examine the available records and papers, and describe the monuments of the past, and collect the traditions, we should soon have a body of materials which might be worked up into a really good history of our county.

The late Bishop of Salisbury, some years ago, requested every incumbent to draw up a short memoir of his own parish, and I believe that many gentlemen took great pains in executing the wishes of the good bishop, and that a valuable body of materials has been collected, which, some day, no doubt, will be made use of.

Our own Bishop has done us the honour of presiding over our Society; has honoured us with his presence to-day, and always shewn a lively interest in our welfare.

The clergy, in past ages, have done, perhaps, more for archæology than any other body of men, and Mr. Hallam places the labours of the Congregation of the Benedictines of Saint-Maur, before all the labours of the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge put together. I know of no reason why our Protestant clergy should be less industrious than the clergy of the Catholic past, without in any way neglecting their proper duties. They have all of them received a learned education, and I have always thought that a good, public, free, county library was much needed, where those disposed to keep up their learning might borrow the necessary works. Ac-

tuated by these views, I once, a long time ago, gave the nucleus of a public library in Wiltshire, but no progress in this scheme has hitherto been made.

There are very few counties more interesting than Somersetshire; it is a kind of epitome of all England.

There is the port and marine of Bristol; the fisheries of the Channel; the coal and other mines of the Mendips; the wild and beautiful scenery of the Quantocks; the unrivalled pastures of the vale of Taunton; and fruit orchards, which may vie with those of Kent.

The taste and wealth of Glastonbury, and other abbies, have made the most of the beautiful materials for building which we possess, and have left us, both in ecclesiastical and domestic architecture, edifices of consummate beauty, heightened by the charm of antiquity.

Our historic souvenirs yield to that of no other country.

First come the Celtic legends, which cluster imperishably round the Isle of Avalon. They relate to a people with many great qualities, and often brilliant genius; always interesting, and always unfortunate. Whether their lot was to oppose the Roman, like Vereingetorix and Boadicea; or the Saxon, like King Arthur; or the Protestant succession, like Lochiel and the Highlanders; or the Spanish Republic, like Don Carlos at the present hour; we see the same qualities, and may predict the same fate.

Then we come to another hero, typical of a more successful people. The most important part of the history of the great Ælfred is very closely connected with our county. With us was passed his lowest point of depression; from among us he sallied forth to permanent victory.

Then the Saxon rises and falls; the Norman conquers us for our good. From the mixture of races rises the English nation. English institutions pass through a healthy growth; but when an attempt was made to check the development of our institutions, in the 17th century, Laud and Strafford had

to yield to Cromwell, and the unfortunate Charles II. found a refuge among faithful friends in this neighbourhood.

Again, a few years later, Somersetshire was imperishably associated with the rebellion of the unhappy Monmouth, and traditions of the rebellion, and its cruel suppression, were, as we know, long preserved about the neighbourhood of Sedgemoor.

Thus, Somersetshire, from the earliest to the latest times, had her full share of the interest attaching to the growth of the noble stream of English history. If we have Arthur and Ælfred at the beginning, we may look to Blake in comparatively modern times; to Locke, who pursued here his philosophical studies; and Wellington, who honoured us by taking the deserved title of his victories from a small town in our county. What nobler field can the archæologist have than to examine the features, and collect the traditions of a county where great events have passed, and great men have lived. Each village, almost, has traditions and remains connected with the early history of our county. Let us hope that the roll of Somersetshire worthies is not yet closed, but that the rising generation, when they study our past history, may emulate their forefathers, and remember that, with education at every man's door, we are more and more approaching the ideal of the political economist, when every man may start on equal terms in the race of life. Our common history is the common property of all, both rich and poor, and I should like to see the day when the cottagers should feel as much interest in Ælfred, in Drake, in Bacon, in Watt, as the most distinguished member in our Society. If tradition is dying out, reading and instruction must take the place of the old, unwritten epos. More pains should be taken to teach our English history to all classes.

Sir Francis Palgrave observes, "Our English archives are unparallelled. None are equally ample, varied, and continuous; none have descended from remote times in equal preservation

and regularity, not even the archives of the Vatican." There can, therefore, be no excuse for not teaching to all classes our glorious history; and, depend upon it, that no nation can continue to hold its place which forgets the deeds of its forefathers, and who does not feel the deepest interest in the archæology of the spots where they laboured or bled.

I feel that I am only a *locum tenens* for the distinguished and popular owner of the magnificent domain of Sherborne Castle, who would have presided to day, but is incapacitated by ill health from taking the chair on this occasion, and I trust that the kindness of the meeting will pardon all defects, and forget my shortcomings in the interesting addresses and papers of the several distinguished gentlemen who have honoured the meeting by their presence.

Mr. CHISHOLM-BATTEN proposed, and Canon MEADE seconded, a vote of thanks to the President for his able and interesting address.

The Society then left the Hall, and soon afterwards visited the earthworks and ruins of Sherborne Castle, under the guidance of Mr. CLARK. The substance of Mr. Clark's explanation, which he has prepared for the Society, is as follows:—

Sherborne Castle.

The Castle of Sherborne, the ancient chief seat of the Hundred of that name in the county of Dorset, occupies a plot of elevated land, placed intermediate between the junction of two water-courses, the contents of which largely contributed to its defence. The one rises beyond Hanover Hill to the south and east, and flows south of the Castle, at this time being employed to feed the lake in Sherborne Park; the other, rising at Seven Wells on the north, descends by Pointington and Obourne, turns the mill close north of the Castle, and, finally, combining with

the other stream, skirts the southern border of the town, and is known as the Yeo, which becomes one of the principal rivers of the adjacent county of Somerset.

Both streams, as they approach the Castle, are connected with broad, low tracts of land, now fertile meadow, but anciently more or less impracticable morass. One of these tracts is traversed by the railway, another is partially covered by the lake, and a third, of smaller extent, lies close east of the Castle, and intervenes between it and the town.

The source of the name of Sherborne has been the subject of dispute, some reading it the "Shire burn," or boundary brook of the county, and others the "Clear burne," as in Clearwell and Brightwell, from the Saxon Scir, Scyr, or Sheer: pure, bright, clear. As neither of the streams connected with the town are, or, so far as is known, ever were, the boundaries of the shire, and as their sources are copious, and not impure, the latter etymology is probably the correct one.

The site of the Castle is indicated by Nature for a residence in troublous times. A knoll of rock and gravel, about 200 yards in length, or east and west, by 150 yards in breadth, rises about 40 or 50 feet above the surrounding meadows. The surface has been levelled, and an oval area of about 150 yards by 105 yards, has been traced out, and its margin scarped and pared into a steep slope of about 45 feet deep. The material has not been thrown upwards and inwards, as was usual, but outwards; so that the slope descends into a broad and deep ditch, the counterscarp of which is a bank, more or less artificial, beyond which on the north is a broad level, and on the south and south-east, in part, is level land, and in part a second ditch, down which flows the southern stream. As the knoll was rather longer

than was needed, its two ends, east and west, were cut off by the ditch, and form detached eminences, or outworks, beyond it. That to the west is bold and small, and commanded the approach from the town to the principal entrance of the fortress; that to the east is lower, but of wider extent, and may have been used as a safe pasture ground for the stock of the garrison.

To the south-west of the Castle a very considerable bank of earth has been thrown up across the bed of the southern stream at its deepest and narrowest part. This was evidently intended to pen back the waters. Whether it is original, or has been added in Norman times, is doubtful On the northern side no such dam was needed, but the water was to some extent penned back by the weir of the Castle mill.

As Sherborne was an episcopal residence from the 8th century, and was held by prelates who took a full share in the wars of a very turbulent part of England, it is probable that the earthworks which have been described were thrown up in the 8th, 9th, or 10th centuries, and defended after the English manner, either with masonry of a very light description, or with palisades of timber.

As the present masonry is of a most substantial character, and of a date apparently of the first quarter of the 12th century, it is most probable that the Norman prelates found it convenient to retain the English defences until they were able, after half a century of occupation, to replace them with others of a Norman type, and which still remain.

In the laying out of the present works, the earlier platform, which was, no doubt, merely rounded, was converted into a sort of rhomboidal octagon, the angles of the main figure being cut off. The curtain by which this

outline was formed was irregular. Its opposite ends were 74 yards and 59 yards long, and the sides 113 yards and 112 yards, while the opposite short sides, representing the angles, were 28 yards and 37 yards, and 33 yards and 38 yards. The angles at which these sides met varied from 121° to 143°, and the eight averaged about 135°. The curtain was of sound, coursed rubble, with interior and exterior quoins of ashlar at the angles. It was 7 feet thick, and about 30 feet high. Its whole length was 492 yards, of which about 110 yards remain, more or less perfect, in six fragments. The gate-house stands on the curtain, and, besides this, an old plan shews three rectangular towers, upon the short sides of the wall. Of one of these there is a trace in a heap of rubbish towards the north-east, from which it appears as though these mural towers projected mainly inwards. No doubt the ditch was at the same time deepened, and the exterior bank may then have been raised or strengthened; and this is probably meant when it is said that Bishop Roger "made the ditch and a false mure" outside it.

The gate-house stands at, and takes the place of, the south-western angle of the enclosure. It is bonded into and of the same date with the curtain on either side. It is a square tower of 28 feet, projecting 14 feet beyond the curtain. It has a basement and three stories. The basement is occupied by the entrance passage, 11 feet broad, and two lateral masses of 8 feet 6 inches each, solid in front, but in the rear of the work, occupied, the northern by a barrel-vaulted lodge, full-centred, 4 feet 6 inches by 7 feet, with a small cupboard in the north wall. There is a narrow door of 18 inches, with a segmental head, opening into the passage; it has also a loop to the court. In the opposite wall is a well stair, 5 feet in diameter, which seems to have

had a door, now built up, towards the court, and to have ascended to the roof, opening upon the three upper floors. It is said that the whole angle, including the doorway, fell down, and was rebuilt solid. This would account for there being no present trace of the opening. The main passage has a segmental arch in front and rear, the jambs of the former being broken away; and in the centre is a rebate for a pair of gates opening inwards, the arch of which is gone. There is no portcullis, and no trace of either an outer or inner grate. Except at the ribs, the passage was covered with flat timbers, as was usual in Norman gate-houses.

The first floor was one room with a large, full-centered window in front and rear, probably fitted up for two lights. On the north side two loops, now much broken, commanded the front and rear of the curtain. Between them was a fire-place. On the south side a mural passage from the well-stair had two loops corresponding to those above mentioned.

The second floor has two large Tudor windows front and rear, a fire-place to the north, and on each side doors opening on the battlements of the curtain. The upper floor is nearly destroyed; only the cills of its two two-light Tudor windows remain. The flues of the fire places in the north wall are bent and coaxed to reach the north-west angle, where they ascend as a turret which ends in a pyramidal top, below which, towards the north and south, are three small, round-headed arches, for the escape of smoke. The chimney-head looks Norman, but the fire-places and flues have the appearance of having been inserted in the wall in the Tudor period. The whole requires a more careful examination than the height of the chimney, and the ivy which covers it, will allow of to ordinary visitors.

A weather-moulding, remaining upon the interior face of the south wall, shews that while, originally, the lateral walls of the gate-house were of their present height, the front and rear walls were no higher than the top of the first floor, the roof sloping to the front and rear from a central ridge. Afterwards, probably in the Tudor period, these two walls were raised, two new floors added, and a flat roof substituted for the old one. This makes the age of the chimney-head the more problematical. Altogether, this gate-house is a very peculiar and interesting structure. It is certainly Norman, and of the age of the connected curtain; and the flat pilasters at each angle shew that the two lateral walls are original, and were always of their present height. The present approach is by a causeway, apparently solid, contained within two walls, and 66 feet long, such being the breadth of the ditch at that point. This, no doubt, replaces an older bridge, at the inner end of which was a gap and a draw-bridge.

The domestic buildings seem to have formed a square, or nearly so, of about 35 yards, broken by the projection of the keep, which stood at the south-west corner, that nearest to the gate-house. The group, though detached, is not central, standing towards the north-western angle of the area.

The keep is, or has been, rectangular, 41 feet broad, probably, by 66 feet long. The walls are 9 feet thick. Its basement, at the ground level, is divided, longitudinally, by a wall 6 feet thick, into two long barrel vaults, 8 feet 6 inches broad. The original entrance seems to have been at the north end of the east vault, and near it is a rude aperture in the cross-wall, probably an original doorway. There seems to have been a loop in the west or exterior wall. Appended to the south end of the east wall is a turret,

23 feet broad, by 17 feet projection, probably without any exterior opening at the basement level. The south end of the keep has been much altered. The dividing wall ceases at 22 feet from the north end, and a chamber is thus formed, 22 feet square. In the centre of this stands a cylindrical, very decided Norman pier, 3 feet in diameter, which carries the vaulting of the chamber. The south wall, and the adjacent parts of the lateral walls, have been destroyed, and rebuilt only 4 feet thick; and in its centre, where this new wall receives the main thrust of the vault, it has been strengthened by a half-round exterior pilaster, of 4 feet projection. The wall on each side of this pilaster has been pierced by several large windows, the rough openings of which are 5 feet broad, expanding inwards to 7 feet; of these two, and a part of a third remain. The pier is undoubtedly Norman, and the basement floor, possibly, always had a vaulted chamber at this end, but the thin walls and large windows are, evidently, Tudor work, executed with old materials, and faced with the original blocks of ashlar.

The keep had a first floor, reached by a curved staircase in the north wall, the door at the head of which was exactly above that with the basement. It seems to have contained one room, 23 feet broad, and about 48 feet long. As the walls continue to be 9 feet thick, it is probable that this first floor also was vaulted, and, it may be, with one span. In the east wall a passage of 3 feet 6 inches broad leads into the turret, and on its left, down a few steps, is a small mural gardrobe chamber, 3 feet broad. The turret, which within is 10 feet by 12 feet, seems to have been, as at Kenilworth, a gardrobe pit, or, possibly, a prison, with a trap-door in the vault above; a moderate excavation would decide which. It is clear

that this large first floor was altered at the south end into a light bay window of Tudor fashion, to support which was the main cause of the alterations below.

The level of this floor is indicated outside the east wall by a chamfered string, having a chevron moulding in relief upon the chamfer.

Probably there was a second floor, part of the turret still rising to that height, though too much shrouded with ivy to be examined.

The south face and south-east angle of this inner ward are gone, but there remain buildings against the east and north walls. Against the north wall is a spacious chamber, 69 feet by 18 feet 6 inches, of two stages, the basement being vaulted, the eastern two-thirds in three bays, the western remainder by a barrel vault. Probably a cross wall divided these on each floor. The basement, no doubt, was for stores. There are traces of loops in the north wall, and there is also a door. The superstructure was lofty, and the eastern part over the bay vaulting was the chapel. There remains part of a small, Norman east window, the exterior jamb of which is worked in a bold chevron pattern; and below this, within, are traces of a Norman arcade, of four arches, in the wall. Also, in the north wall, close to the east end, there still remains a small Norman window of exceeding beauty, having reduplicated bands of the chevron moulding. Opposite, ouside the south wall, a mural stair ascends, and seems to have opened into the chapel close to the altar, where the piscina should be. This is unusual, but it is possible that this stair may not have entered the chapel at all, but have been intended to give access to a room to its south. Against the south wall of the preceding building, and, therefore, within the court, a weather

moulding at the first floor level shews that there was a lean-to, like a cloister; and above the moulding are some arches of an intersecting arcade, one of which is pierced for a window, and to the east of this is a second window, also opening from the chapel.

Another room, also of two stages, is placed against the east wall, at right angles to the chapel. It was 16 feet 6 inches broad, and what remains is 48 feet long. The basement was barrel-vaulted, with lateral loops for air. The upper floor is too dilapidated to allow of sound speculation, but it may very probably have been the hall.

No kitchens have been identified.

Outside the curtain, towards the north, are the remains of what is described as an archway leading to the meadows. This seems to have been a spur-work, a long hollow wall descending from the curtain into the ditch, covering a deep hollow way on its east side, which is likely enough to have led to a postern, and probably afforded a communication by a water gate with the marsh. Nothing now remains but some vaults, and a fragment of overthrown wall.

There are some fragments of wall to the south-west of the Castle, remaining on the outer or lower face of the dam, which seem of the date of the walls generally, and which were probably intended to guard the dam, and especially the sluice.

Whatever may be the age of the earthworks of this Castle, it is clear that nearly the whole of the masonry is of one date, and of the Norman period. The great thickness of the wall, its rough but sound workmanship, and the absence of either portcullis or pointed arch, look early, while the fine-jointed ashlar, and the ornate character of the remaining windows, seem late in the style, and more

like the reign of the second than of the first Henry. There is no early pointed arch in the adjacent Minster, and the tall, stilted heads of the arches opening from the transepts into its central towers, shew that it was not employed by Bishop Roger, even where there seems most occasion for it. On the whole, besides, the historical evidence in favour of the Castle having been built in the first quarter of the 12th century is strong, and this conclusion, no doubt, is correct. It would seem that Bishop Roger, like some other great architects, was considerably in advance of his age, and produced a castle, which, in the hands of a lay baron at that period, would have been of a much more rude and less advanced description.

Sherborne, both town and Castle, are of pure English origin. There are British camps upon the hills around, and names, vocal in the British tongue, still cling to many of the distinctive features of the district, but of the Britons Sherborne itself bears no trace.

Sherborne, already an ecclesiastical foundation, became the seat of the bishoprick of that name during the reign of King Ine, early in the 8th century; and Adhelm, who died in 735, a kinsman to the King, was the first bishop. The circumstances of the west, then and long afterwards, made a secure dwelling a necessary of life; and the site of the Castle was, no doubt, selected for the episcopal dwelling, and, probably, by degrees fortified. The earthworks might well have been the work of Æthelstan, the seventh bishop, about 818, who took an active part in the wars against the Danes; and is said himself to have been a leader in the bloody, but successful, combat with that people on the Parret, in 845. He died 867. Eadmund, his successor, was forced to continue in the same course, as did Werstan, the fourteenth bishop, who, as well as

Eadmund, fell in battle. The Minster was founded in 998, by Bishop Wesin; who, by consent of King Æthelred, for the then existing canons substituted Benedictine monks. On every account a local residence and a strong one must have been necessary.

The Manor and Hundred of Sherborne seem from the earliest periods to have been vested in the bishops. At Domesday the Bishop of Scireburne held Scireburne, and Queen Edith had held it, but before her Bishop Alwold.

For a time, from 1048, the see was called of Wiltshire, Ramsbury being then its seat, but its final translation was to Salisbury under Bishop Hermann, a German ecclesiastic, once Chaplain to the Confessor, who was Bishop before the Conquest, and held his seat till 1078. But he and his successor, Osmund de Seez, the first Norman bishop, though called of Sarum, retained their residence at Sherborne.

But whatever may have been the strength of the Sherborne Palace, it owes its reputation as a Norman stronghold to Bishop Roger who held the see from 1103 to 1139, was Lord Chief Justice, Lord Treasurer, and the trusted adviser of Henry I. Bishop Roger's character and actions as a statesman belong to English history. All that it is here necessary to say is that he was the builder of the strong Castles of Devizes, Malmesbury, and Sherborne, and at one time had charge of that of Old Sarum. Malmesbury he built in the cemetery of the monastery in despite of the monks, it was therefore probably wholly new; but Devizes and Sherborne, like old Sarum, were older sites, though they do not seem to have been previously fortified in the Norman manner.

Places so strong were naturally regarded with great jealousy by the Crown, and Malmesbury, Sherborne, and

Devizes, the Bishop's three castles, were besieged by Stephen in 1139, and fell after a severe siege. Once taken they continued to be vested in the Crown, and were held by various great lords as Constables during pleasure, and among them Bishop Poer condescended so to hold it in 1217–24.

In 1337, Edward III alienated Sherborne to Montacute Earl of Salisbury, but the usurpation borne from the sovereign was resisted from a subject, and Bishop Wyvil, emulous perhaps of his predecessors, Æthelstan, Eadmund, and Werstan, went so far as to challenge the Earl to a wager of battle, to be fought out by their champions. These were actually appointed and a day fixed, when a compromise was brought about. The Bishop paid 2,500 marcs, and he recovered, and in 1375 died at, the Castle. With the Castle he no doubt regained also the demesne park which covered the ascending slopes to the south, and the tract known locally as Gainsborough.

From the time of Bishop Wyvil his successors held Sherborne undisturbed till the Reformation, when the Castle was granted, first to the Paulets by Edward VI, and afterwards by Elizabeth to Sir Walter Raleigh, who built the adjacent house, and probably fitted up the Castle itself for a residence in the meantime. The estate was wrenched by chicane by James I from the son of Sir Walter, and finally it came to Digby Earl of Bristol, by whose collateral descendants in the female title it is still held.

Sherborne Castle had its full share of the troubles of the great rebellion. In 1642 it was held by the Marquis of Hertford for Charles I, and besieged by the Earl of Bedford for the Parliament, whose works were constructed against the north front.

In 1645 it was again attacked, and the wall was mined and breached. Sir Lewis Dives, who commanded for the King, made a gallant defence, but was forced finally to surrender, when the place was dismantled by the Parliament, and has since remained a ruin.

Mr. Clark's explanation was given at the different points which he described, and the effect was that no one present could fail to gain the clearest possible insight into the uses and history of the various ruins and earthworks which in different ages formed parts of the fortifications.

The PRESIDENT expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Clark for his most interesting address.

The PRESIDENT then called upon Mr. Freeman to say something concerning Bishop Roger.

Mr. FREEMAN said that he would first tell the story of how Bishop Roger first gained promotion in the Church. When Henry, the English-born son of the Conqueror, before he was King, was marching about in Normandy with no very great train, he went to hear mass in a chapel in the suburbs of Caen. The poor clerk who was officiating saw the Ætheling come in, and he watched his opportunity, and got over the mass so quickly that Henry's followers hardly knew that he had began before he had ended. Henry said that he was the fittest chaplain for soldiers that he had ever seen, and at once took him into his favour. Those who have read the Constitutional History of Professor Stubbs will have seen what a man Roger was, and how much he had to do in the working out the system of administration begun by Henry I, and which was carried on by Henry II. Perhaps he was not in all points exactly a model Bishop. But, whatever he was in any other way, he was a very great minister and

a very great architect. His architectural works are specially commented on by William of Malmesbury, a man who had a keen eye for architectural matters. He marked the introduction of a new style of architecture by the Confessor, and he also marked Bishop Roger as bringing in something like a new style. He calls attention to the splendour of his work, and especially to the beauty of its masonry, "masonry so accurately laid that you would think the whole building was one stone." Now, if this company will look at the work here, they will see that it is all fine work; it is quite different from the earliest Norman work; there are finer joints and far more elaborate ornaments. William of St. Carilef at Durham and Roger at Sherborne and elsewhere exercised a powerful influence on the architecture of their time. With regard to Norman architecture, it is a mistake always to suppose that the richest work is always the latest. A great deal depended on the man who built it. If you go to Durham and look at the eastern limb of the church and the transepts, any one would think that the transept was by far the older. It is really several years later. William of St. Carilef began the church; and after his death the monks carried it on in a style utterly inferior. Any one who walked in here, not knowing anything about the place, would think that this fine Norman work was later than the time of Roger. But it must have been built between 1109 and 1138. For 1138 was the time when Stephen seized Roger and his nephew the Bishop of Ely, and kept them fast until they gave up their castles. But, simply from the work itself, one would have thought that it belonged to the time of Henry II, rather than Henry I. This shows how far great architects like William and Roger were in advance of their times, and how long it

took smaller men to come up to them. In looking at these buildings, you should remember also that Roger built them in a time of profound peace. All the time of Henry I was a time of peace in England, and so men who had the will and the means could build freely without any great fear that what they built would be soon upset. What you see here is something more than a castle, something more than a place run up for defence only; it is a fortified palace. Directly after Roger was seized came the time of confusion, "the nineteen years that we tholed for our sins." During that time men built up all those castles which were pulled down again as soon as Henry II came to the throne, because they had been set up without the King's leave. This castle was seized by the King, but it was not pulled down. There was no temptation to any one to destroy such a building as this was; and, like Roger's other works, it remained as a model of style for later builders.

Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., said that the Gate-house had originally a gabled roof, with four angle turrets; and that, in the time of Elizabeth, the chimney was made out of one of these turrets. The long building he believed to be the Hall and Chapel combined. They had the same thing at Conway. It was not an uncommon thing for the chapel to be in a bay at the end of the hall, and screened off from it. As regards the rich window of the Chapel, Mr. Parker observed that the shaft and capital seemed to him to be of a date later than the time of Bishop Roger. There was something in what Mr. Freeman said about the genius of Bishop Roger being in advance of his time, but this seemed to him to be of a different character altogether, and he thought that it must be a somewhat later alteration.

The Society, by the kind permission of Mr. G. D. Wingfield Digby, then visited Sherborne Park and Lodge.

The Rev. R. DIGBY conducted the party through the house, and pointed out, and commented on, many of the valuable pictures which it contains. The most remarkable is the Procession of Queen Elizabeth, by Mark Gerrard, of Bruges. The figures are all likenesses, and those of Leicester, Lord Cobham, Lord Howard of Effingham, and many more may easily be made out. Mr. Digby said that there was an old dispute as to this picture and the one on the same subject at Melbury, which was the original, and which the replica, or copy. There was proof, however, that the Sherborne picture had been in the house before the Melbury picture had taken up its present place. In the same room there are portraits of Lady Southampton, and of John, Earl of Digby, who tried hard to bring about the Spanish match; he was made a dupe by Buckingham, but King James rewarded him by allowing him to buy Sherborne Castle in fee for a small sum. The library, Mr. Digby said, was fitted up by Horace Walpole. It contains a portrait of Kenelm Digby, by Vandyke. The books were chiefly collected by the last Earl of Bristol; of whom, it was said that, on the eve of true philosophy he chose astrology. The green drawing-room contains many pictures of the Digby family. The floor of the dairy is formed of a Roman tessellated pavement, which was discovered on Lenthay Common.

A large number of ladies and gentlemen dined together at 6.30, at the Digby Hotel. After dinner a few toasts were given.

At eight o'clock an

Evening Meeting

was held in the Town Hall, and was well attended.

Mr. FREEMAN read a paper on "King Ine," which continued the paper which he read at Taunton, in 1872, and which is printed in Vol. XVIII of the Society's Journal. Mr. Freeman received the hearty thanks of the Society for this exhaustive paper. It will be found in Part II of this volume.

The Rev. W. BARNES next read a paper on "Bishop Ealdhelm," which is also printed in Part II. It is to be regretted that the lateness of the hour prevented any discussion on the moot points brought forward in this paper. As soon as the President had expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Barnes, the meeting broke up.

Excursion: Wednesday.

The members of the Society met about 10 a.m., in the churchyard of

The Abbey Church.

Mr. FREEMAN addressed the meeting from the south-east corner of the churchyard. He said that in speaking of Sherborne Minster there was really nothing new for him to say, as the whole had been thoroughly described by Mr. Petit and Professor Willis. It must, he said, strike every one at once that here is a Perpendicular church, the outline of which is rather Norman

than Perpendicular. This is the main history of the building. It is a Norman church, rebuilt and recast, so that nearly all of it has become Perpendicular. But, besides that, you see by the remains of masonry that there have been some considerable buildings to the west. It would strike any one, at the first moment, that here we have a case of the double church, at once monastic and parochial, where the problem which was always turning up, that of reconciling the claims of the monks and the people, has been solved in a rather unusual way. The changes that have taken place with respect to that matter are very curious indeed; but, before we come to that, let us look at the minster itself. You see at once that it is a cross church, not of the first rank, but of the second; and, considering that it is a Norman building and keeps its Norman proportions with very little change, the nave strikes one as remarkably short. One would not have been surprised, taking the length of the Norman eastern limb, to find the nave stretching away a considerable distance to the west; and one might be tempted to believe that this destroyed building stood on a part of the Norman nave to the west. But here is a Norman doorway in the west front; it is therefore plain that the nave did not go further, and that the building at the west was strictly an addition, and did not supplant any earlier building. You may remember that there are two names, one in the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century, and another in the twelfth, which are specially connected with the place; these are Ealdhelm and the famous Roger of Salisbury. Now there is no reason to doubt that this church stands on the site of the church of Ealdhelm, which William of Malmesbury himself had seen, and which he tells us was a wonderful work. William of Malmesbury, with the new

church before him, did not altogether despise the old one, a fact which must be borne in mind. In 1122 the Abbey of Sherborne and the Priory of Hortón were joined together; and then, no doubt, Ealdhelm's church was pulled down and Roger's built instead. No doubt Roger was the founder, and probably the architect, of the Norman church. I cannot doubt that the dimensions of the nave were determined by those of the original church of Ealdhelm. I see no remains of the earliest building. Here is nothing earlier than Roger's time, 1122. But bear in mind that, as it is a remarkable thing for a church of the eighth century to be standing now, it was almost as remarkable for a church of the eighth century to be standing in the twelfth. Ealdhelm's church lived through a great many periods of church building. It lived through the days of Eadgar, Cnut, the Confessor, and the Conqueror—theirs were all great church-building times—and it lived on into the reign of Henry I. Then you get the present minster. It starts afresh as an abbey at that date. Then we come to this building at the west, built no doubt late in the fourteenth century. Thereby hangs the very curious story which is to be seen in all the Histories of Sherborne. Professor Willis gives it at full length. You read that there was a dispute between the monks and the parishioners in 1436. Up to that time the nave of the minster was "the chief parish church." Those words would seem to imply that there was some other building belonging to the parish; and, according to Professor Willis, this western building called the Chapel of All-hallows had been built up at the west end of the monastic church, as a chapel belonging to the parish, though the parish still kept some right in the nave of the minster. It often happened that the constructive

nave of a minster was the parish church, while the eastern part only belonged to the monks or canons; and this is the reason why, in many cases, the eastern part of the church has gone, while the nave is still standing. If you want to see the whole thing in perfection, to see the monastic church and the parish church absolutely untouched, you can do so at Dunster. But, if you would do so, you must make haste, for Dunster is being "restored," which means being destroyed. They are going to move the high altar of the parish church from its old place, and stick it up against the eastern wall, thus destroying the whole history of the building. Sherborne Church has passed through many changes. As to the modern restoration, Professor Willis seems to have approved of it in all points but one, namely, the treatment of the south porch. In the fifteenth century they made the upper story of the porch to fit on to the aisle. They made an addition to the Norman porch, and carried a parapet round it to match that of the aisle. Then come the modern restoration people, and they find out that the Perpendicular is all very bad, and ought to be swept away; and so the perfect and harmonious design into which the fifteenth century people worked the whole building is smashed, and the porch made as it is now. That change both Mr. Petit and Professor Willis have spoken very strongly against, and I think anybody who cared for the porch would so speak. But in every other respect Professor Willis speaks well of the restoration; and when Professor Willis speaks well of a restoration, you may be sure there is not much fault to be found with it. Now we come to this Chapel of Allhallows. It appears that, after its building, the parishioners still kept some right in the nave of the minster. In 1435, or thereabouts, a great question arose between the parishioners

and the monks. The parishioners, it seems, had set up a font in the Chapel of Allhallows; this the monks looked on as a breach of their privileges; they held that all children born within the parish of Sherborne ought to be baptized in the nave of the minster. There was a quarrel also about another thing. The monks had narrowed a door which led from Allhallows into the minster. The Bishop of Salisbury was appealed to, and he came down and gave judgement, first, that the new font was to be destroyed—so far, that was in favour of the monks—but he also ordered that the door should be made the same width as before. That order does not seem to have been obeyed, for the original Norman doorway is there, much wider than the Perpendicular one which has been made within it. You can easily see what this Chapel of Allhallows was like. It was a good sized building, with a nave and aisle; a choir was not likely to be made within it till after what happened next. For the dispute between the monks and the parishioners went on, and it would seem that the parish priest was very zealous on the side of his parishioners. A secular priest, of course, would be more at enmity with the monks than any layman. This zealous priest got up on the roof of Allhallows, and shot "a fiery arrow" towards the tower; the eastern part of the church caught fire, and was burned down, and rebuilt soon after 1437. It would seem that after this the parishioners must have lost their right in the nave of the minster, and Allhallows must have become the only parish church. When the monasteries were suppressed, it often happened that the monastic church came into the hands of some one who was not bent upon destruction; sometimes he gave, and sometimes he sold, the church to the parishioners. In this case the parishioners bought the church

of the grantee, and, having got so much finer a building into their hands, they let the old Allhallows go to ruin, and took possession of the monastic church for themselves. Such then is the general history of the building. You can mark the great height of the clerestory; the original height of the Norman church can be seen by the transepts, which were not raised. The pinnacles are small, and this falls in with the general look of the building. The tower, though Perpendicular, has something about it of the air of the Norman tower which it supplanted, and whose proportions it seems on the whole to have kept. The monastic buildings lie on the north of the church.

On entering the church, Mr. FREEMAN observed that the church of Ealdhelm had utterly vanished. Of the church of Roger, he said, we have but a small portion; the whole was largely recast in the fifteenth century. But it is plain that Roger built a Norman church of the ordinary type, and put the stalls of the monks under the central tower. For we can see that the eastern and western arches were given as little projection as possible. Of these the fifteenth century people cut away the eastern arch altogether, but they left the western. If you compare the western arch with those to the north and south, you will see how much wider the one is than the other. It is not that the tower is not square; the difference is in the projection of the piers. On the north and south sides the piers have great projection, consequently the arch is much narrower; and some shift or other had to be made, in order to bring the springings and the tops of the arches of different widths to range with one another. If it had been done a generation after Roger, they would probably have made the northern and southern arches pointed, and have left the eastern and western arches, which are wider, still

round. Here the arches were brought to the same level by stilting the narrower pair. This shews that, although Roger was introducing a new style, he had not got as far as to use pointed arches. His eastern limb must have been about the same size as the present one, of three bays. In the greater churches it is commonly of four bays; Norwich, and Peterborough, and Ely all have four. Here, in a somewhat smaller church, there were three. Whether there was an apse or a square end, I cannot say. Most of the churches of that date had apses, but some had square ends, like Old Sarum. The transepts were left by the remodellers of the fifteenth century at their original height. At the east end of the transepts we might have expected to find one or more small apses, but Roger does not seem to have made them. At the eastern end of the north transept he seems to have made a square substitute for an apse. Next some thirteenth century additions were made to the church. The Lady Chapel was now added. You will understand that the procession-path ran round the high altar, as it always did. Go round behind the high altar, and you will see that it led to the Lady Chapel, which is now taken into the school buildings. In the thirteenth century another little chapel was also added on the other side of the aisle. Go there, and you will see a large piece of the outside of Roger's work; and you will see how very like it is to his work in the Castle. The addition of the chapel has now brought this outside work within the church. Besides these additions, no great change seems to have been made till after the disputes of the fifteenth century. Between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries the body of the building remained much as it was first built, though additions were made at both ends. But after the disturbance in the

fifteenth century the whole minster was rebuilt. Now I had always taken for granted that in the eastern part of the church the Norman pillars were cased by the Perpendicular builders, in somewhat the same way as at Gloucester; and I had always fancied that the extraordinary bigness of these piers was due to their having the Norman piers within them. It struck me that a builder of the Perpendicular period would not have made his piers of that bigness, unless he was driven to do so by some special cause. It is not so at Bath or at St. Mary Redcliff. The general style of this church is very like St. Mary Redcliff. Bath is later, and more meagre. The principal difference is in the size of the pillars. I had therefore always supposed that they were the Norman pillars cased. However, Professor Willis says that it was not so. At all events, mark how the style is influenced by the great size of the piers. The great height of the clerestory comes out strongly, but not so strongly as at Christchurch. In that church, to walk from the nave into the choir is like walking into a college chapel. Then comes, somewhat later, the building of the nave. At the first respond on each side you may see a great piece of the Norman pillar. Professor Willis holds that the pillars of the nave are simply the Norman pillars cased. Above the string-course they built freely after their own plan. Everybody must admire the vaulting of the choir, of the finest fan-tracery. Now bear generally in mind the history of the church:—The choir, of course, was under the tower; then, at one time, the parish was in possession of the western limb, which afterwards the monks got back again; then came the rebuilding of the eastern part; then the rebuilding of the western; leaving only those small remains of the original church which are seen under the

tower. And also bear in mind that this minster that we stand in now came at the Dissolution into the hands of the Crown; that it was granted out, like a barn or anything else, and that it became a parish church, because the parishioners here had, as they had at Tewkesbury, the public spirit to buy it; whereas at Bath the parishioners had not the public spirit to buy the church when it was offered to them. Therefore Bath Abbey stood roofless and empty for a good many years, until Bishop Montagu bought it and set it up again. So much depended upon the character of the men into whose hands the monastic churches fell. In this case the grantee, if not disposed to give, was at least disposed to sell, and not to destroy.

After a vote of thanks to Mr. Freeman for his interesting remarks, the party spent some time in the church.

The Abbey Buildings

were next visited, under the guidance of Mr. R. Herbert Carpenter, who first read a paper on their former and present uses, and then led the party round the buildings. The substance of the explanation, which Mr. Carpenter offered to the Society and which he has revised since the meeting, was as follows :—

The "King's School" was founded by letters patent bearing date May 13th, 1550, the fourth year of King Edward VI, and rather more than eleven years after the resignation of the Abbey by Abbot Barnstaple, (it is, however, doubtful whether the first school founded by the King was here at Sherborne, or at Bury St. Edmunds); he endowed his foundation with lands and houses belonging to the lately suppressed chantries at Martock, Ilminster, Thornton, and Lytchett Matravers, and arranged that its revenues should be administered by twenty inhabitants of

the parish of Sherborne, as a Corporation with a common seal, and to them was given the right of making statutes for the school, subject to the consent of the Bishop of Bristol for the time being.

In 1550 the first head master, Mr. Myddelton, was appointed, but it is uncertain in what buildings the school was opened, as it was not until 1554 that Sir John Horsey, of Clifton Maybank, conveyed to the Master and Brethren of S. John's House (who were ex-officio Governors of the King's School), the Lady Chapel, and the Chapel of S. Mary-le-Bow, together with the Abbey dormitory, Chapter-house, Prior's house, and some other buildings, in order that they might be utilised for the purposes of the the new school.

It is a subject of great interest to try and determine as nearly as possible what was the original plan of these abbey buildings, some of which still remain, while others are destroyed; and after careful study of them, and by comparing them with the plans of other Benedictine Monasteries, I believe that the block plan which I have drawn as nearly as possible represents a restoration of them, for the information about Benedictine Abbeys is very meagre compared with that about Cistercian Abbeys, the plans of which can be restored with almost certainty. I must here gratefully acknowledge the very valuable notes and suggestions sent to me by the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott and Mr. E. Sharpe, by which I have been enabled in a measure to clear up not a few difficulties and to throw some light on disputed points.

The principal buildings of a Benedictine Abbey were always grouped round the cloister garth, which was as a rule on the south side of the church; at Sherborne, however, the cloister is on the north, as it is also at Canterbury,

Lincoln, St. David's, Chester, Gloucester, Buildwas, Milton Abbas, Tintern, Magdalen College, Oxford, and in some continental instances, as Pontigny.

Here, in the centre of the garth, was a fountain within the hexagonal groined structure known as "The Conduit," now standing in the town; it was also used as at Durham and Canterbury for a lavatory.

The cloister had on each side eight bays of groining, with six windows in each alley into the garth. It was of 15th century construction, built into walls of an earlier date. The south wall I consider is Norman; it forms the north wall of the north aisle of the church, and is, together with the lower part of the west wall, the porches, the tower piers, south transept, and part of the north wall of the choir aisle, the only remains of the church built by Bishop Roger; for I am unable to accept the theory advanced by Professor Willis and adopted by Mr. E. Freeman, that the Norman nave piers are cased up within the 15th century piers, my reason being that there is not sufficient height for the rise of a semicircular arch from them between the two string courses, of which portions remain in the western tower pier; the lower one is the level of the abacus, while the upper one was continuous over the tops of what must have been low small arches of greater number and placed closer together than the later 15th century piers and arches are. The north walk of the cloister abutted on a Norman substructure which was built in a line not parallel with the church, and thus resulted the irregular plan of the court. The cloisters were groined in fan groining, very similar to the western chapel of the south transept, the springing stones, wall ribs and shafts remain more or less mutilated in the south and west walls, and it will be noticed these springers and bosses are executed in soft Tisbury stone,

while the rest is in harder Ham Hill or Sherborne stone. The destruction of the cloisters probably is due to Fairfax; and I may here mention that in the contemplated new works it is our intention to rebuild the western alley.

On the east side of the cloister, and forming a continuation of the north transept, stood the dormitory of the monks. This invariably adjoined the church, for the convenience of those attending the night services; stairs being often found existing, as at Tintern, into the transept from the dormitory itself.

Under the dormitory, or projecting eastwards from it, would be the chapter-house, probably square or oblong in plan, entered from a vestibule on its west side. There would also be the parlour calefactory and monks' day room with the slype or passage to the cemetery; this slype still exists, and it is of 13th century date (its western end is now blocked up by a buttress built in 1560); over it is a portion of the dormitory with a single light window, the outside of which is modernized.

Beyond this dormitory block, eastwards, it is said the Prior's house and garden were, and there is little doubt the infirmary also, as at Canterbury, Winchester, Peterborough, Westminster, and Ely, but of it no traces exist. We find that at Canterbury the Prior lived east of the cloister near the "Green yard," and at Gloucester his lodge was on the west side; at Sherborne, owing perhaps to the parish church of All Hallows being on the west of the abbey church, the eastern side would be more convenient; at Ely the Prior's house and chapel are west of the cloister.

We now come to the consideration of the buildings on the north side of the cloisters, and here we find a large low block (now used as studies) with its north side of 15th century date; the east and south are modern; there is a fine

old chimney with panels carved with the symbols of the Evangelists, and there are two stories of two-light windows, and a very fine doorway with canopy and niches above it. This, there is no doubt, was the Abbot's lodge, and the doorway was his northern entrance; on the left of it, in the projecting octagonal block were the stairs to the upper floor (there were not originally so many windows as now), and on its roof are some fine gurgoyles like those of the Abbey church. In some instances the Abbot's lodge adjoined the church, but at Tynemouth it is north-west, and at Eastby and Castle Acre it is north of the north transept. The great chimney was that of the Abbey kitchen.

Next to the northern entrance there was (according to Hutchings), before the restoration of 1853, the original porter's doorway and hatch remaining; after passing by this, the doorway to the western alley of the cloister would be immediately opposite.

Next to the Abbot's lodge, and westward of it, is a very fine building of the 15th century date, on a substructure (before alluded to) of late Norman work. Much of this building is now modern, and is consecrated as the Chapel, and its proportions are the same as they were before (excepting the two westernmost bays, which are a more modern addition); but at least four bays and one of the low pillars of the substructure are ancient, not having been rebuilt, and the magnificent roof was simply replaced on the new walls. The windows are all modern, and formerly there must have been some building on its north side, the ancient doorway to which is carefully replaced as before on the upper level. This Norman substructure or crypt would have been used for cellars, malt house or storage. At Ely these substructures are most extensive and could not well have been used for any other than such like purposes.

Now concerning the former use of the grand hall over the crypt I can speak almost confidently, but will consider it together with the buildings on the west side of the cloister. I will here draw attention to the plan, by which it will be seen that between this building and the dormitory there is a space almost equal in length to the north alley of the cloister. Now at Chester and Gloucester the refectory occupied this position, at Westminster it was in the same relative position to the cloister, and at Ely, it is likely that, it either adjoined, or is partially included in the present deanery. I therefore am disposed to place the refectory here, supposing that it was destroyed with the dormitory for the sake of its materials, as it stood on the ground conveyed by Sir John Horsey to the school, while those buildings which now remain doubtless owe their preservation to their not having been so conveyed.

We now come to the buildings on the west side of the cloister, and here we find another fine 15th century hall, on a substructure of undoubtedly 13th century date.[1] This substructure was reached by a small doorway (now blocked up) from the Norman crypt before spoken of. This block was not taken down and rebuilt, but the windows were repaired and added to in number, and the present flying buttresses were added, as well as two small ones on the west side. We therefore see this building as it was—except for the removal at some period of a small adjoining block on its west side. It has a very fine roof, somewhat similar to that of the other hall; but it is curious to notice that the three northern bays are of simpler detail than the others, and may indicate the former existence of a partition. The great flight of steps to this upper hall are modern, and the only ancient stairs to it which still exist are in a circular

(1). There were before the works of 1853 some lancet windows in the north wall.

turret at its south-east angle; there is a doorway at the foot of the stairs, opening into the southern alley of the cloister, and also a doorway into a former upper storey of this cloister. The stairs are lighted by what appears to be a 13th century window.

This building has been called "Refectory," "Hospitium," "Guesten Hall," and "Domus Conversorum,"[2] so it is im-

(2). For the following extracts I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Mackenzie Walcott, they bear upon the position in a monastery, of lay brothers, "conversi," and servants :—By the LXVI. Chapter of the Rule, "Monasterium ita debet construi ut omnia necessaria, i. e. aqua, molendinum, hortus, pistrinum vel artes diversæ intra Monasterium exerceantur." By the Council of Aix 816, rubric 23, "Servitores non ad unam mensam sed in propriis locis refectionem Fratrum reficiantur quibus eadem lectis quæ Fratribus recitata est recitetur." By rubric 29, "Novices during probation served the Guests in Cella Hospitum," and by rubric 3, "in coquinâ in pistrino et in ceteris artium officinis propriis manibus monachi omnes operentur." And it is recorded that Theodanar Abbot of Monte Casino told Charlemagne "Pauci aut omnino nulli istius temporis monachi student more Patrum labori aut exercitu operis," shewing the necessity of lay brothers. At Westminster the servitors dined "sub gradû servitorum" in the refectory, after the monks had dined, with the kitchener or sub-kitchener sitting at the head of the table, or else a priest or deacon. The novices sat in hall at the two lowest tables. As regards "conversi," the chronicle of Evesham terms them "Fratres vocati conversi," and they had charge of the Manors of the Vale. At Abingdon the conversi acted as thuriblers in the choir. At Meaux in the 13th century, it is recorded that the conversi proved troublesome, and the Abbot sent them to "officio servientium custodiis porcorum animalium!" and in the 14th century "Conversi omnes de monasterio defecerunt," the monks taking their place and duties. At Canterbury the servants had their meals after the convent in Hall. At S. Gall the places of meals were the Refectory, Infirmary, Guest House, and Abbot's Lodge, the monks having one dormitory and one refectory. At Evesham, Westminster, and Bury St. Edmunds there was a long list of "Servientes qui monachis ministrare tenentur." At Rochester the servants included, the porter, two cooks, two butlers, tailors, laundrymen, &c., these were in the Bishop's gift. (Angl. Sacr. I. 359). We may gather from these extracts that the conversi or lay brothers acted as delegates of the monks in their duties, that they possibly dined in the same refectory as the monks, no other being mentioned, but had their own separate dormitory as in Cistercian Monasteries. Also that the servants were a distinct class, had defined duties, and that they dined in the refectory after the monks.

portant to try to arrive at its correct designation. Referring to other Benedictine houses and to Cistercian houses, we find at Chester in the time of the Dissolution, the buildings on the west side were described as "Abbot's Hall," and "Stranger's Hall." At St. Alban's the "Abbot's Lodge," and "Guest Houses," adjoined the West Alley. At Norwich there was a door of the so-called "Guest Hall" in the West Alley. At Winchester the "Stranger's Hall" was on this side. At S. Gall there are three lines of buildings on the west side: 1. The cellarage. 2. Guest house, offices and workshops: and 3. The servants' buildings. At Battle, on the west side is the dormitory of the "conversi;" so also at Fountains and Beaulieu.

In Cistercian Monasteries, such as Fountains, we find the "Domus conversorum" stood on the west side of the cloisters, and that there was on the west side of the "Domus" a projecting building which formed a porter's lodge and staircase; there are the roof lines of such a building at Sherborne, but on the other hand the building here is of such grand proportions and has such fine windows and a roof of so noble a design, that it is difficult to believe that it was only a dormitory of the conversi, but, if it is not the "Domus conversorum," we must consider it as the "Guesten Hall," though we should have to put aside the probability and tradition that the building near the east gateway (which was sold for £10 to the town) was the Guest House and almonry, instead of being the almonry alone, as it would in that case be.

As an additional support to the first theory, the other great hall near the Abbot's Lodge being certainly neither "Guest House" nor "Domus conversorum," nor refectory, I should without hesitation pronounce it to be the Abbot's Hall, for there is a fine example of this hall at Battle

Abbey which is in plan singularly like Sherborne; there the Abbot's Hall, 51 ft. by 37 ft., is on a basement, together with the solar, 50 ft. by 22 ft., reached from the porch by a staircase, identical in plan to that which existed here, and adjoining these on a substructure was almost without doubt the "Domus conversorum;" the Guest House at Battle is a detached building and near the gateway as at Ely.

We now come to the remaining or southern alley of the cloister, which had an upper storey, reached from a doorway opening out of the circular stair turret, before described. It is possible that this was the library, though if a piscina is in its original position, it indicates a chapel over a part of it. At Westminster, Chester, Salisbury, and Wenlock there are rooms over the cloister.

There is no door from this cloister into the church, *possibly* the arched recess on the inside of the north aisle may have been one, but if so, the groining of the cloister must have been specially treated on a corbel, or otherwise the shaft would stand in the centre of the doorway; there was, before the restoration of the nave, a doorway in the west wall of the north transept; it is now blocked up, but I am inclined to think there must have been an ancient doorway there, as at Ely for instance. It will be noticed that the four-light second Pointed windows in the north aisle wall come below the levels of the groining, but these are modern, and were put in by Mr. R. C. Carpenter; one in place of an old and similar window which must have been blocked up by the upper story over the cloister; the three great buttresses too are modern additions.

There was evidence before the work of 1853, that this upper storey was as high as the adjoining building, for the cornice returned just over where the wall joined the other

at right angles; this cornice *now* runs on to the south gable, therefore it is important that this alteration should be noticed.

The ancient Early English Lady Chapel was of three bays in length, with chapels on each side of one bay, similar to the choir aisle, they were separated from the ambulatory by stone screens, parts of which remain. The fan groining of one chapel, and the western bay of the Lady Chapel, with its rich painted and gilded carving, are still perfect, but the rest has disappeared; for about eight years after Sir John Horsey conveyed this to the school, the governors converted the chapels into a head master's house, building new outer walls; the south wall is surmounted by the royal arms, below which are the arms of Bishop Jewel of Salisbury, Horsey of Clifton-Maybank, Lewston of Lewston, Mullins of West Hall, and Thornhill of Thornhill.[3]

In 1670 the school room was built, and the block of buildings next to it.

In 1835 the block of buildings known as the "Bell Buildings" was erected.

Up to 1853 these buildings, and some mean modern erections against the present vestry and north aisle of the choir, served for school purposes, but in that year the late Earl Digby presented to the King's School the block of abbey buildings which I have described, then used as silk mills. These buildings had been grievously mutilated;

(3). At one time it was in the mind of Mr. G. D. W. Digby to rebuild the lost bays of the Lady Chapel, and restore it, and its adjoining chapels, as a Morning Prayer Chapel, and plans were prepared for it by the late Mr. Slater. The house was conveyed to Mr. Digby in consideration of a sum of money which was expended in providing the new house for the head master.

floors had been inserted at the level of the wall plates, and the roofs cut through for dormer windows.

The restoration of these ancient buildings was put into the hands of my father, the late R. C. Carpenter, and about £5,000 was expended on the work. The western building became the school room, and a new outside stairs was erected to reach it, and three massive flying buttresses were then built, and the lower storey was converted into class rooms, with new windows inserted. The Abbot's hall was rebuilt, as the chapel with the crypt below it, but there was left intact the original pier and bays of groining before-mentioned, and also the ancient doorway on the north side. There were no ancient windows in the crypt, the present ones are fac-similes of those in Boxgrove Abbey.

The Abbot's Lodge was converted into studies, and, excepting the north wall, was entirely rebuilt, and the fine entrance doorway was very carefully reproduced.

With regard to the subsequent new works, there was erected a new head master's house, dormitories, day room, and library for boys, which cost about £4,500, from Mr. Slater's designs, and at the same time some alterations were made in the old "Bell Buildings," to convert them into offices for the new buildings.

In 1865 the chapel and cloisters were extended two bays towards the west, the details of the original work being reproduced.

In 1870 the new class room block was erected from the designs of Mr. Slater and myself; it forms the west side of the new quadrangle, of which the chapel, school room, and Allhallow's Church are the other sides; this building is also used for science and art purposes.

During the past year some old factory buildings were

converted into laboratories, music room, museum, and workshops; a new swimming bath has been built, and the road diverted in order to prepare for the great works to be undertaken in 1876 and onwards.

And now, after having traced back the history of the Abbey from the present time to the 11th century, and having made ourselves acquainted with its various buildings, we must feel that its history is a most exceptional one, for it was anciently a centre of learning and education, and it still remains as the great central school of the west of England, with hardly a break in the continuity of its existence; its ancient buildings even still remain and serve for a kindred purpose, as of old; its grand church, too, is as perfect as on that still observed Monday when the masons left their work complete.

From the suppressed abbeys some cathedral foundations sprung, and to them Oxford and Cambridge owe much; most of them are in ruins, but by their decay they testify to that mistaken policy of destroying instead of reforming and adapting them to the educational wants of later and more enlightened ages. That policy did not prevail at Sherborne, and for that reason we must value those buildings which join so many centuries of thought and learning to us.

Mr. PARKER disagreed with some of Mr. Carpenter's opinions, and more especially considered that he was mistaken in what he said about the Domus Conversorum and the Abbot's Hall. The party passed somewhat rapidly through the buildings, and little discussion took place. The Vicarage which was next visited is a pretty Perpendicular building. It has been much altered and rearranged to suit modern convenience. It once, as Mr. Parker

pointed out, contained a fine hall of the height of the whole building.

The Alms House,

or the Hospital of St. John, is a building of the middle of the 15th century. The present chapel is only the chancel of the older chapel. The western part is now turned into a hall, with a dormitory above it. This hall and dormitory are together the height of the present chapel or *sacrarium*, and are divided off by a screen. This arrangement enabled the sick brethren to see the elevated host, and to join in the devotion of those who were in health without leaving their beds.

Mr. PARKER remarked that the seats in the present chapel cumbered it sadly, and were much out of place, as it was not designed for a congregation, however small, but only for the officiating priest.

Mr. DICKINSON said that in some nunneries he had seen the same arrangement, and that then the upper storey was used by the nuns.

In one of the rooms there is a powerfully painted triptych, representing three of the miracles of our Lord. It is said that it was executed by an Italian painter, resident in England, expressly for this building.

Rev. W. HUNT considered that it was earlier than the building, and put it down to some Tuscan artist of the earliest part of the 15th century. He remarked on the connexion between England and Florence during the reign of Edward III, and the effect which this connexion had in calling out a taste for the art of painting in England.

Almost exactly at one o'clock the party to the number of 150 left for the first Excursion, and made a halt first at

Bradford Abbas Church.

Mr. CARPENTER said that this church was given to the abbot of Sherborne by a Bull of Eugenius III, and that after the Dissolution the right of presentation passed to Sir John Horsey, of Clifton. In the north aisle are a piscina and a hagioscope, and in the south aisle a chantry chapel. The roof is a curious and ungraceful mass of timber, ornamented with the roses of York and Lancaster. There was a fine old stone rood-screen, which has been much tampered with of late years; the lower part only is in its original state.

Mr. PARKER said that it was a strange thing that the squint commanding the high-altar was blocked up, while that which commanded the south aisle altar was still open. It was a fine church of the 15th century. The tower was especially worthy of notice. It was of a Somersetshire type, divided into four compartments. Two of the images on the western side of the tower have escaped Puritan destruction, the central image is probably the patron of the church, though it seems to have a crowned head. The churchyard cross is fine and unusually perfect. Two corbels of the north side of the chancel seem to represent a king and queen. On the south side the chantry chapel is rich and uncommon. Over the doorway is a pretty niche. The gurgoyles are grotesque and various. The font Mr. Parker observed to be raised too high, and he strongly recommended that it should be lowered.

At a distance of less than a mile from this church stands the

Manor House of Clifton Maybank,

or Maubank. This house has been much mutilated. The remaining wing was, Mr. Parker said, built by the Horsey

family in the reign of Henry VII. An oriel window, decorated in the lower part with boldly-cut quatrefoils, adorns one of the gables.

Rev. F. Brown said that this was the original Manor House of the Horseys, who inherited it from the Maubanks. The will of John Horsey, dated 1521, requested that the testator might be buried in the Church of *Eatminster*, and remembered there in prayer continually. His son, Sir John Horsey, obtained a grant of the Abbey Church and some of the lands of Sherborne, and sold the church to the parishioners for £320; he also sold some of the abbey lands to the governors of the new school. He was succeeded by a second and a third Sir John Horsey. All three were buried in the Sherborne Abbey Church. The last Sir John married one of the Howards of Bindon, and, as a second wife, Lady Dorothy Speke. He died without issue, and his property went to a distant relation, Sir Ralph Horsey of Hertfordshire. After some years the property passed to the Harveys. The whole Horsey family came to decay, and nothing certain is known of them. There are persons of the name living in Martin in Wiltshire.

Dr. Goodford said that there were Horseys now living in Clifton.

Rev. W. Hunt pointed out the terrace surrounding the bowling green and pleasure ground.

Mr. J. Batten observed that Clifton was interesting from its connexion with one of the Danish ravages in this country, recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The Danes, in the year 1001, appear to have landed on the Hampshire coast, and after several engagements in that county they went west into Devonshire, where they burned Teignton and other towns. The Chronicle then goes on

—"And they went thence to Exmouth so that they proceeded upwards in one course until they came to Pen—and there Cole the King's high-reve and Edsy the King's reve went against them with the forces which they were able to gather together, and they were there put to flight, and there were many slain, and the Danish-men had possession of the place of carnage. And the morning after they burned the village of Pen and at Clifton and also many goodly towns which we are unable to name and then went again east until they came to the Isle of Wight." Another text of the Chronicle, speaking of the same battle, says:—"There was collected a vast force of the people of Devon and of the people of Somerset, and they then came together at Pen, and, so soon as they joined battle, then the people gave way, and there they [the Danes] made great slaughter, and then they rode over the land." Gibson (in his notes to Camden) and Collinson, both erroneously, Mr. Batten thought, fix the scene of this battle at Pen near Wincanton, now called Pen-Selwood. This Pen is no doubt the "Peonna" of the battle with the Bretwallas in 658; and the later battle, in 1016, is expressly recorded to have been fought at Pen near Gillingham (which is in the immediate neighbourhood of Pen-Selwood), and these writers, he imagined, hastily concluded that the intermediate one also occurred at the same place. But, had they paid more attention to the account, they would have seen that the battle field of 1001 must have been Pen near a village of Clifton—so near that the conquerors were able to reach and burn that village the next morning in their one course eastward; and, moreover, that it must have been a place not far from the confines of Devon, as the men of that county were collected in great numbers to assist in the defence. It

might also have occurred to them that the Pen of 1016 was said to be near Gillingham to distinguish it from the Pen of 1001, which was sufficiently identified by its contiguity to Clifton. Gibson, in his edition of the Chronicle, so far rectifies the error, that in the index of places he fixes Pen as four miles distant from Clifton, but does not mention two villages of that name. Whereupon Hutchins, in his account of Clifton—having his eye towards Gillingham—states roundly, "it is a mistake it being nearly twenty," and adds, "This looks as if there was a place of the same name near Pen, but we do not find it in any of the maps." Now, if he had tried the converse case, and looked for Pen near Clifton, or had walked to the top of this field, and asked a native the name of the commanding hill lying about four miles south-west of him, he would have found it was *Pen* Hill; and that sheltered under it was Pen Village—now called *Pen*-domer, from its ancient lords, the Domeras or Dummers. For these reasons Mr. Batten submitted that the battle of 1001 was fought at Pendomer, and not at Penselwood.

Dr. GOODFORD spoke of the panelled work of the Manor House, which, he said, had been carried away to Montacute, where it now forms a screen.

The church of Clifton stood outside the gate of the Manor House; it has now quite disappeared.

Melbury House,

the seat of Lord Ilchester, was next visited. The party assembled in the library, a handsome room, which has lately been built in the form of a college hall, under the direction of Mr. Salvin. Here Mr. Parker first read some quotations concerning the history of the house from Leland and Coker, and one from Hutchins written by

the late Earl in 1858. From these it appeared that there was now no building left of earlier date than the 15th century.

Mr. PARKER explained the plan of the house, from a drawing prepared by Mr. Holdernesse, the clerk of the works. He said that the form was that of three limbs of a cross—the stem wanting. The plan seems to be unique. The lower part of the tower is square, and contains a stone staircase, with a peculiar, long, narrow window in the angle; which is scarcely seen, and yet gives light enough. The upper part of the tower is octagonal, with a lantern chamber at the top. The way in which the change from the square to the octagon is managed, and the peculiar and picturesque room with the squimches across the angles, and an original fire-place, is very ingenious and clever. Some of the offices are of the time of James I, with imitations of the original gables and bay windows. Large additions were made to the house in the reign of Queen Anne. They run parallel to the original front of the house, and are of the same length.

The house contains a fine collection of paintings by Rembrandt, Canaletti, Salvator Rosa, and Rubens; also a noteworthy picture painted by Hogarth. The replica of Queen Elizabeth's progress hangs in the dining-room.

In a slight hollow near the house is

Melbury Sampford Church.

It is cruciform in shape, and of very small size. It is of the reign of Henry VIII.

Mr. PARKER said that the tower over the crossing was once open to the church as a lantern. Lord Ilchester proposes to restore this feature, and to add another bay to the nave, which is at present shorter than the choir. It is possible that the church is of a little earlier date than the

house—the material is different, and the work is rather more rude and plain. The church is full of canopied and other tombs. There is a small statue by Chantry in the chancel, and some well-cut woodwork of the Renaissance age.

The drive home was through the Blackmore Vale, and, on the way, a visit was paid to

Yetminster Church.

On the outside of the building are many consecration crosses, most of them very perfect; one is placed on the apex of the west window, which is a very unusual position. The church is perfectly unrestored. It has a handsomely-painted, but decaying wooden roof, and is full of mouldering oak pews.

Mr. PARKER pointed out traces of a very large rood loft. This loft, platform, or gallery evidently stretched over the whole of the eastern bay of the nave, and of the two side aisles. There are traces of a wooden staircase to it having wound round the north-east column of the nave, the stone of which has been cut away in places in order to fit the staircase to it. There were three altars upon this loft. One in the centre, with two windows to give it light over the chancel arch; the one at the south end had one window, and that at the north two windows. These altars at the ends were doubtless chantry altars. The central altar was probably dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. There were two other chantry altars under the rood loft. The Epistle and Gospel were often read from the loft.

The eastern compartment of the nave roof has been plastered and white-washed by the zeal of churchwardens; the walls of the little chancel have also been coloured in a fearful and wonderful manner by other hands.

The party were provided with refreshments by the kindness of the Vicar. Sherborne was reached at about seven o'clock, and a large company dined together at the Digby Hotel.

The Evening Meeting

was thinly attended.

Rev. W. HUNT said that he had received a paper from Professor Buckman on the geology of the district, and, he was sorry to say that, severe indisposition prevented the writer from being with them that evening. With the sanction of the President, he begged to hand the paper to the Rev. H. Winwood, and begged him to read it, either in whole or in part.

Rev. H. WINWOOD stated the general line taken in the paper. He then took occasion to complain that too little attention was paid by the secretary in charge of the annual excursion to the interests of those who especially cared for Natural History, while everything was arranged to suit the tastes of the Archæological section. He considered that it was most lamentable that the Society should have thus been led to neglect visiting the Inferior Oolite Sands near Professor Buckman's house.

Rev. W. HUNT explained that his colleague, Mr. Malet, and himself were anxious that the Natural History section should be as prominent as that of Archæology, but the fault lay with the geologists who belonged to the Society. Last year he succeeded in getting one paper only; this year, after some trouble, he was promised two papers, but only one of these was forthcoming. He spoke of his great admiration for Professor Buckman's talents, and regretted

his absence; and promised that if Mr. Winwood would in any way help the arrangements for the next meeting by procuring papers, or making suggestions for the excursions, every attention should be paid to his wishes.

Prof. Buckman's paper was then received, and the thanks of the Society voted to him for it.[1]

Mr. JOHN BATTEN read a paper on "Trent."[2]

Mr. G. T. CLARK said that he paid a visit to Trent Barrow with Mr. Dickinson, and that instead of a barrow they found a great hollow, and a pond in the middle of it. Had it been smaller he should have thought it artificial, but it was so gigantic that he thought that it must be natural. He hoped that when the Society visited it, as it was proposed to do to-morrow, some one would be able to decide what it was. He hoped that the President would allow an accurate plan to be made of it.

The PRESIDENT agreed to Mr. Clark's request, and said that it was a subject of great interest to him.

Mr. BATTEN felt some delicacy in speaking on so interesting a matter; but he might be allowed to remark that there was a general belief that Trent Barrow was an old marl pit.

Excursion: Thursday.

The Society met at the Digby Hotel at 10.30 a.m., and thence set out on the second day's Excursion. The first place visited was

Poyntington.

The place of gathering was the churchyard of the little parish church. When the party was seated on the grass

(1). Printed in Part II. (2). Printed in Part II.

Mr. O. W. MALET read a short memoir of "Sir Thomas Malet,"[3] one of his own ancestors, who resided in the village, and whose second son was there slain in a skirmish with the Parliamentary forces.

The Rector, the Rev. J. HEALE, next read a paper[4] on one of the old parish books which he had lately discovered.

The Rev. W. BARNES thought that the name of the village might be derived from some possible Peofa, whose descendants would bear the patronymic Peofingas. Their place of settlement would be called Peofington, and hence would come Poyntington. This derivation was however held to be somewhat groundless.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Malet and to the Rev. J. Heale for their papers. Some amusement was caused by the serious rebuke which the Rector administered to the Secretary in charge of the excursion, for spelling the name of the village with an *i* and not a *y*.

The party then went into the church, an interesting little building of several dates of architecture.

Mr. J. H. PARKER said that he made no doubt but that there was once a small Norman church there to which large additions had been made. The old cradle roof was very fine, and he hoped that it would be preserved, though it did cut off the tower arch in rather an awkward way. In his opinion the tower arch and window were of the time of Edward III, though he believed that many people gave them an earlier date: the plain chamfered arch was not uncommon then. There had been a chantry under the rood-loft, and a fourteenth century window had been curiously altered, and cut about, and filled in to fit the loft. The north wall of the church was no doubt Norman, and

(3). Printed in Part II. (4). Printed in Part II.

a decorated window had been let into it. The square headed windows were peculiar, but he saw no reason to doubt their being of the time of Edward III. The south porch was Norman. He could not protest too strongly against the grotesque caricature of a foreign gothic apse which had lately been put on to an old English parish church, and he feared that the nave would soon be destroyed under the pretence of what is called "restoration."

Mr. E. A. FREEMAN said that the carved capitals of the old doorway afforded a very good lesson of the way in which the earliest form of Norman capital grew into the latest. He said that he had heard words from the Rector which filled him with alarm; he had heard of a new north wall and a new porch. He supposed that it was intended that the whole place should be destroyed; so it was a great gain that they had an opportunity of seeing it now. What the original chancel was he did not know, but, when he saw the present one, he said at first that it was an apse which had swum over across the sea. On looking again, he saw that that could not be, for such windows never came from Germany, Italy, or France: yet they were not English. From the Peofa of Mr. Barnes on to the Ruskin of to-day, there was never an Englishman who could have made such a building as this apse. He begged them to keep up the memorials of the history of the church.

The Rev. J. HEALE said that he supposed that, neither Mr. Freeman or Mr. Parker would keep the window under the loft as it was.

Mr. FREEMAN said that he certainly would keep it, as he did not think that prettiness was every thing. He begged that the old porch might not be destroyed; it had stood 700 years; and even if they meant to put it up again just as it was, still he feared that when it was once down it

would never rise again quite the same. They should also, by all means, keep the north wall.

Rev. J. HEALE said that the wall was out of the perpendicular.

Mr. J. H. PARKER explained how the wall might be made perfectly safe and strong by "underpinning," and begged that it might be left alone.

The party next visited the old Manor house, where they were hospitably received by the occupier, Mr. Game.

Mr. J. H. PARKER said that the house was of the late Tudor period, with a gate-house forming an entrance to a quadrangular court. On the opposite side of the court are remains of the hall, and near the lower end of it was the kitchen—a detached building at the right hand corner of the court. The kitchen was once connected with the hall by a wooden passage which has been destroyed. The upper end of the hall, at the angle of the court, is connected with the cellar, and the solar over it, by a staircase in the corner. The cellar and the solar form another side of the court, and connect the hall with the gate-house. The fourth side was formed either by a boundary wall only, or perhaps by stables.

As to the pretty parsonage house adjoining the church, Mr. Parker said that he need only remark on the fine front, with four hall windows of the time of Henry IV. One window, in a gable, now blocked up, may be earlier. This window and the cellar under it he considered to be the oldest part of the house.

Sandford Orcas Church and Manor House

were next visited. Orcas is a corruption of Orescuiltz or Orskoys, a family who possessed the manor. The Church of St. Nicholas has a decorated chancel and an Early

English font, but its other parts are in the Perpendicular style. The south or manor aisle has a richly-carved roof, and contains the monument of William Knowle, 1607, whose family had possessions in this parish, temp. Ed. III. A Knoyle was sheriff of Dorset and Somerset, 1492. His family built the Manor House adjacent, temp. Hen. VIII, or early in the reign of Elizabeth. The gate-house[5] has a chimney with Ionic volutes, and the chimney of the parlour has a bold cabling on its cap. On the porch is a lozenge containing arms—Knoyle, *gules* on a bend, *argent*, 3 escallops *sable*, impaling (?) 3 horses courant. The same arms are painted on the east wall of the manor aisle. The hall has a good oak screen and large bay windows. Arms in glass:—1, Knoyle; 2, Knoyle impaling Martin of Athelhampton; 3, Knoyle impaling Payne. The drawing-room is over the hall, and the solar over the cellar. The inner porch has a good Perpendicular doorway. The manor and advowson passed by purchase in 1735 to John Hutchings, and the Manor House has been restored by his descendant, the present possessor.[6]

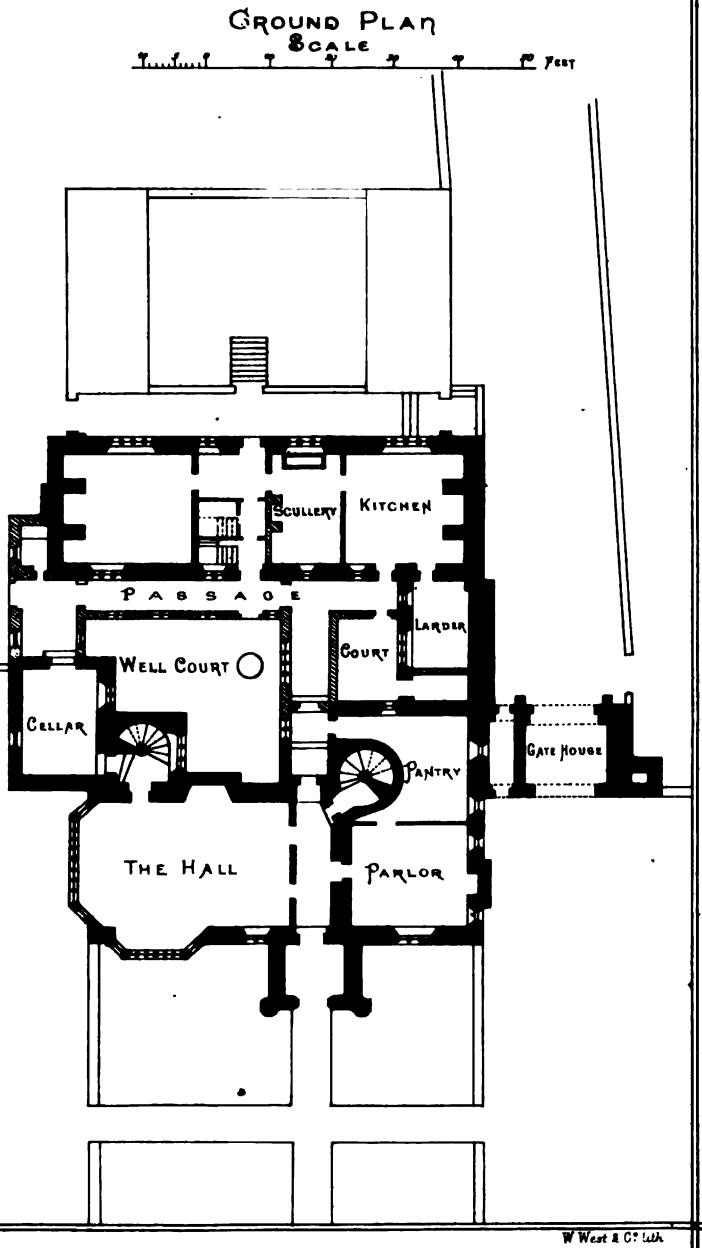
Mr. Hutchings conducted the party all over the Manor House, and gave a clear and interesting explanation of the buildings; he then kindly entertained his visitors.

Mr. J. H. PARKER observed that the house was of the same character throughout, and that it had been restored in a most scrupulous manner. He considered that the church had also been treated in a conscientious way, and that it was a real restoration.

(5). See ground plan.

(6). These remarks and the plan of Manor House have been kindly furnished by Mr. Hutchings, the Lord of the Manor, and the restorer of the church and house.

: The Manor House Sandford Orcas :



W West & Co. lith.

Chilton Cantelo

was next visited, and the Rector, the Rev. C. Goodford, the Provost of Eton, deputed Mr. J. H. Parker to speak on the work which he had carried out on the church.

Mr. J. H. PARKER said that the church had been admirably restored under Dr. Goodford. It was in such a bad state that it was absolutely necessary to rebuild it, but in the rebuilding every fragment of the old church, which could be preserved, had been conscientiously replaced in its old position: and the effect was so good that it was hard to believe how very much had been done in the last few years. It is, he said, an admirable instance of what real restoration is, and contrasts most favourably with what is commonly but falsely so called. Archæologists have gradually learned to hate the name of restoration, which is too often synonymous with the demolition of every old feature, and the substitution for them of some modern fancy. Dr. Goodford has shown what honest restoration really is; unfortunately such examples are very rare.

The Rev. PROVOST then spoke of the way in which different parts of the building had been treated, and also explained some curious mural paintings which he had found in the church, which illustrated the beautiful legend of the Assumption of the Virgin. He said the mural paintings in this church were discovered in the following way:—It was determined in 1864 to restore the church; it was found on examination that restoration must (with the exception of the tower) be rebuilding. The tower being of a much later date than the rest of the church was sound and solid, and could safely be let alone.

One main object kept in view was to retain all that was possible of the old features in the old places; in this view

I hope we may have been considered to have succeeded. The old Norman font, the piscina, the hagioscope, the simple old sedilia, the two windows in the north transept are stone for stone the original construction, carefully replaced in the exact spots from which they were temporarily removed. The screen required some repairs and a deal of scraping. The places of some stones, which project from the wall in the chancel and south transept, are to an inch what they were before, but I have never yet been able to obtain any explanation of their position and use, and I shall be greatly obliged to any one who will take the trouble to visit the church and give me instructions on this point. I have conjectured that they were brackets for images, but they are not all equally suitable for this purpose. I said just now the tower was let alone; this is not strictly true, we did not indeed restore it, but completed it, which the original architect never did. Out of the eight finials which now rise on the buttresses at the four corners of the tower one only had ever been put on; of the smaller ones at the top of the tower, none, though the shafts on which they were to stand were in all cases ready to receive them. The one which had been put up was fortunately a sufficient guide to us in making the rest; the original design was completed, and we venture to think that no one who knew the tower before, and has seen it since, can doubt the improvement.

Before the walls of the church were pulled down they were carefully scraped from white-wash, and it was in doing this in the north transept that the paintings, of which we have now to speak, were brought to light.

Under several coats of white-wash we came upon a smooth glazed surface, ornamented (wherever the subjects here exhibited did not interfere with it) with a diaper

pattern, consisting of quadrangular compartments, imitating masonry jointing, with a cinquefoil ornament in each; the quadrangular compartments measuring 10 x 6 ins. The same pattern is found on the south side of the choir of the well-known Church of St. Cross near Winchester, the lines there measuring 8½ x 6 ins. They are described, and a drawing of them given, in the *British Archæological Association Journal*, vi. p. 79—442; the ornament there being sometimes cinquefoil, sometimes quartrefoil. The same is found in Soberton Church in Hampshire, described in page 442 of the same volume. In the *Sussex Archæological Collection*, v. p. 213, this pattern is said to belong to the 11th century, which seems somewhat too old for the church at Chilton; the colour is in each case the same, a dark brown, as shewn in the fac-simile exhibited here.

Of the subject of the drawings now exhibited, there can, I think, be no doubt; they clearly represent the Death, Burial, Assumption, and Coronation of the Virgin Mary.

The whole of the history is of course legendary, and the legend runs as follows:—It relates that the Virgin Mary lived after the ascension of our Lord in the house of the Apostle St. John, on Mount Sion; that she reached the age, according to one account of sixty, according to another of seventy-two years; that as years advanced she was more and more filled with a longing to be with her glorified Son. While filled with these thoughts she was visited by the Angel Gabriel, who announced to her that she should pass through death to Paradise. St. John was brought by a whirlwind from Ephesus, where he was preaching, to the house in which the Virgin was, and some similar miraculous agency brought the other Apostles to the

same spot. While they were all assembled, expecting and lamenting her death, St. Peter at the head and St. John at the foot of the bed, our Lord appeared, and gave the Apostles directions to bear her body on a bier to the Valley of Jehosaphat, and to watch by it three days, when He promised to return; addressing our Lord, the Virgin said, "To Thee do I commend my spirit." Our Lord then took the soul, and bore it to Heaven; the Apostles placed the body on a bier, and were carrying it to burial, when the high priest and some other unbelieving Jews attempted to stop them. The high priest, who had laid his hands on the bier, was unable to remove them; some of his companions were struck helpless to the ground. At the end of the three days our Lord returned, according to his promise, restored the soul to the body, which he revived, the Virgin was borne by angels to Heaven, where our Lord received her, and placed a crown of gold upon her head.

This legend appears to be carefully followed in the paintings. The west wall of the chapel (for such I assume it to have been), on which the subject was continued from south to north, contained the figures as far as the two first that we come to bearing the poles; on the north wall, at right angles to this, were the two other bearers; then, on the western splay of the north window, were the recumbent figure, the two figures at the head and the five at the side; then came the north window, and the splay on the eastern side of it contained the figure with the hands uplifted, the two figures looking down upon it, and supporting it with drapery; then followed on the north wall the same figure, supported in the same way, with a third figure looking down from above, and extending its hand towards the supported figure. Then, on the east wall, the

two remaining figures; the rest of the wall to the angle was filled with the diaper pattern before described.

What I have said will, I hope, have made the arrangement of the figures on the wall plain to my hearers; the paintings ranged with the level of the bottom of the north window.

For explanation, we must, of course, refer to the legend as stated above; and in support of what may be said on this head, I would refer to Mrs. Jameson's *Legends of the Madonna*; to a paper in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. page 434; and to the 53rd vol. of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, page 547. The first-named work treats the subject with reference to art generally, the two latter have special reference to mural paintings in Chalgrove Church, Oxfordshire, on the same subject with those here; these it may be interesting to compare as we go on.

I would first remark that the figure of the Virgin, as repeatedly represented here, does not give the idea of the age which the legend states she had reached at the time of her death; but the artist no doubt followed the rule laid down by "Pictor Christianus Eruditus," he says that it is a great mistake to represent her as though her death were the result of age or sickness, she simply "amore languit," and should be represented with her eyes fixed on Heaven, her arms either extended towards it, or folded upon her breast, and she "pretiosis exornata vestibus, valde decora atque pulchra."

The first picture represents the visit of the Angel Gabriel, when the Virgin is usually represented in a sitting posture. In Chalgrove Church she is represented as standing, and the figure of the angel presenting to the Virgin a palm branch is in good preservation; here but slight traces of the angel remain. I should say that in

Chalgrove Church the subject runs from right to left, and forms two series, one above the other; not, as here, one continuous line. The next two figures I take to be those of the Virgin and of St. John, to whom she is announcing her coming death; it is possible that this part of the subject is omitted, and that these two figures belong to the death scene which follows, but I incline to the former idea from a comparison with the Chalgrove paintings, where there are two persons only at the bed. The other six in this picture are undoubtedly Apostles. The figure of our Lord taking the soul of the Virgin in the form of an infant is very distinct; a similar representation is found at Stagham Church in Sussex, where angels are conveying a soul to Heaven. (See *Sussex Archæological Collection*, xiii. p. 238.) Then follows the funeral procession, the bier borne by the Apostles—the two falling figures are clearly those of unbelieving Jews; the same number is represented in Chalgrove Church, where the high priest is fixed to the bier, as he possibly may have been here, though the figure is now lost. The next group contains the restoration of the Virgin to life, according to our Lord's promise; the tomb, you will observe, is arcaded below, as it is at Chalgrove, where the same peculiarity is to be observed of the tomb from which our Lord arises in a representation of the resurrection. The next two compartments represent the Virgin borne to Heaven by angels, and in the second received by our Lord. The whole concludes with her coronation by Him; the features of the two last figures are remarkably like those representing the same subject at Chalgrove, probably both were done at the same period, and the figures drawn from some common type.

While on the subject of the church, and of this chapel

in particular, I can hardly pass over what I spoke of in a letter to our Secretary as my single local curiosity—a skull which cannot be buried; the tradition is mentioned in Collinson, and still survives here. There is no doubt that a headless skeleton lies beneath the tomb stone of which Collinson speaks. This was ascertained at the time of the necessary demolition of the church. The conjecture is probable, from the date at which Mr. Brome was buried, that he took this precaution lest his head, like that of many others after the restoration, might be severed from his body and exposed to insult. I know of no instance of a similar kind, though I have endeavoured through *Notes and Queries* to obtain one. The founder of the chapel, I conceive, lies in a stone coffin which is below that of Mr. Brome. The arch over the tomb is thus mentioned in Symonds' *Diary*, printed for the Camden Society, 1859. "Saturday 20 July 1644 his Majestie marched from thence (*i.e.* from Bruton). The rendezvous was on the hill, Queen Camel being on the left, thence to Ivilchester that night, where his Majestie lay; the troop was quartered at Chilton two miles off. Chilton Church hath no armes in it; a flat coffin monument, playne, lyes within an arch under the north wall of the north chapel." The arch remains as Mr. Symonds saw it, the plain monument is covered by that of Theophilus Brome, the inscription and arms on which may be seen in Collinson's *History*.

The thanks of the Society were given to the Rev. Provost for his kind reception.

The Society paid the last visit of the meeting to

Trent,

and gathered in the beautiful little church.

Mr. J. H. PARKER said a few words inside the church. He called attention to the magnificent rood loft, left in its original state. The roof was not quite what he could wish; and, indeed, the interior throughout, though handsome, was not quite an example of restoration. The tower and spire were far more worth looking at than any thing inside the building.

Mr. J. BATTEN pointed out different coats of arms in illustration of his paper on Trent, which he read the evening before, and especially the curious genealogical trees on the soffit of the arch, dividing the north chapel from the nave.

The party was then bidden to lunch, and was entertained by the President with lavish hospitality in a great tent on the lawn of the old Manor House.

After luncheon several toasts were drunk. Among them was the health of the President, which was proposed by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who thanked him in the name of the Society for the able way in which he had fulfilled the duties of his office on that occasion, and for the magnificent manner with which he had entertained the Society.

After lunch another visit was paid to the church, and Mr. Freeman spoke of the tower and spire with great admiration. The old manor house, which contains the hiding place of Charles II, was also visited; and the other manor house, which formerly belonged to the Young family. A picturesque chantry-house adjoins the churchyard; and another chantry priest's house stands a little further from the church. Both these are of the Tudor period. The little village is full of natural and architectural beauty. It is to be regretted that the necessity of meeting trains, &c., cut short the visit of the Society. Much remains to

be seen, and perhaps another and less hurried visit may at a future day be paid to this most interesting spot.

Here the Society ended its twenty-sixth annual meeting, which was one of the pleasantest and most largely attended which had ever been held.

The Local Museum

was held in a small room of the Town Hall. Several very interesting objects were exhibited. The most worthy of mention was perhaps a case of fossils, containing a large number of exquisite specimens of *Ammonites* and *Belemnites*, together with several fine pieces of pottery, flint implements, &c., exhibited by PROFESSOR BUCKMAN.

BY REV. J. HEALE.

A curious old press, called "The Hang-dog Press," having on each side the figure of a dog hung by the neck, bearing date 1521, and with the arms of the ducal house of Northumberland.

BY REV. H. D. WICKHAM.

A collection of coins; a medal with an inscription to Isis; and a stone with a Greek Christian inscription, of which the following seems to be a correct translation:—"Here lies Makaria, wife of Maritos. She was perfected at Byzantium. O God, cause the soul of thy servant to rest in the bosoms of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Jesus Christ." These were all lately brought by him from Malta.

BY REV. R. H. W. DIGBY.

A curious collection of broadsides, about 1642, relating to the siege of Sherborne Castle; coins, medals, &c.; a

little plate which belonged to the Dauphin of France, son of Louis XVI.

The Revs. W. LYON, and Preb. HARPER; Messrs. BENTHALL, DALE, RUEGG, and others also exhibited objects of interest.

The Museum.

ADDITIONS SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE LAST VOLUME:—

The Archæological Journal.

Journal of the British Archæological Association.

Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.

The Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine.

Annual Report of the Plymouth Institute and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society, vol. iv. part 4.

Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, No. 28.

Report and Papers of the Associated Architectural Societies.

Proceedings of the Geologists' Association.

The Palæolithic Age Examined, by the Author.

The Rural Life of Shakespere, by the Author, Mr. C. ROACH SMITH.

Copy of the *London Gazette*, announcing the death of the Duke of York; Proclamation of the Accession of George II; and a portion of an Illuminated Roll in Law French, by Mr. H. H. WHITE.

Cudworth's Intellectual System of the Universe, Lond. 1678, by Mr. E. BAGEHOT.

Descriptive Notices of Churches in Scotland, by Mr. THOS. DICKSON.

Some early Nos. of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, by Mr. F. W. NEWTON.

A stone tablet, bearing an early Christian epitaph, brought from Malta, by the Rev. H. D. WICKHAM.

Cannon ball found near Sherborne Castle, by Miss SCOTT.

Cannon ball found at Sherborne Castle, by the Rev. W. H. LYON.

Collection of shells of the limpet, showing variation, by Mr. BENTHALL.

An old Dyak jar taken from Rentap, the great head hunter, in the Island of Borneo, by H. H. the RAJAH OF SARĀWAK.

Fifty-one tokens and other coins, by Mr. STRINGFELLOW.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND
NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY,
1874, PART II.

PAPERS, ETC.

King Ine.

PART II.

BY EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., LL.D.

WE have this day, as you have already heard, once more crossed our proper borders and ventured to hold a meeting beyond the limits of our own shire. We did so at Bristol some years back; we are now again doing so at Sherborne. I trust that this invasion on our part needs no apology: but, if it be thought that any one is to blame in the matter, I shall venture to lay that blame on shoulders which are surely well able to bear it. I shall lay it on the shoulders of a common sovereign and a common hero, a worthy alike of the shire which we have left behind and of the shire which we have taken upon ourselves to enter. If we have forced our way into the land of the Dorsætas, it is King Ine who has led us thither. The most famous among the early Kings of the West-Saxons cannot be looked on as a stranger in any part of his

kingdom, but he is one in whom the two shires of Somerset and Dorset have at once a special and a common interest. He is equally at home at Sherborne, at Taunton, and at Glastonbury; it is only with fear and trembling that I venture to add, perhaps at Wells also. We cannot trace out his history in its fulness without visiting all the places with which his name is thus specially connected. And in whichever shire we begin our pilgrimage to his many shrines, we must necessarily pass out of one shire into the other. At Taunton we see him as the conqueror, the military founder, the man who enlarged the English land at the expense of the Briton, and who guarded his conquest by the great border-fortress which was the place of our meeting two years back. But, if at Taunton we see the man who made the Briton yield to the West-Saxon, we see at Glastonbury the man who could deal with the conquered as fellow-men and fellow-Christians, who could rear up again the holy places of the fallen nation, and could bid the minster of Glastonbury stand as the common possession and sanctuary of both races. At Wells we can only track him by a feebler light; our evidence is slight and doubtful; yet there still are some signs which make it not unlikely that some humbler forerunner of the bishoprick of Saint Andrew, some lowlier foundation on the same site, may have led Eadward the Unconquered to place his great ecclesiastical creation on the spot which tradition has always connected with Ine's name. But here at Sherborne we stand on firmer ground; our great ecclesiastical attaction here is the church which, though fallen from its ancient rank, still preserves the memory of Ine's greatest ecclesiastical work. In this aspect, we of Wells and of Somerset at large are at Sherborne children visiting their parent, colonists visiting

their metropolis. Our diocese of Wells is a fragment cut off from the older diocese of Sherborne. Our church of Wells is the daughter of the elder church of Sherborne, as the church of Sherborne is the daughter of the yet more venerable church of imperial Winchester. And the church and bishoprick of Sherborne, the church of Ealdhelm and his successors, was the creation of Ine, his greatest ecclesiastical creation. And it is not from Wells and Somerset only that some of us have come to pay our homage to the memory of the common founder, to the memory of the saint to whom he intrusted the care of the flock which he thus parted off from the more ancient folds by the banks of the Thames and the Itchin. Some of us have come to the place where the memory of Ine and Ealdhelm lives among the works of later ages from the place where Ealdhelm's own humbler work still lives on the site of Cenwealh's victory by the Avon. Whencesoever we come, from Wells, from Taunton, from Bradford, from any of the spots which cherish the names of our great King and our great Bishop, we all feel at home in the church where Ine placed Ealdhelm in the pastoral chair which he himself had founded. Without a visit to the place of his greatest ecclesiastical work, our survey of the acts of the founder of Taunton, of the second founder of Glastonbury would be imperfect indeed.

I may add another ground on which I hold that our Society is fully justified in making, a ground on which indeed it would have been much to blame if it had not made, this friendly invasion of the land of another branch of the common West-Saxon stock. We have to deal, not only with the history of the district in past times, but also with the actual memorials in stone and mortar which those past times have left to us. We have, now for many years,

been engaged in a careful, and I hope a not altogether unsystematic, survey of the churches of the county of Somerset, and in a comparison of the special features which distinguish their characteristic local style from the characteristic local styles of other districts. But we could not fully complete this survey without crossing, at two points at least, beyond the borders of our own shire. In an architectural point of view, the county of Somerset is a sort of central ground, where a style which is in some sort common to it with a much wider district reaches, as a rule, its most perfect developement. The peculiar features of the two architectural styles of Somerset, the peculiar form of the earliest Gothic which we see at Glastonbury and Wells, and the peculiar style of late Gothic which we see in the great parish churches of the county, are not absolutely confined to the soil of Somerset. The local style, though it is within the county of Somerset that its peculiar features are most marked, spreads in a more or less perfect form into the neighbouring shires of Dorset, Devon, and Gloucester. It even crosses the Bristol Channel, and shows itself, both in its earlier and in its later form, in the two great churches of South Wales, at Saint David's and at Llandaff, and in not a few smaller buildings of the same district. Indeed it is remarkable that of the later style, the Perpendicular of Somerset, though the great majority of the best examples of a moderate scale are to be found within the county, yet of the three buildings of a higher class which belong to it, two lie beyond the strict limits of the shire. The Perpendicular style of Somerset has produced three churches, two of them minsters in rank, all three minsters in style and scale, of which one only stands within the present bounds of the shire. This one is the abbey church of Bath, the church of Saint Peter, once the

fellow and rival of his elder brother Andrew. Of the other two we visited one when our meeting at Bristol enabled us to examine the church of Saint Mary Redcliff, the one English parish church which may fairly rank with the churches of bishopricks and abbeys, the one English parish church which can show a stone vaulted roof over every inch of its surface. The third we have come hither to see; it will be to-morrow my privilege to point out the chief features of its style and design. And I think that none who may go thither with me will differ from me in saying that our examination of the churches of Wells and Taunton and Glastonbury and Wrington and Martock and Huish and Lydeard and Bath and Redcliff would have been shorn of one of its most important and attractive features if we had not wound up the series with their sister in architectural style, their parent in old ecclesiastical rank, the church which represents the minster which Ine reared to receive the bishopstool of Sherborne.

Of the subjects suggested by the mention of Ine, those which I did not speak of two years back at Taunton were his laws and his ecclesiastical foundations. These last, or at any rate the greatest among them, will form the proper subject for a discourse on Ine at a Sherborne meeting. But, before I come to my immediate subject, the division of the great West-Saxon diocese and the foundation of the bishoprick of Sherborne, I wish to say a few words to supplement or to correct part of what I said at Taunton. I there pointed out that the common belief that Winfrith or Boniface was born at Crediton and brought up at Exeter, before the end of the seventh century, was quite inconsistent with the views to which I had been led, by following out the indications of the Chronicles in the path

first opened by Dr. Guest. If Winfrith was born at Crediton and brought up at Exeter, it follows that Crediton and Exeter, and, if not the whole of Devonshire, at least its eastern part, were already English at a time when the other line of argument would lead us to think that the West-Saxon arms had not yet passed the borders of Somerset. I remarked that, in the contemporary and nearly contemporary records of Boniface, there is nothing to fix his birth at Crediton or at any particular place. I remarked that in the passage which connects him with Exeter the reading does not seem to be absolutely certain, and that the other places which are mentioned in the early lifes of Boniface, though they are all, as we might expect to find them, places in Wessex, are none of them places in Devonshire. I was led into this argument, because it seemed to me that, if we accepted the common view as to the places of the birth and education of Boniface, it would upset my own views, and indeed Dr. Guest's views also, as to the gradual conquest of Somerset, views which certainly seem to me to rest on the only probable interpretation of the Chronicles. Since then I have asked several friends, especially in Devonshire and further to the West, to give me the benefit of anything which they may come across which may throw light upon the matter. As yet, it seems that nothing has been found to throw any light on the early history of Boniface. No one has been able to find any statement as to his birth at Crediton in any writing earlier than some documents of Bishop Grandison in the fourteenth century. Now it is plain what this kind of evidence proves and what it does not prove. A statement of the fourteenth century cannot of itself prove that Boniface was born at Crediton in the seventh century. All that it does prove is that people in the fourteenth century

believed that he was born there. Now this belief is something quite different from what is commonly called "tradition," which mostly means the guesses of some one within the last two or three centuries. The statement that Boniface was born at Crediton is entitled to much more respect than the unlucky guess which says that Ælfred carved the White Horse at Uffington, or than the shameless lie which says that he founded University College. It is a kind of statement which has a strong presumption in its favour. It is a kind of statement which we are ready to believe, if there is no special reason for disbelieving it. But its value goes no further than this. Presumption is not proof; and a statement of this kind must give way, if any, even the slightest, degree of possible evidence, direct or indirect, can be brought against it. I hold then that, if the story of the birth and education of Boniface is inconsistent with Dr. Guest's inferences from the Chronicles, which seem to me to be quite irresistible, I must give up the story of Boniface. But, if any way can be found to reconcile the inferences with the story, clearly so much the better. And I am not sure that such a way has not been found. Perhaps in tracing the westward progress of the West-Saxon arms, my thoughts were too exclusively local. Perhaps I thought too much of the shire in which I live, and not enough of the shire in which we are now met. Perhaps I took too much for granted that the West-Saxon conquerors could only have got into Devonshire by the road by which it is natural for me to get into Devonshire myself. I went to Exeter last year by way of Taunton, Wellington, and Collumpton, in other words by the Bristol and Exeter Railway. But I came away by way of Honiton and Sherborne, that is to say, by London and South-Western. Then it struck me that the way by which

I came out of Devonshire might also be one way to get into it. It struck me, in short, that the English need not have made their way to Exeter by the Bristol and Exeter line, but that they might have gone in by London and South-Western. Now I have never been able to find any direct record of the conquest of Devonshire, or indeed of that of Dorset; for our great Dorset fact is one, not of English victory, but of English defeat, namely the fight of *Mons Badonicus* at Badbury.[1] It may then well be that, while the West-Saxons were fighting their way along the northern coast of the western peninsula, they may have been fighting it with greater speed along the southern coast. In this way we may believe, if we wish, that Exeter was English as early as Taunton, or earlier, without giving up those successive stages in the advance of the West-Saxons from the Avon to Blackdown which we have learned to mark by the successive names of Ceawlin, Cenwealh, Centwine, and Ine.

To what I had to say two years ago, I must now add two arguments, one on each side, which I have come across since I spoke about Ine at Taunton. In favour of the late English occupation of Devonshire there is the fact that, while we have documents belonging to other parts of Wessex of a much earlier date, we have nothing in Devonshire till we come to a grant of Æthelwulf in 854.[2] I do not say that this is proof, because it is so much a matter of accident whether documents belonging to this or that place are preserved. I would not lightly affirm that the documents belonging to Dorset go much further back. I have not gone through the whole Codex Diplomaticus for the purpose; but I do not find any documents belonging to Sherborne till about the same date, though we know that it existed long before.[3] But I do find

a mention of Dorchester of the Dorsætas twenty years earlier in the reign of Ecgberht. And in that document, there is, oddly enough, mention made of three sisters, one of whom went away into Devonshire, where she seems to have had lands.[4] But then the time of Ecgberht is the time when those to whom it seems strange that Crediton and Exeter could have been English in the time of Ine would be inclined to put the conquest of Devonshire. Now arguments of this kind cannot distinctly prove anything either way, because they are purely negative, and may be at any moment set aside by lighting upon an earlier document. Still in many cases they have acumulative force; they form a presumption which is entitled to some respect till positive evidence overthrows it. The other argument which I have come across since we were at Taunton will most likely be thought to have more force the other way. It proves nothing directly as to the date of the English conquest of Devonshire; but it proves something indirectly, by showing that it is almost certain that the city of Exeter was conquered by Englishmen who came from the south or west and not from the north. This of course does not prove that Devonshire, or any part of it, was conquered before Ine's time; but it takes away all *a priori* objection to such a belief, if there is any reason on other grounds to think that it was so. I am speaking of the highly ingenious paper read by Mr. Kerslake at the Exeter meeting of the Archæological Institute.[5] Starting from the well-known statement of William of Malmesbury that, up to the time of Æthelstan, Exeter was inhabited by a twofold population, English and Welsh,[6] Mr. Kerslake shewed that in one part of the city the churches were dedicated to British saints whose names are not often found so far to the east. He thence inferred,

with a probability which almost reaches certainty, that this part of the city, where the holy men of the conquered race are still held in honour, marks the extent of the *Welshry* in the days up to Æthelstan. But these Celtic-sounding parishes all lie on the north side of the city, and one of them, that of Saint David's, stretches a good way to the north into the open country. If therefore the Welsh were allowed to keep part of the city, and that a part lying to the north, it would seem to follow, almost necessarily, that the conquest of Exeter by the English was made from the south. And this would seem to imply that the conquest of at least that part of Devonshire was made by an advance along the southern and not the northern coast, through the land of the Dorsætas and not through the land of the Sumorsætas. The date of such a conquest may be placed in the days of Ine or in the days before Ine. There is nothing to fix it, except the passage in the Life of Boniface which, if the text be correct, speaks of Exeter as his place of education. It would certainly be remarkable if Exeter and this part of Devonshire was conquered so early, and if a distinct Welsh population was nevertheless living in Exeter so long after as the time of Æthelstan. It is remarkable, but it is not impossible. It would be easy to find in Ireland and in Wales instances of places where there was an English and a Welsh or Irish town for a long time together. At Kidwelly, if I rightly remember, there was an Englishry, a Welshry, and a Foreignry. In the first days of the Norman Conquest, there was in some English boroughs, as at Norwich, an English and a French town.[7] And in Germany, where there was both a German and a Wendish or other subject population, the two races often occupied different quarters. Thus, in a town so far west as Lüne-

burg, there is to this day a quarter known as *Wendisches Dorf*. The Welsh quarter at Exeter was doubtless something of the same kind. It was the part of the town which was left to the subject remnant of the old citizens of Isca. They had purchased their lives and their personal freedom by submitting as a community, and they were allowed to keep a distinct existence and some common rights as a subject community. They may not have been quite on the level of Jews in a Jewry;[8] but we may be sure that they were in no sense the equals of the English citizens, and that the municipal government was wholly in the hands of the conquering race. Their legal position would doubtless be the same as that of those other British inhabitants of Wessex of whom we shall have much to say when we come to speak of the laws of Ine. The remarkable thing is the long time during which the distinction must have lasted. A comparison of the laws of Ine with those of Ælfred shows that, in the West-Saxon kingdom at large, the distinction between Englishman and Briton, which was in full force in the days of Ine, had been quite forgotten before the days of Ælfred. Here at Exeter we find it living on in the days of Ælfred's grandson. But we must allow for the working of the corporate spirit, and, above all, for the narrowest of all spirits, the corporate oligarchic spirit. It would be far easier for thegns and churls of British descent, scattered about among English neighbours, to rise one by one to the level of their English neighbours, than it would be for the British community of Exeter to rise, as a body, to the level of the ruling English community.

But I must come back to my proper subject with which this inquiry is only indirectly connected. I have to deal

with Ine, and in this place I have to deal with him mainly in his character of an ecclesiastical founder. I have to deal with him in his character as founder of the see of Sherborne, that is, as divider of the original diocese of Wessex. We must remember what an ancient English bishoprick was. It was, as I have had to explain in more than one shape,[9] not, as in continental lands, the bishoprick of a city but the bishoprick of a tribe or nation. This applies not only to the Teutonic, but also to the Celtic parts of the British Islands. In none of them were the cities predominant in the way in which they were in all the lands which had thoroughly received and kept either Greek or Roman civilization. The Italian, Gaulish, or Spanish Bishop was strictly the Bishop of a city. His home was in the city; his church was in the city; as Christianity prevailed in the towns long before it made much way in the open country, for a long time his flock was mainly in the city. In every case the bounds of his spiritual jurisdiction were marked by the bounds of the temporal jurisdiction of the city in which he dwelled. The titles of Italian, French, and Spanish Bishops are therefore not only now taken from cities, but always have been so. In the British Islands, on the other hand, where in the Celtic parts cities can hardly be said to have existed, and where in the Teutonic parts the storm of the English Conquest had swept most of the cities away, the state of things was quite different. In many parts there were no towns at all; where there were any, they did not hold anything like the position which was held by the continental towns. The whole organization was tribal and not civic. Instead of cities with the districts attached to them, we had, in an ascending scale, the village community, the settlement of the *gens*—the hundred, the settlement of what I am

tempted to call the *curia*—the *gau* or shire, the settlement of the tribe—the kingdom which was formed as tribes under their Ealdormen joined together into a nation under its King. As Christianity was preached, the Apostle who began the conversion of a kingdom became its first Bishop, Bishop of all the people of that kingdom, and, for the most part, taking his title from the people of whom he was Bishop. The bounds of the kingdom were the bounds of the diocese; and thus, both in England and on the continent, the ecclesiastical divisions are our best guide to the ancient temporal divisions. As the diocese of a continental Bishop teaches us the extent of the jurisdiction of a city at the time when its bishoprick was founded, so the bounds of an English diocese, as they stood before modern changes, teach us the extent of an ancient kingdom or principality. I say principality, to meet a case of which there was certainly one instance and most likely more. In Kent, besides the diocese of Canterbury which represents the kingdom of the head Kentish King, there was also the diocese of Rochester which represented the kingdom of the Under-King of the West-Centingas.[10] The English, Scottish, or Irish Bishop then was the Bishop of a people, not of a city. He had his head church, his *bishopstool*, his *bishopsettle*,[11] in some particular place which was his special home; but that place was not always a city; it might be a village, it might be lonely monastery. Down to the Norman Conquest, though the Bishop sometimes took his title from a city, though in some particular cases, as at Rochester, he seems always to have done so, yet the tribal title was decidedly more common. And we have a trace of the custom still, though not in England, yet in some other parts of the British Islands. Since the Norman Conquest the use of the urban title has in England

become universal, but there still are among us Irish, Scottish, and Scandinavian Bishops who bear the titles of districts and islands, as Ossory, Galloway, and Sodor and Man. These are relics of the times when there was also a Bishop of the East-Angles and of the South-Saxons, and when the Bishop of our own land was not called from Wells, or Sherborne, or even Winchester, but from the whole kingdom and people of the West-Saxons.

The conversion of the West-Saxons began in 634. It must be remembered that the West-Saxon Church was not an offshoot from the Kentish Church, but was formed by a distinct mission from the common centre at Rome. The Frank Birinus was sent by Pope Honorius to convert some of the more distant inhabitants of Britain who had not come within reach of the teaching of Augustine and Paulinus. But he found it needless to go to any of the further parts of the island, as he found ample work for his missionary energy in the part of Britain where he first landed. He found the Gewissas or West-Saxons a people so utterly heathen that he thought that there was no need to go further, and he at once began to evangelize those among whom he found himself.[12] Thus began the West-Saxon Church as a separate colony of Rome. Its submission to Canterbury was the natural result of the general working of ecclesiastical affairs in England; but it was perhaps not without some shadowy memory of original independence that Henry of Blois ages afterwards strove to obtain metropolitan rank for the church of Winchester.[13] Be all this as it may, in 635 Birinus baptized the West-Saxon King Cynegils, the next year his son King Cwichelm, and three years later again the Under-king Cuthred the son of Cwichelm. All these were baptized at

Dorchester, and at Dorchester was placed the bishopstool of the new bishoprick, the bishoprick of the West-Saxons.[14] I hope that there is no one here who will stumble at the word Dorchester. Some time ago, when the newspapers contained a sad story that Dorchester dykes were daily perishing, several indignant inhabitants of this shire and of its chief town wrote to say that it must be all a mistake, that none of the antiquities of Dorchester were in any way suffering, or likely to suffer. And what those indignant persons wrote was happily quite true of the only Dorchester which they seemed ever to have heard of, namely Dorchester of the Dorsætas. But unhappily the tale of destruction was quite true of the Dorchester of which it was told, Dorchester by the Thames, Dorchester in Oxfordshire, Dorchester the first seat of the West-Saxon bishoprick. Both Dorchesters, as their name shows, were Roman stations; both have Roman antiquities; but it is only at the Oxfordshire Dorchester, the Dorchester where Cynegils and Cwichelm and Cuthred were baptized, that there is a savage who makes it his chief business to destroy them. And I must warn you again, that, as there are two Dorchesters, so the Oxfordshire Dorchester has been at different times the seat of two distinct bishopricks. The difference has to do with that change in the boundaries of the West-Saxon kingdom of which I spoke at some length in my former paper on Ine. We have now nothing to do with the Mercian bishoprick of Dorchester, with the diocese which stretched from the Thames to the Humber, the diocese whose see was moved by Remigius of Fécamp from Dorchester to Lincoln. We have now to deal with our own spiritual parent, the West-Saxon bishoprick of Dorchester. You must bear in mind that at the time of the West-Saxon conversion Wessex was

still pressing northward rather than westward. It still took in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire; it did not take in any part of Somerset, except the first conquest of Ceawlin between the Avon and the Axe. For such a kingdom, a kingdom stretching from Southampton to Bedford, you will see that the Oxfordshire Dorchester was a very central point, and therefore a very fit place for the planting of the bishopstool. But there began very early to be a twofold movement, both for dividing this vast diocese, and for setting up the royal city of Winchester as a rival to Dorchester. Even in the time of the second Bishop, the Frankish Agilberht, King Cenwealh for a moment divided the diocese, and placed Wini as a new Bishop at Winchester.[15] I hope there is no one here who needs to be told that Winchester, Venta Belgarum, Caer Gwent, did not take its name from him.[16] But it was not till the days of Hædde the fifth Bishop that the see was finally moved from Dorchester to Winchester,[17] and it was not till after Hædde's death in 705 that the vast diocese of the West-Saxons was finally divided. Now there is a fragment of a decree, said to have been passed in a synod of Archbishop Theodore about 679, which expressly forbids any change to be made in the boundaries of the diocese during the life-time of Hædde.[18] We understand this feeling at a later time, when a Bishop had become a great temporal lord, when the lessening of the extent of his jurisdiction would have been the lessening of his official income, and when a proposal to dismember his diocese would have had much the same sound in his ears as a proposal to dismember his dominions would have had in the ears of a temporal prince. But here, in the earliest times of Christianity, when a Bishop was still not a baron but a missionary, when one

would have thought that he would have been glad to divide his labours with another, we find Agilberht so offended at the proposal to divide his diocese that he throws up his bishoprick altogether in disgust. And, in the fragmentary decree which I have just quoted, the merits of Hædde, his having brought the relics of Saint Birinus to Winchester and so forth, are given as a reason why the diocese should not be divided during his life-time. We have here an early case of the doctrine of vested interests. It was evidently felt that the vast diocese of the West-Saxons ought to be divided; but, out of regard to the rights and the feelings of the actual Bishop, it was decreed that the change should not take place till the next vacancy. This goes on the supposition that the document preserved by Thomas Rudborne and printed by Mr. Haddan is genuine, or at all events that it preserves a record of an actual fact. But it would almost seem from a more trustworthy document, the letter of Waldhere Bishop of London to Archbishop Beorhtwald, also printed by Mr. Haddan, that the question was again raised in the year 704, before Hædde's death. In that letter, written in 705, but before the death of Hædde, Waldhere refers to a decree made the year before for the ordination of West-Saxon Bishops, which cannot mean anything except a division of the West-Saxon diocese.[19] But, as it is clear that this order had not been carried out, it points to exactly the same feeling as the less trustworthy document, to the unwillingness of Hædde to be disturbed in the possession of his diocese in its full extent. When Hædde was dead, the change was at once made; and we have now reached the great ecclesiastical event of the reign of Ine. The diocese whose seat had first been at Dorchester and then at Winchester was

divided into two, and their seats were severally at Winchester and at Sherborne.

The division was made with the full consent of all powers concerned, ecclesiastical and civil, including that of more than one King.[20] What King or Kings could have been concerned in the matter besides Ine himself? Are we to believe that we have here a reference to the Under-kings of the West-Saxons, the kinsfolk of Ine, acting as the counsellors of their over-lord? His father Cenred we can perhaps hardly fancy as living to so late a stage of his son's reign. Or are we to see in this great ecclesiastical change a combined act of Ine and the Mercian King Æthelred the son of Penda, who, about this time—for the chronology of the Chronicles is here a little confused—gave up his kingdom and became a monk at Bardeney?[21] Æthelred was a friend of Ealdhelm and a benefactor to his monastery of Malmesbury;[22] and, a year or two before the division of the bishoprick, when Ealdhelm had come from Rome with a bull of Pope Sergius granting privileges to Malmesbury and other West-Saxon monasteries, Æthelred is spoken of as joining with Ine in the general joy, and as sharing the presents of relics which Ealdhelm had to distribute on his return from his pilgrimage.[23] The place where the synod was held at which the division was made is not recorded. It was doubtless a synod, not only of Wessex, but of the whole English Church, and in such an assembly there is nothing wonderful if a King beyond the bounds of Wessex, especially a King of such an ecclesiastical turn, should be allowed to take a part. In short, the share of Æthelred in the division of the West-Saxon diocese might answer to the share of Oswald it its foundation. Or again, we must remember that no part of

our early history is more utterly shrouded in darkness than the details of the process by which the West-Saxons lost their ancient dominion north of the Thames. It may well be that some part of the original diocese of Birinus had already passed into Mercian hands. Æthelred may therefore have claimed a right to be consulted as to a diocese part of which lay within his own dominions. And this may have been the time when some of the more distant parts of the diocese were removed from their allegiance to Winchester. Be all this as it may, at once on Hædde's death the division took place; the whole kingdom of the West-Saxons was declared to be too great for the care of a single Bishop. Winchester remained the episcopal see of the eastern, the elder part of the kingdom, while the later conquests, the conquests of Cenwealh, Centwine, and Ine himself, the land of the Sumorsætas and the Dorsætas and that famous strip of the land of the Wilsætas which escaped the hand of Ceawlin, became the new diocese of Sherborne. It has, I believe, been commonly taken for granted that Wiltshire, if not Berkshire, formed part of the Sherborne diocese. Mr. Haddan, commonly so accurate, certainly assigns Wiltshire to Sherborne.[24] I conceive the origin of this notion to be simply the fact that, long after, in the days of Eadward the Confessor, the dioceses of Sherborne and Ramsbury were united under the Lotharingian Hermann.[25] William of Malmesbury must have been led away by the fact that his own monastery stood in his own time in the diocese which had taken the place of Sherborne. He speaks of the diocese of Sherborne as taking in the counties of Wiltshire, Dorsèt, Berkshire, Somerset, Devonshire, and Cornwall;[26] and elsewhere he complains that, while Winchester had two shires only, Hampshire and Surrey,

Sherborne took in all the rest of the West-Saxon dominions.[27] This, he complains, was an unequal division, clearly in the same spirit which we have come across before, which looked on the greatness of a Bishop as measured by the extent of his diocese. But William of Malmesbury is here plainly speaking recklessly. For, whatever we say about Devonshire, it is quite certain that the diocese of Sherborne did not take in Cornwall. Devonshire and part of Cornwall would seem to have been added to the Sherborne diocese by Ælfred, as is implied in his grant to Asser.[28] But in Cornwall at least there was, not very long before Ælfred's time, a British Bishop of Cornwall, Kenstic by name, who makes his submission to Archbishop Ceolnoth.[29] This makes it plain that William of Malmesbury's list of shires is not to be trusted. And there is far better evidence, which, I think, shows that the diocese of Sherborne, as established by Ine, took in only, speaking roughly, the land with which we at this meeting, and especially I in this paper, are more immediately concerned. In the very remarkable entry in the Chronicles which records Ealdhelm's death in 709, Selwood is clearly marked as the boundary of the two dioceses. According to that entry, the West-Saxon land was divided—in the speaking words of our fathers, *todealed*—into two *bishopshires*, those of Daniel and Ealdhelm, and the bishopshire held by Ealdhelm is described as being "be Westanwuda"[30] while one copy says still more distinctly "be westan Selewuda."[31] The former entry is followed by Henry of Huntingdon, who speaks of the two dioceses as being east and west of the wood[32], while Ealdorman Æthelweard actually calls the diocese of Ealdhelm "Selwoodshire."[33] Mr. Jones of Bradford, in his "Early Annals of the Episcopate in Wilts and Dorset," seems

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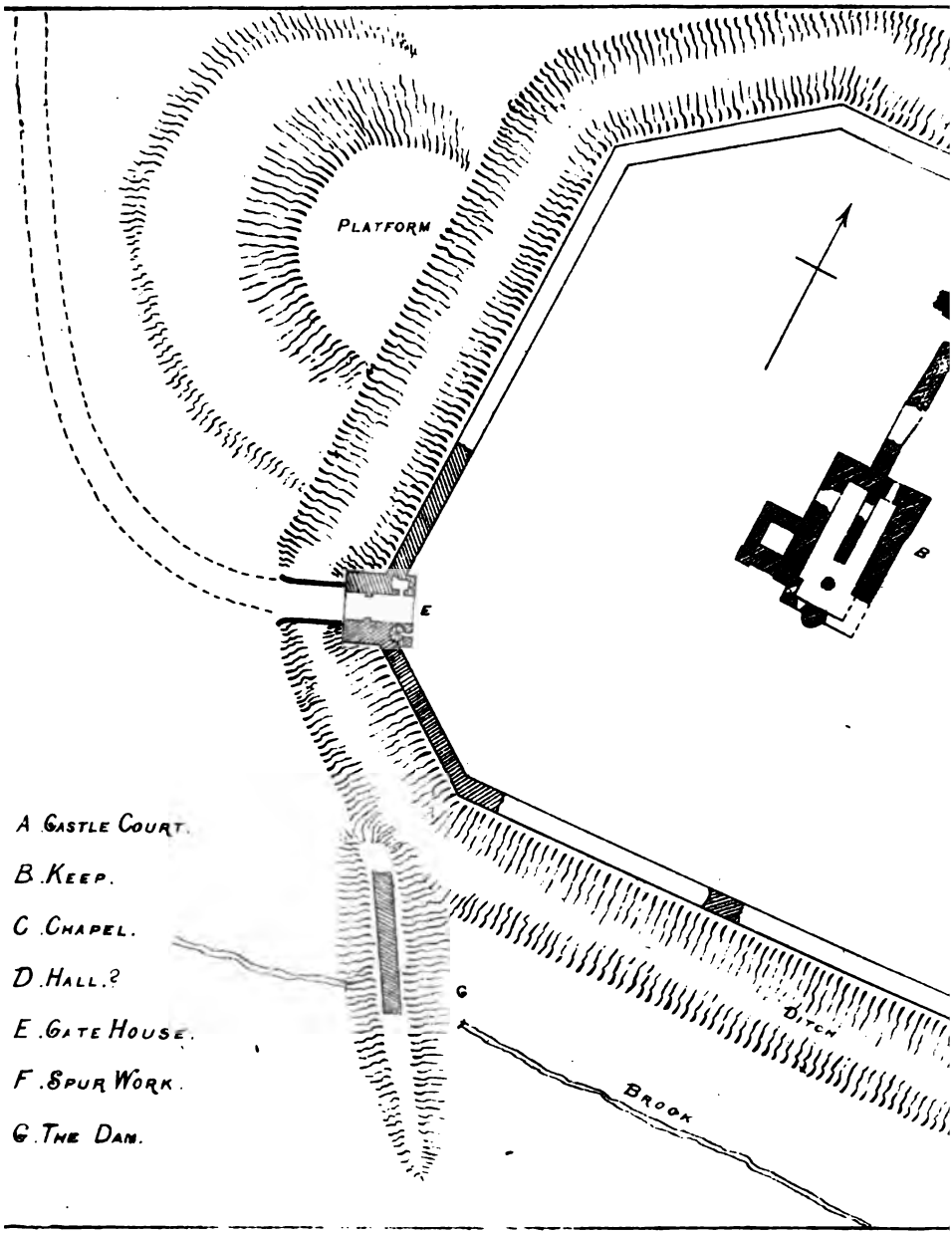
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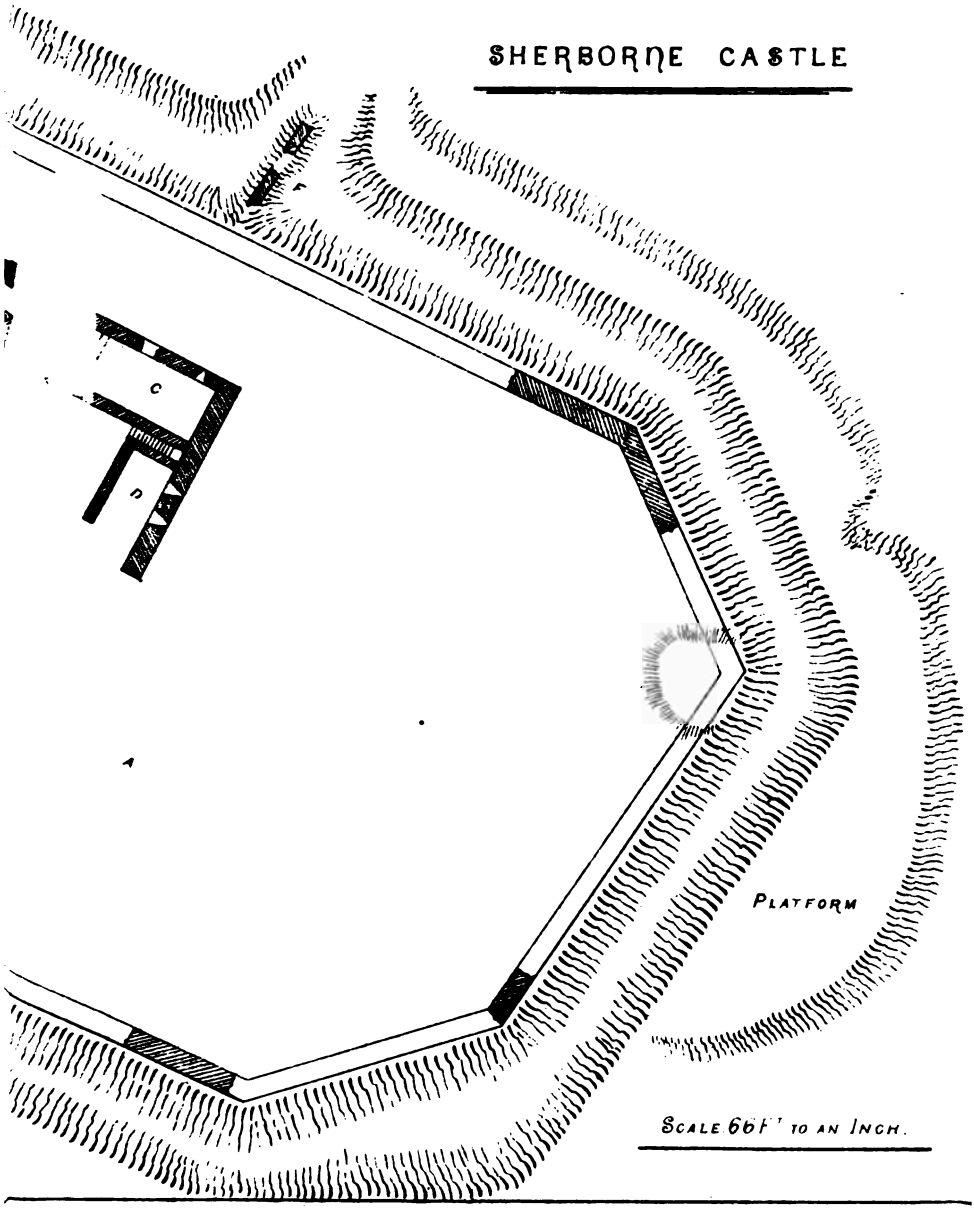
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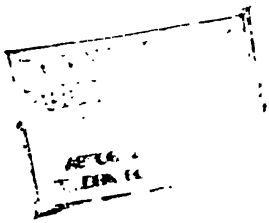


to have explained the matter quite satisfactorily.[34] Selwood, and with it the diocese of Ealdhelm, took in part of Wiltshire, the part containing Malmesbury and Bradford, while the rest of Wiltshire, together with Berkshire, remained to Winchester. The Sherborne diocese thus took in our own shire which we have for a moment left behind; it took in the shire which we have this year come to visit; and it took in the land which must, after all, be first in our thoughts when we think of the first Bishop of Sherborne, the land of Malmesbury and Bradford. Now it is plain that for the see of such a diocese, Sherborne was geographically a well-chosen spot. For a region which took in Bridport and Bedminster, Poole and Porlock, no more central place could have been found. I hope this is reason enough to defend the choice of Sherborne as an episcopal see, notwithstanding the objections of William of Malmesbury who speaks, I am sorry to say, most irreverently of the place where we are now met. His words —remember that they are his words and not mine—run as follows

"Sherborne is a little town pleasant neither by multitude of inhabitants nor by beauty of position in which it is wonderful and almost shameful that a Bishop's see should have remained for so many ages. Now it has been turned from a bishoprick into an abbey, by a change, not unusual in our time, in which all things are perverted by faction and fancy, and in which virtue is held in contempt and disgrace."[35]

It is plain that the dark picture painted in these last words is meant to apply to mankind in general, not to the people of Sherborne in particular. And it is certain that, if Ine and Ealdhelm and all others who were concerned judged wrongly in fixing the Bishop's see in such a place as Sherborne, they were at least no worse than the other Kings and Bishops who planted Bishops' sees at Lindis-

farn, Selsey, and Lichfield; they were no worse than Eadward the Elder when, in dividing the Sherborne diocese, he planted Bishops' sees at Crediton and Wells. All these places, Wells among them, are spoken of somewhere or other quite as scornfully as Sherborne is here spoken of by William of Malmesbury. Sometimes it is William himself and other grave writers, who speak with delight of the removal of bishopricks from their ancient seats to the great cities. Sometimes it is modern political reformers who talk with scorn of "wretched villages in the west of England." Sometimes we have to strive against enemies like the gay young barrister, whoever he may be, who reports the Western Circuit for the *Times*. He complains, with somewhat of surprise, of assizes being held at so out-of-the-way place as Wells. Without pretending to dive into the meaning of earlier and graver enemies, it is plain that our last assailant simply forgot that assizes are held for the benefit of the people of the shires among whom justice is to be done, not for the convenience of learned gentlemen who come to them in search of briefs. William of Malmesbury wrote in the spirit of an age which had adopted the continental notion of a bishoprick, and which therefore despised the lowly seats in which so many of the earlier bishopricks were placed. But perhaps both Wells and Sherborne, as long as they keep their respective minsters and their appendages, may contrive to outlive the contempt, both of older and newer, of graver and lighter scorners.

But I must come back to my ecclesiastical geography. As I read the words of the Chronicler, the description of William of Malmesbury ought to be turned about. It was Sherborne which got two shires only, and Winchester which got all the rest of the West-Saxon kingdom. The

Bishop east of Selwood, the Bishop of Winchester in the new sense, kept under his care Hampshire, the cradle of the kingdom, Surrey, Wiltshire, Berkshire, and the West-Saxon lands beyond the Thames. For such a district there was no common tribal or local name, and the Bishop of Winchester therefore always takes his title from his city. So, for the same reason, the Bishop of the Sumorsætas and Dorsætas is called Bishop of Sherborne, or, if he is not, he has to be described, or rather pointed at, in the odd way which we have seen already, as "the Bishop west of the Wood." But, when the two shires were separated under two Bishops, the tribal style revives, and we hear of the Bishop "on Sumorsætan" and "on Dorsætan," rather than of the Bishop of Wells and the Bishop of Sherborne.

For the two new dioceses Bishops had to be found. Winchester, in the new sense of the name, was filled by a prelate who held his see for a good many years, but whose career was not very memorable. He survived Ine; he survived Bæda, who speaks of him as the Bishop in possession when he wrote.[36] He went to Rome in the year 721, the year in which Ine slew Cynewulf the Ætheling.[37] Ten years later he consecrated Archbishop Tatwine.[38] At last, in 744, after an episcopate of thirty-nine, or, as some reckon, forty-two years, he resigned his bishoprick amid a storm of shooting stars, and died the year after.[39] He was a West-Saxon by birth, and he is spoken of as a man of learning[40], but there is not very much to say about him. The first Bishop of Sherborne, on the other hand, is one of the most famous men in our early history. But of him also there is less to say in connexion with his diocese than in some other aspects of him, seeing he held the bishoprick which had been created for him for four years only. The fame of Ealdhelm

as one of the lights of our early literature, alike in our own tongue and in Latin, was won, not as Bishop of Sherborne but in his earlier character of Abbot of Malmesbury. He is brought home to our subject in a special way, because there is no reason to doubt that he was a kinsman of Ine, a member of the royal house of the West-Saxons. I mentioned in my former paper that William of Malmesbury mentions and refutes the belief that Ealdhelm was a nephew of Ine by a brother who is called Kenten. This comes from the earlier life of Ealdhelm by Faricius,[41] the learned physician who was first a monk of Malmesbury, then Abbot of Abingdon, and who was so near succeeding Saint Anselm in the primacy of Canterbury.[42] William, though so much his inferior in ecclesiastical rank, yet thinks he has a right to correct him, seeing that Faricius being a foreigner and not knowing the English tongue, had fallen into some mistakes.[43] One of these was speaking of Kenten the father of Ealdhelm as a brother of Ine, whereas he was not a brother, though a near kinsman. By Kenten as I have before said,[44] I can only conceive that Centwine is meant. If so, we have in Saint Ealdhelm the son of a King, though not a born Ætheling, as his father Centwine did not come to the crown till 676, while Ealdhelm must have been born long before, most likely about 640. It is however rather against this parentage that the only recorded wife of Centwine was a sister of Eormenburh, the wife of Ecgfrith of Northumberland. As Ecgfrith was born in 645, most likely later than Ealdhelm, Ealdhelm could hardly have been a son of his wife's sister. But of course Ealdhelm may have been the son of an earlier wife of Centwine, and, if Ealdhelm was not the son of Centwine, it is not easy to see what his connexion with the royal family was. It is doubtless somewhat strange

that, if Centwine, a King, really was the father of Ealdhelm, Ealdhelm should never be distinctly spoken of directly as the son of King Centwine, but only as the nephew or other kinsman of King Ine. But perhaps, after all, this is not very wonderful. As I just before said, even if Ealdhelm was the son of Centwine, he was not in the technical sense a King's son, for he must have been a monk, and perhaps abbot, before his father became King. The only statements as to his parentage are that made by Faricius and the correction of it made by William of Malmesbury. Now in the days of Henry the First, especially with a foreigner like Faricius, Ine was a famous name, while Centwine was nearly forgotten. It therefore would not be wonderful if Ealdhelm was more thought of as the kinsman of Ine than as the son of Centwine. Or we may put it that Centwine was looked on rather as the kinsman of Ine and father of Ealdhelm, than as the King who drove the Britons to the sea. But, if Ealdhelm was the son of Centwine, then he came of the most kingly and most Christian stock of the once most heathen race of the Gewissas. The son of Centwine would be the nephew of Cwichelm and Cenwealh and the grandson of the first Christian King Cynegils. And if, by any stretching of our geneaology, by supposing one of two sisters to have been very much older than another, we could make out Ealdhelm to have been the son of a sister of Eormenburh, we may trace him almost certainly in the female line to the royal family of Kent. For it is in that line only that we find so many of the names beginning with *Eormen*. And among the daughters of Eormenred, the son of Eadbald, the grandson of the first Christian Bretwalda Æthelberht, we actually find two bearing the same name of Eormenburh, which looks as if one had been borne after the death of her

sister. But of the two sisters Eormenburh, daughters of Eormenred, the only one whose history we can trace with certainty was the wife of the West-Mercian Ealdorman Merewald. Merewald was a contemporary of Ine, and he could not well have married the mother of Ealdhelm, even as the possible widow of Centwine.[45] It would be pleasant if we could trace Ealdhelm to the line of Æthelberht as well as to the line of Cynric and Cerdic. But no certain evidence seems to be had in that quarter, and it may be safer to be satisfied with setting down Ealdhelm as a member of the West-Saxon royal house, and as most likely a son of the victorious King Centwine. If so, and if, as it would seem, Ealdhelm was the only son of Centwine, it was doubtless his monastic profession which of course distinguished him for being proposed for the kingdom. And thus it would be Ealdhelm's devotion to a religious life which opened the way for the transfer of the crown from the descendants of Cutha, represented by the sons of Cynegils, to the line of Ceawlin represented by Ceadwalla and Ine.

To the Kings of the house of Cerdic, and of other English royal houses, who laid down their crowns and became saints, we have thus a fair right to add Ealdhelm as one whose saintship hindered him becoming a King. Instead of filling the West-Saxon throne, he rose, as Abbot of Malmesbury and Bishop of Sherborne, to the highest rank save one in the English Church. In those days, when royal and princely saints were so common, Ealdhelm was the brightest light, but still only one light among several, in the saintly galaxy of the West-Saxon house. Ine's sisters, Ealdhelm's kinswomen, Cwenburh and Cuthburh were placed on the roll of acknowledged saints. Ine and Æthelburh—we might add Ceadwalla himself in

the days of his penitence and baptism—might almost, in the ideas of those days, have claimed the same title. The parents too of Ealdhelm himself, whether we make them Centwine and Eormenburh or any others, are spoken of by his earlier biographer as persons of remarkable piety.[46] When Ine then placed his kinsman in the chair of his newly-founded bishoprick, it was no case of nepotism, no case of thrusting a younger son of a royal house into the chief places of the priesthood simply as a provision. The age for that kind of abuse had not yet come, and I may add that it is an abuse which was not common in England in any age. When the choice of Ine fell upon Ealdhelm, it fell upon a kinsman indeed, but a kinsman who was by common consent the most eminent churchman in his dominions. Ealdhelm's fame, we must remember, had been already won as Abbot of Malmesbury. It was as Abbot that he went to Rome; it was as Abbot that he wrote his famous letter to King Gerent on the abuses of the British Church. It may be worth a moment's thought whether this letter, addressed as it was to a King of West-Wales by one who was afterwards Bishop of Sherborne, may not have helped to foster the notion that West-Wales formed an original part of the Sherborne diocese. As Bishop, the chief work of Ealdhelm was that which we should naturally look for in the first Bishop of a new see, the building of his own church.[47] As Abbot of Malmesbury Ealdhelm had been one of the greatest builders of his time. The realm of Ine was adorned with a number of churches, the work of his saintly kinsman. Of these one happily remains to us, the church reared by Ealdhelm on the scene of his uncle Cenwealh's victory, the lately rescued church of Saint Lawrence at Bradford-on-Avon.[48] There it stands, telling its tale that the

English of the seventh and eighth centuries were not savages unable to put stone and mortar together, and recalling in its peculiar style the work of Honorius—it might be more respectful to say the works of Stilicho—over the remodelled gates of Rome. But, in the days of William of Malmesbury, Ealdhelm's church at Bradford was but one of a whole group of his churches which still survived or had been only lately destroyed. This is a fact to be noticed. Very few buildings of the days of Ine and Bæda could have been standing in the days of Henry the First and William of Malmesbury. The works of Ealdhelm escaped rebuilding, when so many minsters were rebuilt, in the days of Eadgar, in the days of Eadward the Confessor, in the days of William the Conqueror. The oldest parts of the existing minsters of Malmesbury and Sherborne succeeded immediately to the works of Ealdhelm. The saint, as Abbot, had built the great minster of Malmesbury alongside of the lowlier building of the first founder Maidulf, and he also built two smaller churches within the same precinct. Of these the church of Maidulf seems to have vanished shortly before William's time; of one of Ealdhelm's smaller churches traces only were to be seen in his day; but Ealdhelm's head church at Malmesbury William had seen while it was still perfect; it was only in his own days that it began to give way to the church of which a large part still remains. And, both from his words and from the evidence of the existing building, we may be pretty sure that Ealdhelm's nave was still standing when William wrote. Now William of Malmesbury lived at a time when great architectural changes were going on, when Bishop Roger of Salisbury was bringing in the later and more enriched form of the Norman variety of Romanesque. William had a keen eye for all those changes; he marked,

as he has shown in passages which have been quoted over and over again, the difference between Primitive and Norman Romanesque, between earlier and later Norman.[49] Yet he here speaks of the primitive building of Ealdhelm with great respect, and he distinctly marks it as surpassing all ancient buildings—meaning perhaps all buildings before the bringing in of the new style under Eadward—both in size and in beauty.[50] It was a stone building with a wooden roof, a fact which comes out in a curious legend about one of the beams of that roof.[51] In short, the building was doubtless something like Bradford magnified to the scale of a minster, a building which we may be sure would be by no means contemptible. We may perhaps get some kind of notion of its general effect from the famous church of Romainmoutier in the canton of Vaud, the only large church north of the Alps which survives from those early times.[52] We may notice that William speaks of the remarkable size of the building, as compared with most buildings of the same early date. This is a very important point; for everything that I see convinces me more and more that what the Norman builders despised in the English churches was mainly their inferiority of scale according to their own standard. Ealdhelm's church at Malmesbury was larger than most of the early churches, and therefore it lasted longer. It did not yield to the first impulse of rebuilding in the days of the Conqueror; it did yield to the second impulse which set in with the architectural improvements of Bishop Roger. And, as for work and ornament, there is no greater mistake than to hold that the plainest work is necessarily the oldest; the Primitive style is often much more enriched than the early Norman. When the minster of Lauresheim or Lorsch

was burned late in the eleventh century, the monks said sorrowfully that they rebuilt it how they could, but that they could not rival the work of the eighth century.[53] And they spoke truly; the remains of the church of the days of Henry the Fourth are not to be compared for a moment with the gateway of the days of Charles the Great. We thus have distinct evidence both that the ancient minster of Malmesbury stood till the building of the church of which part still remains, and that one who had seen both of them, and was well able to compare them, did not wholly despise the elder building. So it was at Sherborne also. William of Malmesbury records the building of Ealdhelm's minster there after he became Bishop, though he naturally does not dwell upon it at the same length as he dwells on matters which concerned his own house at Malmesbury. But he says that he had himself seen it, and he speaks of it as a wonderful work.[54] Here then at Sherborne, as well as at Malmesbury, the church of Ealdhelm stood till the days of Roger. It was doubtless when Roger, in 1122, turned the priory of Sherborne and the abbey of Horton into the single abbey of Sherborne[55] that the church of Ealdhelm gave way to the earliest parts of the present building.

We must then picture to ourselves the abbey church of Malmesbury and the cathedral church of Sherborne, as they came from the hand of Ealdhelm, as buildings presenting what we may suppose to have been the likeness of a greater Bradford. But, besides the two great churches, Ealdhelm was also the builder of several smaller ones. He founded monasteries at Frome and at Bradford; both of these had ceased to exist as monasteries in William's time, but in his days the church was standing

at Frome as well as at Bradford.[56] He built another church at Wareham, which in William's days was still standing, but in ruins. He adds that the shepherds in the neighbourhood were in the habit of taking shelter in it in bad weather, because within its walls the rain never fell.[57] At Bruton, besides the church of Saint Mary to which King Ine gave the precious altar which Ealdhelm had brought from Rome,[58] Ealdhelm built the greater church of Saint Peter. This also was standing in William of Malmesbury's days, when the choir was, as in so many other cases, rebuilt on a greater scale.[59] I insist upon all this, because it marks the time of Ine as a time of remarkable activity in the way of church-building. This was in fact one of the most flourishing periods of the ancient English Church. The zeal of Kings and Bishops had still somewhat of the fervour of new conversion about it, and the destruction which was afterwards wrought by the Danish invasions was still far off. With Ealdhelm in the South, with Wilfrith and Benedict Bishop in the North, churches were rising fast in many places. And it is remarkable that we have more remains of the buildings of this very early time than we have of any later time till we reach the eleventh century. And our West-Saxon Bradford, the work of the reign of Ine and of the abbacy of Ealdhelm, may fairly be set against the two famous churches of the North, the churches of Benedict at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth. If we have but one to set against two, we may say that Bradford is all but perfect, while Jarrow and Monkwearmouth have been largely altered in later, though still ancient, times. In mere workmanship Bradford altogether surpasses the contemporary parts of the Northumbrian buildings. And as for their personal memories, if we must yield the first place among the native worthies of the early English

Church to Northumbrian Bæda, we may fairly claim a place only second to his for West-Saxon Ealdhelm.

Thus the greatest ecclesiastical work of Ine was the division of the unwieldly West-Saxon diocese, and the creation of the episcopal see of Sherborne. How far the work was strictly the personal work of Ine, how far of the other Bishops and Kings and Under-kings who are said to have agreed to the change, we cannot exactly say. But Ine must have been the chief worker of all in such a matter within his own kingdom, and we may be sure that Ine and Ealdhelm worked together. What Ealdhelm suggested Ine did,[60] save only in one case where Ealdhelm unwillingly did what Ine suggested. That was when Ealdhelm was constrained against his will to take the charge of the new diocese upon himself.[61] I may add a word or two as to the later history of this their work. The history of the diocese of Sherborne has been minutely treated by Mr. Jones. The general results seem to be that, after the complete conquest of West-Wales, Devonshire at least, if not Cornwall, was added to the Sherborne diocese—that in 909 the dioceses of the Sumorsætas and Defnsætas, with their sees at Wells and Crediton, were taken out of the diocese of Sherborne—that, at the same time, the diocese of Wiltshire and Berkshire, with its see at Ramsbury, was taken out of the diocese of Winchester. And I would guess that it was at this time that that part of Wiltshire which had belonged to Sherborne was added to Ramsbury, as it certainly formed part of that diocese in the time of Eadward the Confessor.[61] The diocese of Sherborne now contained the shire of the Dorsætas only, and its bishop-stool, which had been very central when Sumorsætas and Dorsætas had one Bishop between them, became by no

means central when the Dorsætas had a Bishop of their own. The see of Sherborne went on till 1058, when the two bishopricks of Dorset and of Wiltshire and Berkshire, were joined together by Hermann. But he, in 1075, forsook both Sherborne and Ramsbury, to place his throne on the waterless hill of the elder Salisbury, just as, five and twenty years before, the bishopricks of Devonshire and Cornwall were finally united under Leofric of Exeter.[62] From this time Sherborne ceased to be an episcopal see. But Ealdhelm's minster went on as the church of a priory which was still specially connected with the bishoprick. The church of Sherborne was in the time of Æthelred served by secular canons. Whether they had always been there from the time of Ealdhelm or not, I have no evidence to show; in his day indeed the distinction between monks and canons was not so sharply drawn as it was afterwards. But, in the year 999 or 1000, it would seem that Bishop Wulfsige was allowed to change his canons for monks;[63] and these monks and their prior doubtless went on when the bishopstool was moved to the church of secular canons, first at Old and then at New Salisbury. The Bishop, as appears by Domesday, remained temporal lord of Sherborne, but nine of the manors which he held were set apart for the maintenance of the monks.[64] The monks had therefore no freehold of their own, much as the canons of Wells at the same time held their property of the Bishop.[65] The Bishop and monks are mentioned as a body which was in the habit of acting together, in that curious entry, the only mention of any of the Conqueror's sons in the great Survey, which says how William the Red took away a possession of the church of Sherborne without the consent of the Bishop and the monks.[66] This sounds as if Sherborne, even after the bishopstool

had been moved to Salisbury, was still a kind of secondary episcopal church, somewhat as Ripon, Southwell, and Beverley were to York. Lastly, as I have already said, in 1122 Bishop Roger made Sherborne an abbey. The Abbot and Convent then became an independent corporation; and the Abbot, like the Abbots of Muchelney and Athelney in the church of Wells, held the parish church of Sherborne as a prebend in the church of Salisbury.[67] On the history of the Bishop's lordship and castle of Sherborne I will not intrude.

But the creation of the bishoprick of Sherborne was not the only ecclesiastical work of Ine, or even the only ecclesiastical work in which the names of Ine and Ealdhelm are joined together. That Ine was a benefactor to his friend and kinsman's monastery at Malmesbury we might almost have taken for granted, even if it had not been so recorded.[68] And we may guess that, in his great works of building there and elsewhere, the Abbot was largely helped by the bounty of the King. But it is hard to trace out anything in detail as to the other ecclesiastical works of Ine, because nearly all the charters which profess to contain the records of those works are held by the best scholars to be spurious. Some of them are so manifestly spurious as to leave no room for any discussion on the point. The forgeries are old; most of them are older than William of Malmesbury, and they were, doubtless in good faith, accepted by him as genuine. But here again we must remember what the spuriousness of a charter implies and what it does not. It implies that it must be used with great caution; it implies that we cannot accept any of the details of the document, unless they are confirmed by some other evidence direct or in-

direct. But it by no means follows that the general fact which the spurious charter professes to record is, because of the spuriousness of the charter, to be cast away as a mere fiction. By spurious charters we understand all charters which are not genuine contemporary documents, or exact copies of contemporary documents, issued by the persons whose names they bear. Now all these are certainly not to be set down as forgeries in the modern sense. Some undoubtedly are so; some charters are sheer inventions, designed to claim for a particular monastery an antiquity to which it had no right, to claim for it some privilege to which it had no right or a doubtful right, or to trace back some real privilege to a time earlier than that when it really began. Charters of this kind are forgeries in the strictest sense, and they are of course utterly untrustworthy with regard to the particular points which they wish to establish. But, just as a romance or a play may, for many points, for manners, for local colouring and so forth, be as good evidence as a true history, so even a spurious charter of this worst kind may be evidence for incidental points, points which the forger had no motive to falsify. In this way, while the document proves nothing as to the times in which it professes to have been written, it may very easily prove something as to the time when it actually was written. But, besides these, there is another class of spurious charters which cannot be called forgeries in the same sense. We have some recorded cases in which a man whose charters, that is his title-deeds, had been burned or otherwise lost, asked for and obtained a legal permission to have new charters made.[69] He or his scribe would write down the old charters from memory, as nearly as they could remember them. We will suppose that they set to work with the most honest purpose, not meaning

to claim anything to which they had not a lawful right. Still it is quite certain that they would make some mistakes, and they would most likely fall into some contradictions as to dates and witnesses, which a modern scholar would at once find out, and would set down the document as spurious. Spurious in a certain sense such a document is; a charter of Ine written afresh in this way a hundred years after Ine's time is not a genuine document of the time of Ine. But it is a document written without any intent to deceive, and the mistakes in it are mere mistakes and not frauds. Such a document may be nearly as useful for historical purposes as one that is actually genuine. It is at least as good as the witness of a secondary writer, who follows a contemporary authority but makes some mistakes in so doing. Or again, we may believe that it often happened that, when charters were burned or lost, those who were interested produced copies which were written in the same way from memory, but which they meant untruly to pass off as the originals. Here we have a fraud, a fraud carrying with it a certain degree of guilt, but certainly not the same degree of guilt as when the matter of the document is actually invented for a fraudulent purpose. It is hardly my business now to attempt to decide to which of these classes all the charters belong which profess to be grants of Ine or Hædde or Ealdhelm, but which Mr. Kemble, always with great probability, sometimes with absolute certainty, marked as spurious. In fact, out of the great number which were believed in by William of Malmesbury, Mr. Kemble believed in only three or four. It is therefore only to these three or four that we can appeal with perfect certainty. But the others are not to be wholly cast aside. While we cannot trust their details, we may accept them as witnessing to a general

belief in certain main facts, and thereby as affording a presumption in favour of those facts. Such a presumption, when it is supported by any high degree of external probability, rises to the level of a respectable form of secondary evidence, and it may be accepted as long as it is not set aside by direct proof.

I have made all this long preface to a very short story; but I have made it in order to show why I have only a short story to tell, where some may have expected a long one. What I have had in my eye is the mass of charters professing to be grants of Ine and of contemporaries of Ine, in favour of various West-Saxon churches, and above all in favour of the Abbey of Glastonbury. Everything relating to the early history of that renowned church is so enveloped in legend that one has to tread one's way with the greatest caution at every step. We have to tread much as the mythical Glæsting, be he Welshman or Englishman, trod, when he set out from Ashby Thorn somewhere in the middle of England. He had a sow which, while other sows have but four legs, was blessed with eight, and he followed her from his midland home as far as Wells. Thence, the tale goes on, he followed her by a crooked and swampy road, known to after ages as the Sow-way, till he found her suckling her pigs under an apple tree in an island. He found that island, rich as it was in apples, to be a pleasant place to dwell in; he brought thither all his household and dwelled there all the days of his life. Glæsting, thus settled in his island, became the patriarch of the inhabitants of the island, the *gens* of the Glæstingas. Moreover the old church, the wooden church, the *lignea basilica* where Cnut worshipped, arose on the spot where the sow was found under the apple tree, and the apples of that tree were called in the Eng-

lish tongue "old-church apples," and the sow herself was honoured with the name of "old-church sow."[70] Now this story is at any rate as good as the other early Glastonbury stories about Joseph of Arimathæa, about Saint Patrick and Saint David, Saint Fagan and others, some of whom are certainly not mythical persons in themselves, but all of whom are mythical as regards Glastonbury.[71] The story of the sow has at least the advantage over the others that it looks two ways, and gives materials, if for no body else, yet at least for the comparative mythologer. The gentleman whom some of us met a year ago at Totness, who believed in Brute the Trojan, would doubtless be delighted with a story in which one of the adventures of the pious Æneas is repeated in the life of a man who was, for aught I know, one of his descendants settled in our part of the world. For me the attraction lies on the other side. If there is a sow and pigs in the legend of Æneas, if there is a sow and pigs in the legend of Glæsting, there is also a sow and pigs, if not in the history, at least in the legend, of Ine.[72] Wherever, in short, we go in this part of Britain, we light on some thing or other which brings back our hero to our remembrance.

I shall not now attempt to unravel the early Glastonbury legends. But I may remind you that Dr. Guest holds that Glastonbury, even as Ynysvitrin, was not a foundation of that amazing antiquity which the local legends attribute to it. He holds that it was founded, or at least grew into importance, only after the Britons had lost their earlier holy place at Amesbury.[73] But his view, no less than the legendary story, gives me all that I need. Whether we give an earlier or a later date to the origin of the great British monastery, no one denies that Glastonbury was a British monastery; no one asserts

or hints that it began its monastic being after the English Conquest. Whether the monastery of Avalon was an old or a new house at the time when Cenwealh drove the Britons to the Parret, it is agreed on all hands that it was then already in being. Glastonbury is then, on any showing, a tie between the Briton and the Englishman, between the older Christianity of our island and the newer, between the race which we overthrew and the race to which we ourselves belong. It is a tie between all these things such as is not to be found on any other spot in Britain. The talk about the ancient British Church of which some people are so fond, which is mere rubbish when it is talked at Canterbury or York or Winchester, is rubbish no longer when it is talked at Glastonbury. Glastonbury is the great memorial of the second stage of English conquest, of the stage when the conquerors, having exchanged the creed of Woden and Thunder for the creed of Christ, deemed it enough to conquer and no longer sought to destroy. Glastonbury is among churches what Exeter is among cities.[74] As Exeter is the one city of the first rank, so Glastonbury is the one church of the first rank, which lived through the storm of English conquest, which passed into the hands of our victorious fathers as a trophy of victory undestroyed and unplundered. There the continuity between the old and the new state of things was never broken. There was a time when Bath and Chester lay in ruins, as Anderida and Silchester lie still; there was a time when the voice of Christian worship was silenced in York and London, as it has since been silenced at Athelney and Cerne. But the house of Ynysvitrin never lay in ruins; the voice of Christian worship was never silenced there till the sixteenth century overthrew what the seventh had spared. The house changed its name; it changed its

language; British Ynysvitrin changed into English Glastonbury; but there was no such gap as that which parts the British and the English history of either the northern or the southern metropolis. The Christian West-Saxon spared and honoured and enriched the holy place of the Christian Briton. Thus much we may safely say; but, if we seek for details, we have to struggle through a mist of legend, through a yet denser mist of spurious documents. We hardly dare to assert that Cenwealh and Centwine were among the benefactors of Glastonbury, because the charters which claim to be their grants are spurious beyond doubt.[75] Still, at least as regards Cenwealh, we may feel all but certain that the spurious document records a real fact. The house of Ynysvitrin did live through the English Conquest, through the conquests of Cenwealh himself. It was therefore Cenwealh who spared it, and it must have been Cenwealh to whom it owed a second life as an English foundation. We may therefore, almost from the necessity of the case, set Cenwealh down as a benefactor of the house, though the extent and nature of his grants are recorded only in a document which we cannot trust for details. When we come to Ine, we have a clearer light. Among the very few trustworthy documents of this age we have one of Ine himself,[76] and another of Bishop Hædde,[77] in favour of the abbey of Glastonbury, which Mr. Kemble does not reject as spurious. We can therefore set Ine down with certainty as a benefactor of the church which lived on to share the reverence alike of the conquered and of the conqueror. And, having thus fixed Ine as an undoubted benefactor of Glastonbury, we may have less scruple in accepting the statement, which represents Ine as being the founder of that special aspect of the church of Glastonbury which was its distinguishing

feature among the greater English churches, and of which we see the imperishable traces even in its ruins. That statement rests on no such distinct evidence as that which shows Ine to have been a benefactor of the abbey in other ways, but it is uncontradicted and it is in every way likely in itself. Now the distinguishing characteristic of Glastonbury is that there the British and the English church, the church of the conquered and the church of the conquerors, stood for some ages side by side, and that, in a figure, they stand side by side still. The British church, the *lignea basilica*, lived on till, in the twelfth century, it gave way to the great western Lady chapel, latterly called the chapel of Saint Joseph. To the east of this primitive building, several successive churches arose, near to it, but in no way interfering with it or touching it. It was not till the thirteenth century that the walls of the two buildings were made to join, and even that change cannot be said to have wholly thrown them into one.[78] Of these successive churches, it was the belief of William of Malmesbury's age that the earliest was the work of Ine.[79] William had not indeed seen it himself, as he had seen the churches of Ealdhelm at Malmesbury and at Sherborne, for the eastern church at Glastonbury had been more than once rebuilt between Ine's days and his. But the statement has great likelihood on its side. We have the facts that the eastern and western churches were kept distinct till the thirteenth century, and that the primitive British building lived on till the twelfth century. This shows a special respect for the ancient foundation and its remains, which is much more in character with the age of Ine than with the age of Dunstan or any later time. It is plain that the man who first built a church at Glastonbury after the English Conquest deliberately chose to preserve the

primitive building, to keep his own new work altogether distinct from it. Such a determination quite falls in with the various facts and traditions about Ine, all of which place him in a special relation towards the British part of his subjects. But it is in no way in character with Dunstan or with his age, an age when Glastonbury had long been thoroughly English. Had Dunstan found only the wooden church, he would most likely have pulled it down and built his own on the site. Ine, building when Glastonbury was still a recent conquest and when there was still a distinct British element in the country, would be far more likely to respect the primitive building. It is to Ine then, in all likelihood, that we owe the special peculiarities of Glastonbury. He built a church, distinct from the wooden church, and the wooden church survived his building. Not a twig of the one, not a stone of the other, is there now; but they are both there in a figure. The wooden church, the British church, is still represented by its immediate successor, the so-called Saint Joseph's chapel. The church of Ine is still represented by the remains of the great eastern church, the last of several which have risen and fallen on its site. In this way, though nothing of Ine's work has been there for eight or nine hundred years, yet the influence of his hand may be seen still. It is to the fact that Ine built his church distinct from the British church, setting in this an example which later rebuilders followed, that we owe that special character of Glastonbury which in England proper is very rare, most likely unique. In other parts of these islands there are more examples of an earlier church being left standing alongside of a later one. Such examples may be seen at Saint Andrew's and at Killaloe; and all those groups of seven churches of which so many are to be found in Ireland may in truth pass as instances of the same rule. The

one most akin to Glastonbury is at Cashel. There the later church, built between the original church called Cormac's chapel and its round tower, has grown up so as to join the elder church, in the same way as at Glastonbury, though not so as to join the same part of the building. If the example of Ine had been more commonly followed in this matter, our store of antiquities would have been much greater than it is. The building of a later church would not have so constantly involved the destruction of an elder one. Saint Wulfstan might have built his own minster, without having to mourn the hard necessity of sweeping away the minster of Saint Oswald.[80]

The one other church of our own district with which the name of Ine is connected with any shadow of probability is that of Wells. I suppose that I need hardly go about to refute the fable which tells of a series of Bishops of Congresbury; I am sure at least that the Vicar of Congresbury is the last man who will ask me to take upon myself that needless labour. Daniel, Bishop of Congresbury, who in the legend marries Ine and Æthelburh, and who moves his episcopal chair from Congresbury to Wells, is as mythical as the rest of the legend of Ine and Æthelburh in which he finds his place.[81] As far as his name goes, he is clearly no other than Daniel, the first separate Bishop of Winchester, moved to the wrong side of the wood. It is not a bad suggestion of Mr. Hunter's that the name of Congresbury in this legend is likely to be due to a confusion with Kingsbury Episcopi, which was an old possession of the see of Wells, while Congresbury, one of the lordships in dispute between Harold and Gisa,[82] was a comparatively late one. Mr. Hunter, though he knew better than to believe in a series

of Bishops of Congresbury, was still half inclined to believe in a series of Bishops of Kingsbury, for whom there is no better authority.[83] But it is quite possible that the Bishops of Wells, or even those of Sherborne while Somerset formed part of their diocese, may have been locally spoken of as Bishops of Kingsbury. In the same way we have lists of Bishops of Sunning, who are no other than the Bishops of Wiltshire or Ramsbury.[84] Unless the tale about the Bishops of Congresbury is a mere invention, which I am always unwilling to believe of any tale if I can help it, this is the only way in which I can understand how it may have grown up. There were Bishops who, in a certain sense, were Bishops of Kingsbury, and the likeness of the names Kingsbury and Congresbury led the two places to be confounded.

But, however this may be, it is certain that no bishopstool was translated from Congresbury or elsewhere to Wells in the time of Ine. The separate bishoprick of the Sumorsætas, with its bishopstool at Wells, does not begin till Eadward the Elder.[85] Yet I am loath altogether to give up the long standing tradition which connects the name of Ine with the church of Wells. This is a tradition which has no certain evidence whatever in its favour; but, on the other hand, there is no certain evidence against it, and it has some degree of likelihood in itself. As I argued earlier in this paper, a really old tradition, as distinguished from a modern guess, does, when uncontradicted by positive evidence, count for something. We have nearly as good reason for connecting Ine with Wells as we have for connecting Winfrith with Crediton. As I have argued elsewhere,[85] though there certainly was no bishoprick at Wells before the time of Eadward the Elder, yet, if we conceive that Ine founded there a church of some kind

with a body of priests, we can better understand why Eadward the Elder should have chosen Wells as the seat of his new bishoprick. The only document belonging to Wells, earlier than the time of Eadward the Elder, is the undoubtedly spurious charter of Cynewulf. But, as I have already said, a spurious charter may often describe a real state of things, and it is so far in favour of this charter that it does not speak of a Bishop. A forgery which was a mere forgery, which was seeking to establish some imaginary fact or claim, would have been almost certain to carry back the bishoprick of Wells to a time earlier than its real beginning. But this charter does not speak of a Bishop, or indeed of any officer with any definite title; it speaks merely of the church or minster of Saint Andrew and of those who served God therein.[86] I cannot therefore affirm that Ine was a founder or benefactor at Wells, as I can affirm that he was a founder or benefactor at Sherborne, Malmesbury, and Glastonbury. All that I can say is that there is a certain likelihood that he was a founder at Wells, and that there is no distinct evidence that he was not.

I have lastly to speak of one other place, a place within the bounds of the West-Saxon kingdom, but far away from our own part of it, where Ine appears in the local history in a two-fold character, first as a spoiler and then as a benefactor. This is at Abingdon. Some extracts from the local History of that monastery I made in an appendix to my former paper.[87] The same story is told in more than one place of that History. But, at all events, whatever amount of faith we may be inclined to give to the story, Ine was in the end so fully reconciled with the monks of Abingdon by his later benefactions towards building their church that they counted him among their founders.[88]

I have now done with Ine in his second character. We have seen him at Taunton as the conqueror and military founder; we have seen him at Sherborne, and not at Sherborne only, as the ecclesiastical founder. We have spoken of him in these two characters in the two places where those two characters are those which most naturally attach themselves to his name. But there is a third character of Ine which we may look on as higher than either of the others, a character, at all events, in which we learn more from his career than from either of the others. This third character I have as yet left untouched. I have spoken of Ine the conqueror and of Ine the founder; I have still to speak of Ine the lawgiver. To extend the boundaries of the West-Saxon kingdom, to put its ecclesiastical divisions on a more reasonable footing, to call fortresses and minsters into being, may in his own day have well seemed greater deeds than the less brilliant work of putting the usages of his people into the form of a regular code. They were deeds which gave more scope for the panegyrics of the chronicler and the minstrel than the task of fixing the penalty for crimes, of determining the rights of the various classes of his subjects, of decreeing how much greater should be the value of the descendant of the conquerors than the value of the descendant of the conquered. The Laws of Ine, the earliest monument of West-Saxon jurisprudence, are the laws which, as Wessex grew into England, we may look on as the beginning of the Laws of England, as the ground-work of the last law which has received the assent of the sovereign who wears the crown of Ine. As such, they are among the most precious monuments of our early history. They are a full and living picture of one stage in the progress of our nation; they are our great monument of

that stage of our history when Britons and Englishmen were still marked off from each other by a broad line, but when they could already dwell together as members of the same kingdom and governed by the same law. As such they teach us more than the victory over Gerent, more than the pilgrimage to Rome, more than the rearing of the fortress of Taunton or of the minster of Sherborne. Ine the conqueror is specially at home at Taunton; Ine the ecclesiastical founder is specially at home at Sherborne; but Ine the law-giver does not belong to this or that town or church or castle; he is the common possession of the whole West-Saxon realm. Yet, as the special character of his laws is that they were put forth for a people among whom the distinction between Englishman and Briton was still in full life, they are in some sort a peculiar possession of one part of the West-Saxon realm beyond all others. They belong specially to that part of his kingdom whose needs Ine must have had chiefly in his eye, when he secured the conquered no less than the conqueror, in the possession of his lands and in the protection of the law. Those provisions of the laws of Ine which give his code its greatest historical value must have been far oftener enforced by the Tone than by the Thames, by the Avon that flows by Bath than by the Avon that flows by Salisbury. And, if there be any spot in which the common law-giver of Celt and Teuton is specially at home, it is in that common sanctuary of both races where the bones of Eadgar and the Eadmunds were laid, as men deemed, beside the bones of Arthur. If then there is one spot more than another where we can fittingly discuss the Laws of Ine, that spot is to be found in the holy Isle of Avalon. Whenever then we meet a second time, as we did fifteen years ago, beneath the shadow of the sacred mount and the fallen minster of

Glastonbury, I will again gladly take up my pen to speak of Ine as the first recorded law-giver of the West-Saxon people, as I have already spoken of him as the conqueror of Gerent and the friend of Ealdhelm.

NOTES.

(1). See Dr. Guest in the Salisbury volume of the Archæological Institute, p. 63.

(2). This remark is made by Mr. Haddan, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents i. 674. The document will be found in Cod. Dipl. ii. 54.

(3). Mr. Kemble in his Index refers to the earliest document about Sherborne as being no. 252 of his collection. But no. 252 (vol ii. p. 33) is a Worcestershire document. There is most likely some mistake in the Index, and a Sherborne document will be found not far off. This, it will be seen, is a hundred and fifty years after Ealdred's death.

(4). This document is one of Ecgberht, dated September 26. 833. in Cod. Dipl. i. 300. It relates to three sisters, Beornwyn, Alfled, Uualenburch, in the name of which last there seems to be a savour of the Briton. Of these we read, "Contigit post annorum curriculum ut easdem praenominatæ sorores plus de paterna hæreditate suscipientes, Bearnuuine recessit in Domnoniam, et ibi partem suum sumpsit in loco qui vocatur Derentune homm."

(5). "The Celt and the Teuton in Exeter," printed in the Archæological Journal. no. 119. p. 211.

(6). See History of the Norman Conquest, i. 308.

(7). Ib. iv. 582.

(8). This is Mr. Kerslake's comparison, p. 224.

(9). See History of the Norman Conquest, vol. ii. Appendix M. and Comparative Politics. p. 114.

(10). See the note just quoted. p. 589.

(11). We get both these expressive words in the Chronicles. In 1070, in the Winchester Chronicle, we read how Lanfranc was consecrated "on his agenum biscopsetle," and of Odo in Peterborough, 1087, "on Baius was his biscopstol."

(12). Bæda iii. 7. "Sed Brittaniam perveniens ac primum Gevissorum gentem ingrediens, cum omnes ibidem paganissimos inveniret, utilius esse ratusest ibi potius verbum prædicare, quam ultra progrediens eos, quibus prædicare deberet inquirere." So in the Chronicles 634, "Her Birinus bodade ærest Weast Seaxum fulluht;" to which Peterborough adds, "Se Birinus com þider be Honorius wordum þes papan, and he ðær wes biscop oþ his lyfes ende."

(13). See the Historia Pontificalis (Pertz xx, 542) a work which Professor Stubbs attributes to John of Salisbury. Here Henry of Blois asks of Pope Innocent, "ut ei pallium daretur et fieret archiepiscopus occidentalis Angliæ, vel ut ei legatio regni concederetur, vel saltem ut ecclesia sua eximeretur a jurisdictione Cantuariensis." All the answer he gets is a parable about "diabolus et mater sua." The Winchester Annals (1143) tell the story in a somewhat different shape. "Ipse exegit apud papam quod de episcopatu Wintoniensi archiepiscopatum faceret, et de abbatia de Hida episcopatum, et quod episcopatum Cicestriæ sibi subjiceret; et hoc fecit propter crebram decertationem quae fuit inter episcopum et archiepiscopum Cantuariae. Iste enim major videri voluit quam archiepiscopus, ille quam legatus."

(14). See Bæda, u. s. and the Chronicles, 635, 636, 639. The Northumbrian Bretwalda Oswald was present as Cynegils' godfather, and Bæda says of the placing of the bishopstool at Dorchester, "Donaverunt autem ambo reges eidem episcopo civitatem quæ vocatur Dorcic [in Ælfred's English version, "Ða sealdon hi and geafon ðam biscope begen ða cyningas eardung stowe and biscop setl on Dorceceastre."] ad faciendum inibi sedem episcopalem." If the joint action of Oswald was anything more than a piece of complimentary deference on the part of Cynegils, it must have been in his character of Bretwalda that he acted. Dorchester was not at this time Mercian, nor was Oswald local King of the Mercians.

(15). This story is told by Bæda in the same chapter, "Dividens in duas parochias provinciam, huic [Vini] in civitate Venta, quæ a gente Saxonum Vintancaestir appellatur, sedem episcopalem tribuit [he ða todælde on twa biscop scire West Seaxona maegþe and ðam Wine gesealde biscops setl on Wintanceastre]. According to Bæda's account, the quarrel of Cenwealh with Agilberht was a protest of Low-Dutch against High. "Rex, qui Saxonum tantum linguam noverat, pertæsus barbaræ loquelæ." The building of the church of Winchester by Cenwealh is assigned in different copies of the Chronicle to 641, 642, 643, 648 and his baptism to 644, 645, 646.

(16). So says Bishop Godwin in his catalogue; "So Wini, or Wina, was the first Bishop of Winchester, of whom some vainely suppose, the City to have taken his name."

(17). On Hædde see Bæda iv. 12; v. 18; and on the unity of the West-Saxon diocese at this time see Haddan, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, iii. 127.

(18). This document, which must be taken for what it is worth, but which falls in with and explains much that we read elsewhere, will be found in Anglia Sacra i. 193; Haddan iii. 126. Theodore is there made to say, "nobis non congruit, ipso fratre nostro sanctissimo Hedda superstite, qui ecclesiam Wentanam tam insigniter nobilitavit, authoritate summi pontificis Agathonis transferendo corpus beatissimi Birini Occidentalium Saxonum apostoli a villa Dorkecestrensi, ubi reconditum erat, una cum sede in Wentanam civitatem, cujus etiam labore ac studio

apostolicoque mandato ex tunc primo confirmata est in ipsa civitate sedes episcopalis dignitatis, parochiam suam in aliquo lædere diminuendo." This comes from a Winchester writer, Thomas Rudborne, and it must be borne in mind that his tendency would naturally be to make out Winchester to have been the head of the West-Saxon diocese from the beginning. His testimony in favour of the see having been first at Dorchester and then at Winchester has therefore a certain value. But of course the value of this statement as direct evidence depends on the question whether the document from which Rudborne quoted is a real act of Theodore or not. William of Malmesbury too (Gest. Pont. 158.) distinctly asserts a translation of the see to Winchester; "Posterioribus annis confirmato episcopatu West-Saxonum in Wintonia, illuc a pontifice Hedda translatus patronus civitatis post Deum habetur."

(19). This well be found in Haddan iii. 267, 274. The words which concern us are "In præteriti anni synodo statutum est illis [West-Saxonibus] non communicandum, si non tuum judicium in ordinatione episcoporum implere festinarent, quod adhuc neglectum habentes non perficiebant."

(20). So at least says Faricius in his life of Ealdhelm, 368. Ed. Giles. Haddan iii. 275. "Cujus [Heddæ] parochia præ circuitus sui magnitudine, quia ab uno gubernari non poterat, ecclesiasticorum patrum regnmque consilio divisa est in duas."

(21). Chronn. 704, "Her Æþelred Pending Myrcna cyning, onfeng munuchade." He appears in Bæda v. 19. as "Ædilred quondam rex, tunc autem abbas;" and his death at Bardeney is recorded in the Chronicles in the year 716.

(22). When Ealdhelm went to Rome, he consulted Æthelred as well as Ine. Gest. Pont. 363, "Communicato propterea cum rege West-Saxonum Ina et Æthelredo Merciorum consislio, quorum et gaudebat amicitia et eminebat munificentia; illisque a sententia non discedentibus, Romanum callem ingressus est." We hear more of his favour towards Malmesbury in pp. 374, 388.

(23). Gest. Pont. 374, "Nec fastus regius Inam et Ethelredum, illum West-Saxonum, hunc Merciorum principem, ab hac excepit lætitia: quippe ubi antiquo viri amori recens accreverat apostolicarum salutationum reverentia."

(24). Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, iii. 276.

(25). See Norman Conquest, vol. iv. p. 418.

(26). Gest. Pont. 175, "In divisione Westsaxonici episcopatus hoc observatum palam est, ut, qui Wintoniæ sederet haberet duos pagos, Hamptunensem et Sudreiensem, alter, qui Scireburniae, haberet Wiltunensem, Dorsatensem, Berruchensem, Sumersetensem, Domnoniensem, Cornubiensem."

(27). Gest. Pont. 375. Iniqua et impar fuit ea divisio, ut unus duos tantum pagos, alter totum regeret, quicquid West-Saxonici tractus immensitas continet."

(28). So Mr. Haddan (Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents 1. 675).

understands the well known words of Asser, "Dedit mihi Exanceastre cum omni parochia quæ ad se pertinebat in Saxonia et in Cornubia."

(29). The profession is given in Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, 1. 674.

(30). The entry, as given in the Abingdon Chronicle, 709—it is much the same in the others—runs thus; "Her Ealdhelm forðferde, se wæs be Westanwuda bisceop . . . . and wæs todæled on foreweardum Danieles dagum on twa bisceopscira Westsexnaland, and ær hit wæs I. oðer heold Daniel, oþer heold Ealdhelm."

(31). "Se wæs be westan Selwuda bisceop." This is in a Canterbury Chronicle. In Kent Selwood would doubtless not be *the* wood.

(32). Hen. Hunt. M. H. B. 724. B. "Ine vicesimo anno regni sui divisit episcopatum Westsexiae in duo, qui unus esse solebat; partem orientalem a silvis tenuit Daniel, occidentalem Aldelmus." We may however be allowed to doubt whether the Archdeacon of Huntingdon attached any very clear notion to the words "a silvis." Florence (705) merely mentions the division, without giving the boundaries of the dioceses. Geoffrey Gaimar, as might be expected, does not trouble himself with the geography, but he pledges himself to the patriotic motives of Ine and also to the personal beauty of Ealdhelm, who, according to William of Malmesbury also, was a man of great stature;

"Un an apres cil de Westsexe
Del bon Ealdelm unt feit evesque;
Dous eveskez firent donc de une,
Tut par l'esgard de la commune.
L'un eveske tint Daniel;
L' altre out Ealdelf, ki mult fu bel."

1573—1578. M. H. B. 783.

In the charter in William of Malmesbury Gest. Pont. 379, 380, Ealdhelm calls Daniel "reverentissimus frater et coepiscopus meus."

(33). Ethelwerdi Chron. II. 11. (M. H. B. 507 a.); "Obiit Aldelmus beatus episcopus, cujus miro artificio edita opuscula leguntur, eratque ejus episcopatus provincia quae vulgo Sealuudscire dicitur." It is curious that Æthelweard puts this under the head "de actibus Æthelredi Regis Merciorum," not under the next head "de regimine Ine, et de actibus ejus."

(34). See pp. 19. 20. of Mr. Jones' Tract.

(35). Gest. Pont. 175, "Scireburnia est viculus, nec habitantium frequentia nec positionis gratia suavis, in quo mirandum et pene pudendum sedem episcopalem per tot durasse saecula. Nunc de præsulatu in abbatiam mutatus, commercio nostra ætate non insueto, qua omnia factione atque libidine depravata, virtus ludibrio et probro habetur."

(36). Hist. Eccl. v. 18, 23.

(37). See the Chronicles under 721.

(38). See the Worcester Chronicle under 731.

(39). All the Chronicles notice the resignation of Daniel, and those of Worcester and Peterborough add, "And steorran foran swyðe scotienda."

(40). Bæda v. 18. puts Daniel and Ealdhelm together as "ambo et in rebus ecclesiasticis, et in scientia scripturarum, sufficienter instructi." And in his Prologue he mentions further that he learned much about the history of his diocese from Daniel himself. "Danihel, reverentissimus Occidentalium Saxonum episcopus, qui nunc usque superest, nonnulla mihi de historia ecclesiastica provinciæ ipsius, simul et proxima illi Australium Saxonum, nec non et Vectæ insulæ, literis mandata declaravit."

(41). The life of Ealdhelm by Faricius is printed at the end of Dr. Giles' edition of the works of Ealdhelm.

(42.) See the story in Eadmer, Hist. Nov. p. 109 ed. Selden, and in the History of Abingdon, ii. 287.

(43). Gest. Pont. 331. "Fuit sicut non usquequaque despicabilis eloquentiæ, ita in his duntaxat, propter ignorantiam linguæ, incuriosæ scientiæ, utpote sub Tusco natus aere." Of the "ignorantia linguæ" William gives a specimen. Faricius (pp. 356, 357.) had made a wonderful interpretation of the name Ealdhelm. "Ald enim, ut aiunt barbarice, Latine senex interpretatur; inde Aldelmus quasi senex almus. Vere enim, etsi juvenis corpore, animo senili vivebat et laudabili opere." On this William (332) comments "Faricius allusit ad nomen, ut diceretur Aldelmus, quasi senex almus. Sed ego, si ludis insertis occupationes legentis furari liceret, dicerem, longe aliter interpretatione detorta, quod Aldhelmus interpretatur galea vetus. Sic enim debere scribi nomen suum, H littera interposita, ipse sanctus in prologo ænigmatum suorum perspicue innuit; et in epistola ad Withfridum aperte se priscam protectionis galeam dicit."

(44). See my former paper on Ine, page 14.

(45). The genealogy of the Kings of Kent will be found drawn up at the end of the first volume of the English translation of Lappenberg. The chief authority is the Genealogia Regum Cantwariorum of Florence, i. 248 of Mr. Thorpe's edition. Florence distinctly makes two Eormenburhs, and bears witness to the sanctity of the whole house. Thus in the Kentish Genealogy (i. 259) we read "Eormenredo regina sua Oslava quatuor filias et duos peperit filios, sanctam videlicet Eormenbeorgam, quae fuit regina Merewaldi regis West-Anglorum; sanctam Eormenburgam, sanctam Ætheldrytham, sanctam Eormengitham, et sanctos martyres Æthelredum ac Æthelberhtum." One sister of Eormenburh was married to Egberht King of the Northumbrians, according to the Northumbrian writer followed by Simeon of Durham (i. 6 of the Surtees Society's edition). "Fuerat eis ex paterno maternoque soror procreata semine, Eormenburga vel Domneva nomine." And we hear again of Merewald and Eormenburh in William of Malmesbury, Gest. Reg. i. 74, 76. ii. 215.

(46). The portrait of Kenten and his nameless wife, are drawn by Faricius. p. 356.

(47). Gest. Pont. 378. "Novi ergo compos honoris provinciam regressus, cum in omnibus nomen æquaret officio, tum vel maxime

libertati monasteriorum studere, habuitque sedem Scireburniæ, ubi et ecclesiam, quam ego, quoque vidi, mirifice construxit."

(48). Gest. Pont. 346. "Necnon et apud Bradeford tertium ab eo monasterium instructum crebra serit opinio; quam confirmare videtur nomen villæ in serie privilegii, quod jam episcopus monasteriis suis dedit appositum, et antiquis scripturae liniamentis effigiatum. Et est ad hunc diem eo loci ecclesiola, quam ad nomen beatissimi Laurentii fecisse predicatur." The charter to which he refers here is given in pp. 379, 380.

(49). On the well known passage of William of Malmesbury about the change of time under Eadward the Confessor, see Norman Conquest, ii. 504. This is the change from primitive Romanesque to Norman. The change brought in by Roger Bishop of Salisbury, the change from the earlier Norman to the later, is marked by him in the Gesta Regum, v. 408. He speaks of Roger's great undertakings, especially his buildings, and adds "Quod cum alias, tum maxime in Salesbiria et Malmesbiria est videre. Fecit enim ibi ædificia spatio diffusa, numero pecuniarum sumptuosa, specie formosissima; ita juste composito ordine lapidum, ut junctura perstringat intuitum, et totam maceriam unum mentiatur esse saxum." This has been taken to refer to the fine-jointed masonry brought in by Roger. William goes on to record the building of the church of (Old) Salisbury by Roger. He does not distinctly say that Roger built the church of Malmesbury; but I rather think that he wished to imply it without saying it. Roger was unpopular at Malmesbury, and with good reason, for building his castle within the monastic precinct. William was therefore not specially inclined to dwell even on his good works there. Yet his works must refer to a church, and not to the castle; for he couples the building at Malmesbury with the church at Salisbury, whereas, if he were speaking of castles, he could hardly have failed to couple the castle at Malmesbury with the more famous castles at Sherborne and the Devizes.

(50). William of Malmesbury, in his Life of Saint Ealdhelm, traces out the history of several churches belonging to the abbey of Malmesbury from its first foundation to his own time. A church had been standing within his own memory, or shortly before, which professed to be the first church of Meidulf, but about this he seems in doubt. (Gest. Pont. 345.) "Parva ibi admodum basilica paucis ante hoc tempus annis visebatur, quam Meildulfum ædificasse antiquitas incertum si fabulabatur." Ealdhelm built a larger church in honour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. "Fertur fecisse et augustiorem ecclesiam in honorum Domini Salvatoris, et primorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli." In strictness "fertur" ought to refer to Meildulf; but the context shows that Ealdhelm is meant, and the reading of another manuscript distinctly refers it to Ealdhelm. This church of Saint Peter was, down to Eadgar's time (Gest. Pont. 386. 407), held to be the head church of the monastery, but at that time that honour was transferred to the church of Saint Mary. This church, as well as one in honour of Saint Michael, were both built by Ealdhelm. Of Saint Michael's, when he wrote, it would seem that no traces were left, but that such traces had been seen during his own time (Gest.

Pont. 361.) "Fecit ergo ecclesiam eidemque alteram contiguam in honore Sancti Michahelis, cujus nos vestigia vidimus." But of Saint Mary's, which from the days of Eadgar onward was the head church, he speaks in quite another way. He had himself seen it in perfection: "Nam tota majoris ecclesiæ fabrica celebris et illibata nostro quoque perstitit ævo, vincens decore et magnitudine quicquid usquam ecclesiarum antiquitus factum visebatur in Anglia." But it was no longer standing, at all events it was no longer perfect, when he wrote. That is to say, it was, when he wrote, in the process of giving way to the church of which a part is still standing. The nave, in which, though the detail is purely Romanesque, the pier arches are slightly pointed, must, I think, be somewhat later than William's time. The eastern part is no longer standing, except what is left of the arches of the tower. We may therefore safely infer that, when William wrote, the eastern part of the new church was already built, but that part of Ealdhelm's church was still standing on the site of the present nave. In this last we may doubtless see a carrying out of Roger's design for the eastern part, modified by the use of the pointed arch.

(51). Gest. Pont. 362. "Ad hoc ergo templum exquisitius ædificandum post lapideum tabulatum sine ulla parsimonia sumptuum aggerebatur copia lignorum." He goes on to tell the story of the miraculous beam.

(52). I do not mean that there is any special or immediate likeness between Bradford and Romainmoutier. Romainmoutier has more likeness to other examples of Primitive Romanesque in England, those namely where the vertical and horizontal strips are a prominent feature. These last are among those features of the Primitive Romanesque style which were continued in the German Romanesque to the end of the twelfth century. I quote Romainmoutier simply as the great example of a church of this date still surviving.

(53). Chronicon Laureshamense, Pertz xxi. 423 "In brevi tum ex oblatis impendiis, tum ex incendii reliquiis eadem restaurata est ecclesia, et si non ea qua olim miræ venustatis elegantia, tamen prout facultas subpetebat et temporis indulsit festinantia."

(54). Gest. Pont. 378. "Habuit sedem Scireburniæ, ubi et ecclesiam, quam ego quoque vidi, mirifice construxit."

(55). Will. Malms. Hist. Nov. ii. 32. "Scireburnensem prioratum, qui proprius est episcopi Salesbiriensis, in abbatiam mutavit; abbatia de Hortuna proinde destructa et adjecta." He gives no date; that of 1122 comes from a MS. quoted in the Monasticon i. 333.

(56). Gest. Pont. 346. "Fecit et aliud cœnobium juxta fluvium qui vocatur From, sicut in privilegio quod Sergius papa utrisque monasteriis contulit, legitur. Stat ibi adhuc, et vicit diuturnitate sua tot sæcula ecclesia ab eo in honorem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ constructa."

(57). Gest Pont. 363. "Ejus domus maceriæ adhuc superstites, cœlo patuli tecto vacant; nisi quod quiddam super altare prominet, quod a fœditate volucrum sacratum lapidem tueatur." He goes on to tell the legend of the rain never falling, and how all attempts to roof in the ruins had failed.

(58). Gest. Pont. 373, 374. The altar, about which several marvels are told, is described as "ex splendenti marmore candido colore, sesquipedali grossitudine, quadrupedali longitudine, latitudine trium palmarum, labo ex eodem lapide prominenti, in circuitu pulcre decussatum."

(59). Gest. Pont. 374. "Est ibidem et alia major ecclesia in Sancti Petri nomine, quam a beato viro factam et consecratam non negligenter asseverat opinio. Hujus orientalem frontem nuper in majus porrexit recentis ædificationis ambitio."

(60). Gest. Pont. 354. "Animi regalis dotes animabat stimulis monitionum pater Aldelmus, cujus ille praecepta audiebat humiliter, suspiciebat granditer, adimplebat efficaciter."

(61). This appears from the story of Hermann Bishop of Ramsbury trying to annex the abbey of Malmesbury to his bishoprick. See Norman Conquest, ii. 402.

(62). See Norman Conquest, ii. 81—84.

(63). See Norman Conquest, i. 294.

(64). In Domesday 77, under the estates of the Bishop of Salisbury belonging to Sherborne, nine lordships are marked off "Haec novem descripta maneria sunt de victu monachorum Scireburnensium." The monks have also lands in Sherborne itself, where they are described as "monachi episcopi." Compare the words of William of Malmesbury in note 55.

(65). In Domesday 89. *b.* the estates of the canons of Wells came under the head of the lands of the bishoprick, with the introduction, "Canonici S. Andreæ tenent de episcopo."

(66). In Domesday 77. it is said of land at Staplebridge "de eadem etiam terra tenet Manasses iii virgatas quas W. filius regis tulit ab ecclesia sine consensu episcopi et monachorum."

(67). See Monasticon i. 334.

(68). Gest. Pont. 354. Ejus [Aldhelmi] monitu . . . . nec parvi pretii rura Melduno intulit [Ina]." Then follows the charter which is given in Cod. Dipl. i. 55, and which Mr. Kemble does not mark as spurious.

(69). This very remarkable story, bearing date in 903, is told in a Charter in Cod. Dipl. v. 154. A certain Ealderman Æthelfrith loses his title-deeds by fire ("contigit quod Æðelfrido duci omnes hæreditarii libri ignis vastatione combusti perierant.") He then asks King Eadward, the Ealdorman Æthelred, the Lady Æthelfæd and all the Witan of Mercia, that he may have new writings made, a request which is granted without dispute

"Tali igitur necessitate cogente, praedictus dux rogavit Eadweardum regem, Æðelredum quoque et Æðelfledam, qui tunc principatum et potestatem gentis Merciæ sub prædicto rege tenuerunt, omnes etiam senatores Merciorum, ut ei consentirent et licentiam darent alios libros rescribendi. Tunc illi unianimiter omnes devota mente consenserunt ut alii ei libri rescriberentur, eodem modo quo et priores scripti erant, in quantum eos memoriter recordari potuisset."

The decree then goes on to provide for the chance of the new copies not being accurate, and for the chance of the old ones turning up again in the hands of any fraudulent possessor. Nothing of this kind is to

affect the *bonâ fide* right of Æthelfrith. In short, even if the new writings were in themselves spurious, they were made genuine by Act of Parliament.

"Si vero quoslibet recordari minime potuisset, tunc ei ista kartula in auxilio et adfirmatione fieret, ut nullus eum contentiose cum aliis libris affligere valuisset, nec propinquus nec alienus, quamvis aliquis homo aliquem de vetustis libris protulerit quem prius fraudulenter, in hora ipsius incendii vel alio quolibet tempore, per furtum abstraxisset."

(70). This amazing story will be found in William of Malmesbury de Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae (p. 295. Gale). The English words take these forms "Escebtiorne," "Sugewege," "Ealdcyrcenes epple" and "Ealdecyr[c]e suge," though one cannot exactly follow the logic of the statement that, "sus ealdecyre suge idcirco nominabatur, quæ cum cæteræ sues quatuor pedes habeant, mirum dictu, illa habuit octo."

(71). All these tales will be found in William of Malmesbury's Glastonbury work. Whether any kernel of truth is to be found in any of the legends, hardly concerns us here.

(72). The pig-story is told in some manuscripts of William of Malmesbury, Gest. Reg. I. 35. I have told the story in Old-English History p. 71.

(73). See the Salisbury Volume of the Institute 58, 59. Dr. Guest also, in the Archæological Journal, xvi. 129, refers to Gwrgan Varvtrwch as "the king of Domnonia, who is represented by Malmesbury as the founder of Glastonbury Abbey" in 601. The words of William of Malmesbury (Gale 308) are "Rex Domnoniæ terram, quæ appellatur Yneswitrin, ad ecclesiam vetustam concessit, quae ibi sita est, ob petitionem Worgret abbatis." This hardly amounts to a foundation, but it certainly looks like a great advance in the temporal position of the "old church."

(74). I made this comparison from the other side when at Exeter in 1873.

(75). The alleged charter of Cenwealh which is referred to by William of Malmesbury (Gale 308) is given in Cod. Dipl. i. 10. There is also the Charter of Baldred, referred to in the same page and, printed in Cod. Dipl. i. 25, which Mr. Kemble also rejects.

(76). This genuine charter of Ine is given in Cod. Dipl. i. 83. Mr. Kemble there accounts for the manifest mistake in the date.

(77). See Cod. Dipl. i. 24.

(78). The architectural history of the present buildings of Glastonbury should of course be studied in the work of Professor Willis. The point to which I now specially refer is that, after all, the two churches were only connected outside; the approach from one to the other was not by an arch, but by the ordinary west-door of the minster. The arrangement became practically the same as that at Sherborne, after the parish church of All-Hallows was built up against the west-front of the minster. The Gallilee at Durham is another case; only in these two latter cases it was a later building which was built up against the principal church, while at Glastonbury it was an older church which was connected with the newer by an intermediate building later than either.

(79). Ant. Glast. Eccl. 310. "Fundavit Ina majorem ecclesiam de Apostolis Petro et Paulo." He then counts up the earlier churches real or legendary, and adds "Quartam et majorem construxit Ina rex, in honore Domini Salvatoris, et Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, in orientali parte aliarum, pro anima fratris sui Mules, quem Cantuarii infra Cantuariam incenderant." Then follows a string of hexameters, which he says were written by Ine's order. He also, in Gest. Pont. 354, makes Ine renew the monastery of Glastonbury by the suggestion of Ealdhelm, "ejus monitu Glastoniense monasterium, ut dixi in Gestis Regum, a novo fecit." The reference to Gesta Regum is to i. 35; where we read—"indicio sunt monasteria regiis sumptibus nobiliter excitata, praecipue Glastingense, in quo beati martyris Indracti et sociorum ejus corpora, de loco martyrii translata, jussit inferri." And presently "hic etiam beatorum apostolorum ecclesiam, huic vetustæ, de qua loquimur, appendicem, a fundamentis ædificavit, et magnis possessionibus ditavit." Then follows the "magnum privilegium" which is rejected as spurious by Mr. Kemble Cod. Dipl. i. 85.

(80). See Norman Conquest, iv. 384.

(81). I spoke of this legend in my former paper p. 17.

(82). See Norman Conquest, ii. p. 674.

(83). Ecclesiastical Documents, p. 30.

(84). See the list in Florence i. 236. ed. Thorpe.

(85). Cathedral Church of Wells, p. 16.

(85). This charter is in Cod. Dipl. i. 141. He simply says "Dei apostolo atque ministro, sancto Andreae, humiliter ascribendo donabo." And presently his gifts are said to be made "ad augmentum monasterii quod situm est juxta fontem magnum quem vocitant Uvielea, ut eo diligentius in ecclesia sancti Andreæ apostoli Deo soli deserviant." Let no one misapply the word "monasterium," to support the strange belief that there once were monks at Wells. The word "monasterium" or minster is constantly applied to a secular church. See Norman Conquest, i. 424., ii. 671.

(87). See page, 57.

(88). The other reference to Ine in the Abingdon History are at i. 9, where we are told that Ine "primo donationes et beneficia predecessorum suorum Cissae et Ceduuallæ necnon maximam portionum hereditatis Heani abbatis praecipue erga monasterium Abbendoniae, primo irrita fieri decrevit; sed postmodum . . . . . de suis maneriis et licitis donationibus ipsius domus beneficia auxit uberius." Then comes that strange and incoherent charter which is rejected by Mr. Kemble Cod. Dipl. i. 53. The other reference to Ine is in i. 120, where we read of the times "Ciassæ et Ceduuallæ, insuper et Hinæ, regum West-Saxonum, per quorum patrocinia ipsum cœnobium primo fuit erectum et constructum."

The Birthplace of Wynfrith, or Saint Boniface,

AS BEARING ON THE SAXON CONQUEST OF DEVONSHIRE.

BY RICHARD JOHN KING.

THE birthplace of the Saxon Winfrith, better known as Saint Boniface, the "Apostle of Germany" as he is generally called—the greatest churchman of his age, not only in northern Europe but perhaps in all Christendom,—has been fixed by all writers, from Camden downwards, at Crediton in Devonshire. It is only of late years, since Dr. Guest and Mr. E. A. Freeman have investigated with so much zeal and success the various evidences, in written chronicles, in the geography and natural defences of the country, and in existing remains of dykes and entrenchments, bearing on the gradual conquest of western Britain by the English, that any doubt has been thrown on this general belief; and that it has been suggested that the birth of St. Boniface in the last quarter of the seventh century, at what is now Crediton, presupposing an important English settlement there, is inconsistent with what is known of the limits of the English kingdom of Wessex at that period, and with the relations between that kingdom and Domnonia, the West Wales of the English Chroniclers, then embracing, it is asserted, the whole of the present Devonshire and Cornwall, and a great part of

Somersetshire. The question in dispute thus assumes an especial interest. It is not only that we in Devonshire are unwilling to resign the right to claim Saint Boniface as one of our greatest worthies; but if it can be shown that all the accessible evidence tends to confirm the received belief, and that it cannot be set aside without assumptions for which there is no reasonable warrant, we shall be compelled to modify the conclusions at which Dr. Guest and others had arrived, and to admit that, long before the end of the seventh century, English colonists had pushed themselves far into Domnonia, either from the west, or from the southern sea-board. We may still allow that, on the north, there had been little, if any, advance of the English into Devonshire when in 710, Ine and Nunna fought with and overthrew Gerent, King of West Wales,[1] the "gloriosissimus Dominus Domnoniæ" to whom, five years before, Ealdhelm, then Abbot of Malmesbury, had addressed his well-known letter respecting the due observance of Easter.

The principal authority for the life of Saint Boniface is the work of Willibald, a priest of the church of St. Victor at Maintz, who, some thirteen years after the martyrdom of the saint at Doccum in Friezeland, wrote his life at the request of Lullus and Megingoz, the former Archbishop of Maintz, in which see he succeeded Saint Boniface, the latter Bishop of Wirtzburg. Both had been companions of Boniface through much of his labours, and were his faithful disciples. It does not appear that Willibald had at any time received information about his life from Saint Boniface himself; but he was assisted by many persons who had been constantly with the martyred Archbishop, and especially by Bishop Lull or Lullus. Willibald's life

(1). "And Ine and Nun his mæg gefuhton wiš Gerente Weala cyninge." Sax. Chron. ad. ann.

therefore has all but the value of a contemporary history. There exist, beside, a great number of letters written by Boniface, and many addressed to him by different persons from different countries. Some of these are from friends in England, chiefly members of religious houses. From them we gather one or two particulars about the family of Boniface; but for his early life we have to rely entirely on Willibald; for although, at a later period, longer lives of the saint were written, they are little more than amplifications of the first, and are of course without its contemporary authority.

Willibald, without naming the birthplace of Boniface, tells us that, when a boy of four or five years old, he was impressed by a visit to his father's house of certain priests or clerks, who were wandering as missionaries throughout the country.[2] His father, a great householder, and of "earl-kind" or noble birth, loved his son Wynfrith above his other children; and was greatly disturbed when the boy, still of very tender years, declared his resolution to embrace the monastic life. For a long time the father would not consent; but at last, in the crisis of a great sickness, when death seemed close at hand, he yielded, and Wynfrith, with the good will of his relations (propinquorum facta conventione) was[3] sent to a monastery at a place called

(2). "Cum vero aliqui—sicut illis regionibus moris est—presbiteri sive clerici populares vel laicos prædicandi causa adissent, et ad villam domumque præfati patris familias venissent," &c. Willibaldi Vita S. Bon. cap. 1. These wandering clerks may have come from Exeter.

(3). "Puerum, propinquorum facta conventione, ad monasterium, quod priscorum nuncupatur vocabulo Adescancastre, spontaneus, a Domino quidem correptus, direxit, et fideli viro Wulfhardo, qui et abbas illius extitit monasterii, per fideles suæ legationis nuntios redditum commendavit." Vita, cap. 1. May not "prisci" here signify the Britons? If so, it would seem that the description and name of the monastery must have been supplied by some one (perhaps by Wynfrith himself to Lullus) well acquainted with the condition of the district.

"Adescancastre," and commended to the Abbot, whose name was Wulfhard. After remaining for some time in this religious house he passed to another named "Nhutscelle"—whence in due season he crossed the sea,—to become the Christian missionary of Friezeland and of all central Germany, to found the archiepiscopal see of Maintz on the Rhine, and the great monastery of Fulda in the midst of the Thuringian beech woods, to confirm the most important dynastic change which Christendom had hitherto witnessed, by placing the crown on the head of Pepin the Short, and thus transferring, with the sanction of the Church, the royal authority from the house of the Merwings to that of the Karlings; and finally, to die in the wild marsh country of Friezeland, struck down by the swords of a ferocious heathen host, whose old supremacy had been endangered by his successes. With the life of Saint Boniface beyond sea, however, we are not at present concerned. The one clue to his birthplace which is afforded by Willibald is the name of the monastery to which he was first sent—Adescancastre,—which, in spite of some variety of spelling in the manuscripts, Mabillon, Pertz, Jaffé,—all, in short, who have edited, or been concerned with the life and letters of Saint Boniface, have agreed to regard as meaning Exeter,—the "Exanceastre" of the English Chronicles. Although this name is somewhat differently given in different manuscripts,—as "Adescancastre," "Ad Escan Castre," "Adestcancastre," and "Adestancastre,"[4] the variation is not very great; and, but for the assumption that Exeter was at this time still the Romano-British Isca, and that no Saxons had as yet penetrated so far into Devonshire, there would be no

(4). The "ad" represents the Saxon "æt," which was frequently used, as in "Ættæfingstoc"=Tavistock.

question as to the site of the monastery in which Wynfrith was first received. Escancastre can only be Exeter. There is no other "ceastre" or "chester" in the western parts of the country certainly within the limits of Wessex in the latter half of the seventh century, which can possibly be meant. "Akemansceastre" or Bath has been suggested; but this is a guess in no way supported by the manuscripts.

When Wynfrith, who seems already to have received the name of Bonifacius, left his second English monastery, Nhutscelle—which is held to have been Nutshalling or Nursling in Hampshire,—for his labours beyond the sea, he took with him commendatory letters to the princes and bishops through whose territories he might pass, from Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, whose diocese had been conterminous with the kingdom of Wessex, until in the year 705 Ine divided the bishopric into two sees,—Daniel remaining at Winchester, and having as his diocese the whole of Wessex "east of the woods,"—that is of Selwood, while the place of the second see was fixed at Sherborne, and Ealdhelm became bishop of all Wessex west of Sherwood. Nursling was thus in the diocese of Winchester; and letters were exchanged between Daniel and Boniface from the final departure of the latter in 718, to the death of the former in 745. A correspondence was maintained between Lullus, the successor of Boniface in the see of Maintz, and the English Church throughout the island. Kynehard, Bishop of Winchester, writes to Lullus at some time before the year 766, asking for books, and for a continuation of the good offices which had passed between Daniel and Boniface; and about 786, Cynewulf, King of Wessex, with his bishops and nobles (the letter was no doubt despatched after a witena-gemote), writes to Lullus to renew an engagement for mutual prayer made

with his predecessor Boniface.[5] This was thirty years after the death of Boniface; and more than half that time had passed since Willibald had completed his life of the martyr. I mention this in order to show that with this chain of intercourse between Wessex and its chief episcopal see, and Archbishop Lullus, who had directed the writing of the life by Willibald, there is a certainty that that life had, as soon as it was written, found its way to England; and that, had it contained any serious error, it would have been corrected either by surviving relatives of Wynfrith, or by the ecclesiastics of Winchester. But the life was accepted as we now have it; and with the life, the name of Wynfrith's first monastery, "Adescancastre." Had this been wrong we should surely have found some indication of a correction, either in the later lives, or in some decided variation in the manuscripts. But, as we have seen, the difference of spelling is so slight that there is no room for doubt, either that the same place is always meant, or that that place is Exeter.

Willibald gives no name to the place where Wynfrith was born, and refers to it only as "villa domusque patris sui." Nor does he tell us how far it was from the monastery at Adescancastre, to which, it would seem, the boy was sent while his father was still on his sick bed. There is no reference to his birthplace—nothing indeed which at all helps us toward finding even the district in which it was placed—in any of the numerous letters written by Boniface to different persons in Wessex. A certain Leobgitha who writes to him, tells him that her father Tinne—"cujus vocabulum est Tinne in occiduis regionibus," who had been a friend of Boniface, is dead;

(5). All these letters will be found in *Jaffé*, S. Bonif. Epist.; and in *Haddan and Stubbs*, Councils and Eccles. Doc. vol. iii.

and that her mother Ebbe, who was his kinswoman, sought his prayers. Tradition makes Willibald bishop of Eichstadt (not the writer of the life), a nephew of St. Boniface—his father having been a certain Richard, called King of the West-Saxons, who married Winne, a sister of Wynfrith, and was himself recognized as a saint. But the name, Richard, which although Teutonic is not Saxon, makes all this story doubtful. Willibald's life tells us all that we know with any certainty about his family; and a local tradition of most ancient standing has fixed the "villa domusque patris sui" at Crediton. The earliest written record of this tradition is found in the Legendary compiled under the direction of Bishop Grandison, in 1336, for the use of Exeter Cathedral. This book, a finely-written manuscript in two thick folios, remains in the Chapter Library; and under the heading of Saint Boniface it is recorded that the future Archbishop was born of noble race—"ex bonâ prosapiâ," in the country of the West-Saxons, "apud Creditoniam in Devonia." Such a statement implies that the belief at that time was of very great antiquity, and had probably never been questioned. No other place has at any time, or in any way, laid claim to have been the birthplace of Wynfrith; and although Saint Boniface was commemorated throughout the English church, he was nowhere more honoured than in the cathedral of his own district, which preserved, it must be remembered, the most ancient traditions of the diocese, although the place of the see had not always been at Exeter. When the Devonshire see was first established, at Crediton, in or about the year 909—about 150 years after the death of Boniface—it may well have been that recollections of the saint led to the fixing of the see at his birthplace. At any rate we know that by that time

Crediton had become an important English settlement,—the "villa" of an over-lord, in the open country, where his own dwelling was surrounded by those of his followers and dependents.

Under ordinary circumstances, this evidence, although it is not of the first order—that is, it has not the weight of a direct contemporary statement—would be accepted as sufficient; and no shadow of doubt would ever have been thrown on the claim of Crediton to represent the birthplace of Saint Boniface. But it must be remembered that it has been pronounced as a certainty that no English—no Saxons—had before the end of the seventh century broken through the borders of the present Devonshire, or established themselves within its limits. It is held—that is, it is expressly maintained by Dr. Guest, whose conclusions are accepted by Mr. Freeman, that Dyvnaint or Domnonia was as yet a great unbroken kingdom; that its chiefs were powerful, perhaps quite as powerful as the English kings of Wessex who were pressing on their borders; that its ancient Romano-Keltic traditions were maintained with vigour, and that it was in close communication with Armorica on one side, and with the Britons of what is now Wales on the other. If this view is strictly correct we must give up Saint Boniface as having been in any way connected with either Exeter or Crediton. But let us see what additional indications may be found, to induce us still to hold by the evidence supplied by Willibald's life and the local tradition. We may admit at once that the question is one of great difficulty, and that we can but feel our way in the darkness. Nevertheless, there seems to be considerable reason for hesitating before we allow that the condition of Domnonia in the latter years of the seventh century, was precisely such as it has been painted by Dr. Guest.

If we recognize Exeter in the Adescancastre of Willibald, it follows not only that a Saxon colony was already, about the year 680, in possession of part of the city, but that some kind of monastic establishment was in existence in the region occupied by the colonists. The West-Saxons, it must be remembered, had received their first Christian teaching from the Frank, Birinus, who died Bishop of Dorchester in 650. Not more than 30 years therefore had elapsed from this date, when we are called on to suppose a Christian settlement, with a monastery, at Exeter. But it is clear that Christianity spread at once, and rapidly, throughout all those parts of Britain which were under West-Saxon rule, and all that is known of Ine, King of Wessex, the contemporary of Saint Boniface, besides all that is recorded of the early life of Boniface himself, shows that the conversion had been general, and the zeal of the converts untiring. The Saxons who penetrated into and conquered Domnonia, whenever that conquest took place, came not as heathen exterminators, sweeping the country free of its British inhabitants. This had been the case in the portions of Wessex first conquered by them, and in the rest of Britain. But by the time they entered what is now Devonshire they had themselves become Christians, and the older inhabitants, subdued and perhaps inthralled, were not exterminated. Thus, allowing that a Saxon colony had settled in Exeter so early as 680, there is nothing to surprise us at finding such a monastic establishment among them as that to which Wynfrith was sent, and over which Wolfhard presided. They would come as Christians, and as Christians with all the zeal of new converts; and the first church raised by them in their quarter of the city would in all likelihood be connected with a small body of monks, as at Dorchester, or at Winchester,—

wherever in fact an ecclesiastical centre was established. And the Saxon conquest of Exeter, whenever and however it occurred, differed altogether from the conquest of such Romano-British cities as Bath, or Gloucester, or Winchester. The Britons, to all appearance, were never driven entirely from it; and as late as the reign of Æthelstan (A.D. 926) they occupied the city "æquo jure" with the Saxons. Æthelstan, we are told, expelled them from Exeter, and set the Tamar as the boundary between the British sub-kingdom of Cornwall—the reduced Domnonia,—and the true Wessex. "The Lord of all Britain," says Mr. Freeman, "the conqueror of Scot and Northman, the lawgiver of England, deemed it time . . . to place the supremacy of the conquering nation in the chief city of the western peninsula beyond all doubt. Hitherto we may be sure that the English burghers had formed a ruling class, a civic patriciate. Now, strengthened doubtless by fresh English colonists, they were to become the sole possessors of the city."[6] The questions for us are, for how long a time this double occupation of Exeter had continued, and in what manner it had begun? We have heard the evidence of Willibald. Mr. Kerslake of Bristol, in a very interesting paper read at the Exeter meeting of the Archæological Institute,[7] endeavoured to trace the limits of the British and Saxon quarters of the city under the guidance, partly of the ancient walls and streets, and partly of the dedications of the several churches. We gather from it, and with tolerable certainty, that the

(6). "The Place of Exeter in English History," *Macmillan's Magazine*, Sept. 1873. The paper was read by Mr. E. A. Freeman, at the meeting of the Archæological Institute, in Exeter, in the autumn of 1873.

(7). "The Celt and the Teuton in Exeter." This paper has been printed in the Journal of the Institute.

Saxons had established themselves on the south and east; and that a portion of the city on the north, in which we find the churches of the British saints, Petrock and Kerrian, together with the country beyond it, marked not less significantly by the church of Saint David, was retained by the Britons. The indications are, without doubt, that the Saxon colonists had reached Exeter either from the south, by the river, or from the eastern border of the county. It would seem, also, judging from the recognition of the division, that the occupation of Exeter had been comparatively peaceful. The newly Christianized Saxons found Christians and Christian churches within the walls of Caer Isc,—the Romano-Keltic city which had never been altogether destroyed or abandoned, and which must still have displayed many a trace of Roman occupation and magnificence. Nor, on the other hand, would they have been unrecognized by the British Christians. The letter of Ealdhelm to Gerent, King of Domnonia, written in 705, implies that the Christians of "West Wales," differing as they did from the Saxons on the question of Easter, and on one or two minor points, were by no means so unwilling to join in communion with them as their Welsh brethren beyond the Severn.[8]

The separation of the British and Saxon quarters, pointed out by Mr. Kerslake, must have been long in

(8). This is implied not only by the whole tone of the letter, but by a passage in which Ealdhelm dwells strongly on the errors of the Welsh priests—(North Welsh as they would then be called, in distinction from those of "West Wales.") "Illud vero quam valde a fide catholica discrepat . . . . . ; quod ultra Sabrinæ fluminis fretum Demetarum sacerdotes, de privata propria conversationis munditia gloriantes, nostram communionem magnopere abhominantur, in tantum, ut nec in ecclesia nobiscum orationum officia celebrare, nec ad mensam ciborum fercula pro caritatis gratia pariter percipere dignentur." See the whole letter in *Haddan and Stubbs*, vol. iii.

existence when Æthelstan visited Exeter in 926. No date can be fixed for its beginning; but the legend of Saint Sativola, or Saint Sidwell, whose church outside the eastern gate of Exeter is said to mark the place of her beheading by a certain scytheman or mower—(fæniseca)—falls in with the belief that Willibald's Adescancastre is Exeter, and that Wynfrith was born at Crediton. Her legend asserts that she was a contemporary of Saint Boniface; that her father, Benna, was a Briton; and that, after his death, her step-mother, covetous of her fortune, caused her to be killed while at prayer near a fountain which afterwards bore her name. Sativola is said to have been the eldest of three sisters, Juthwara, Wilgitha, and Eadwara,—names which are Teutonic and not British, unless they have been disguised by later hagiologists.[9] Her own name seems to be Keltic; and one is half inclined to imagine that an inter-marriage between Saxon and Briton may not even at that time, have been impossible. Be that as it may, her legend distinctly asserts that she was a contemporary of Saint Boniface,—an additional, if faint, indication in support of the local tradition which makes Crediton his birthplace.

The distribution of Britons and Saxons in and round Exeter, implies, as we have seen, that the latter approached from the south or east,—perhaps from both quarters. There are other reasons for believing that Domnonia was attacked on its eastern side as well as by Ine on the north. There is, for example, a tradition that Æthelstan founded Axminster, the minster of the Axe, as the memorial of a great battle in which five kings and seven earls fell, and which raged from a point known as the hill of St.

(9). The legend of S. Juthwara is given by Capgrave. All the sisters were recognised as saints.

Calixtus—"munt Saint Calyxt"—to a place called Colecroft, close under Axminster. The tradition of this battle is recorded in the register of Newenham Abbey, a document of the age of Edward III.[10] We have here, no doubt, recollections of Brunanburgh, and of the famous poem preserved in the English Chronicle; indeed, it has been suggested that Axminster was really Brunanburgh, and the scene of that great fight. Such a notion no one would maintain at present; for wherever may have been the real site of Brunanburgh, we know that it was somewhere in Northumbria. But the tradition of a great battle does not get fixed anywhere without some reason; and this fight at Axminster may very well have been a real struggle between Britons and Saxons, with which, at a later period, some of the Brunanburgh details were confused. There is more than one instance of a minster having been founded by the conqueror on the field of his victory. The great Abbey of Battle, on the field of Senlac, at once presents itself as the most prominent example; and, in 1020, Knut built a "minster of lime and stone" on the field of Assandun, where he broke the force of Edmund Ironside. It is quite possible that the minster of the Axe may, as tradition asserted, have been the memorial of a great battle. That there was a church at Axminster in 784, we know from the record in the English Chronicles, under that, and the previous year 755, of the deaths of Cynewulf, King of Wessex, and of an Ætheling, named Cyneheard. The body of the King, it is said, was buried at Winchester; that of the Ætheling

(10). This register was among the MSS. of Sir Thomas Phillipps. It contains two accounts of the battle, one in French, and another in Latin. The Cistercian Abbey of Newenham is within half a mile of Axminster.

at Axminster.[11] The bodies were conveyed from Merton in Surrey; and there must have been some strong and especial reason for taking that of the Ætheling so far west. He or his family must have had some close interest in the minster which already existed at Axminster. Tradition attributed its foundation to Æthelstan; but here is a proof that it had arisen long before his time; and the confusion of the fight at Axminster with that at Brunanburgh, led also, in all probability, to the introduction of Æthelstan's name as that of the founder of the minster.

The northern march of what is now Devonshire may for a long period—up to, and after the fight in 710 of Ine and Nunna with the British King Gerent—have run very nearly along the line which now separates Devonshire from Somersetshire. There are indications, such as the Simon barrow on the Blackdown hills, and the Simons bath in Exmoor—places which I believe to be named from Sigmund the Wælsing, one of those Teutonic heroes under whose protection march lands were generally placed[12] —that this frontier was one of some permanence during the struggle between Saxon and Briton. But it was broken at last. Saxon colonists and conquerors poured down from the north; and under Æthelwulf, father of Ælfred the Great, in the middle of the ninth century, the men of Devonshire, a mixed race it may be, had become West-Saxon subjects, and fought valiantly against the Danish invader. But if the evidence on which I have been dwelling is at all to be regarded, we must believe that long before the Saxons entered Devonshire from the

(11). "And se Cynewulf rixode xxxi geara. And his lic liŏ on Wintanceastre. and thæs æthelinges æt Axanmynster." Chron. ad ann 755.

(12). See "The Folk Lore of Devonshire," a paper by the present writer in *Frazer's Magazine* for December, 1873.

north, they had passed the Axe on the eastern border, and had made themselves masters of part of Exeter, and of portions of the surrounding country. It is impossible to say in what manner this may have been effected,—whether by single leaders with their followers, penetrating at different points into the country, or, as the Axminster battle may indicate, with the full force of the royal "host." But I am much inclined to believe that a careful examination of the whole southern coast of Devonshire—and perhaps of the coast west of the Tamar—will afford indications that isolated Saxon settlements may have taken place along it at remote periods; and it may even be a question whether the great keep mounds of Totnes and of Plympton may not have been the work of these first Saxon settlers—who needed strongholds near the sea,—rather than of Britons or Brito-Romans.

To return for a moment to Crediton. The position of the present church, marking that of the most ancient settlement, is precisely such an one as an early Saxon colonist would have most affected. It stands on a knoll of higher ground, open and sunny, at the head of a long green meadow which opens to the vale of the Creedy, the little river from which "Cridiantun," Crediton, the "town" or enclosure of the Creedy, is named. There is no reason to believe that any Roman or British occupants had preceded the Saxon on this site. At any rate, no remains of that earlier period have been discovered at Crediton. A line of road runs over the hills by Whitstone from Exeter to Crediton, and is perhaps more ancient, since it avoids the lower marsh-lands, than that which, also of considerable antiquity, follows the course of the Creedy upward from its junction with the Exe. These may represent British trackways passing towards the north

coast; but, although there are ancient camps and earthworks along their course, if at some little distance from it, there is no evidence and no record that any such stronghold ever existed at Crediton. The Saxon colonists may have found their way to it along the hills from Exeter—an approach which, according to Mr. Kerslake's disposition of the city, would be directly open to them. However they came, they, to all appearance, found the site unoccupied, and clear for their own settlement. The church which served as the first cathedral of the Devonshire see, after the erection of that see about 909, occupied it may be, the site of the timbered house in which Wynfrith first saw the light. Leland found a tradition existing, to the effect that this Saxon church stood somewhat west of the existing building. No traces of foundations have been discovered; but in the valley west of the present church are two water springs, one of which is protected by an arch of Early English character; the other is known as Saint Winifred's well. It seems more than probable that this should really be Saint Wynfrith's well, and that we have here a direct memorial—it is the only one which can be traced at Crediton—of the great Apostle of Germany. Wynfrith, although he received the name of Bonifacius, either on making his full monastic profession, or at his ordination as priest, continued to subscribe himself, almost to the end of his life as "Wynfrith qui et Bonifacius." In his own country he would be more likely to retain his English name.[13]

(13). The churches of Brancecombe, on the coast between Seaton and Sidmouth, and of Manaton, on the border of Dartmoor, are dedicated to Wynfrid or Winifred. This is far more likely to be Wynfrith of Crediton than the Welsh saint, whose legend did not come into existence before the twelfth century.

A short Memoir of Bishops Aldhelme, and Athelme, or Adelme.

BY THE REV. CANON MEADE.

ALDHELME, BISHOP OF SHERBORNE.

THERE is so much resemblance between some of the Saxon names, and yet the mode of spelling them varies so much, that it is not surprising if Aldhelme, the first Bishop of Sherborne, should be sometimes confounded with Athelme or Adelme, the first Bishop of Wells.

Brihtwald, the eighth Archbishop of Canterbury, rejoices in no less than twelve *aliases*, or different spellings of his name.[1]

It may be not inappropriate, therefore, to call to mind the points of difference between these ancient occupiers of the sees of Sherborne and of Wells.

Although desirous to do full justice to OUR first bishop (Athelme of Wells), a divine who seems to have been raised solely by his character for learning and piety to the

(1). Brectwaldus (Hoveden), Britwold (Huntingdon), Brithwoldus (Brompton), Brichtwaldus (Diceto), Berthwaldus (Simeon of Durham), Berechtwaldus and Bertwaldus (Bede), Birctwaldus (Malmesbury), Brihtwaldus (Flor. of Worcester), Berchtwald (Chron. Marl. and S. Cruc), Brithwaldus (Matth. Paris), and Bricwaldus (Birchington). See Richardson's note in Godwin, quoted by Hook.

highest stations in the Church, yet it must be acknowledged that the friend of Archbishop Theodore—of Hadrian the scholar and divine,—Aldhelme, the monk of Malmesbury, Sherborne's first bishop, takes a still higher rank among the learned and holy men of the age in which he lived. Aldhelme or Ealdhem was the nephew of the celebrated Ina, King of the West-Saxons, being the son of Kentred, Ina's brother. His early life was devoted to study; and from his retreat at Malmesbury he mentions in letters to his learned friend Hadrian several of the subjects of study on which he there employed himself.[2] Such were "Latin versification, Roman jurisprudence, astronomy, astrology, and arithmetic"—the last he says that he found a "laborious science," and well it might be, when all calculations had to be performed by the Roman numerals, the seven letters, C. D. M. I. V. X. L.[3]

The reputation of Ealdhelm for learning became so great that persons came from Scotland and France to study under his guidance. He was ordained by Eleutherius, Bishop of Winchester, between the years 670 and 675, and not long after his ordination we find him raised to the abbot's chair at Malmesbury.

In 689, having gone to Rome with King Ceadwella,[4] he obtained a grant from the Pope Sergius, exempting his abbey from episcopal jurisdiction, and from secular service, and conferring on the monks the privilege of electing their abbot. On the death of Hædda, Bishop of Winchester, in the year 705, that extensive diocese was divided,

(2). The account of Aldhelme's studies and learning at Malmesbury is given in Bede Hist. lib. 5, c. 18.

(3). Arabic numerals were not introduced into Europe till 1050, into England 1253.

(4). Who is said to have gone thither for baptism. He was the immediate predecessor of Ina.

Daniel became Bishop of Winchester, and Aldhelme, much (it is said) against his will, received the western portion of the diocese, with the title of Bishop of Sherborne. His diocese comprised the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall; and Bede tells us that for four years he administered the affairs of his see—("strenuâ diligentiâ")—"with unwearied diligence." Indefatigable in preaching and giving instruction to the ignorant, he was liberal in employing his augmented means in building and endowing churches; his zeal was tempered by a charity in advance of his age; for, although he considered the Celtic churches of Wales and Cornwall as schismatical, he earnestly desired their reconciliation, and in his letter to Gerontius, Prince of Cornwall (King Gerunt),[5] he admits the orthodoxy with which they inculcated the doctrines of the gospel, and preached the mystery of our Lord's incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension.

Aldhelme seems plainly to have held the great principle that schismatics were to be convinced not by *force*, but by *reason*.

It will be recollected that at this period two subjects of controversy existed in the Christian Church, which excited the minds not only of prelates, but also of princes, viz., the proper period for the observance of the Easter festival, and the tonsure.

The Celtic bishops agreed on these points with the Eastern Churches, the Anglo-Saxon with the Latin. Theodore, the Archbishop of Canterbury at this time, was originally of Tarsus, the birthplace of St. Paul; but although at first a Greek churchman, he had conformed to the formularies of the Latin Church; and Hadrian, who

(5). As Hook calls him ! !

had been appointed by the Pope[6] to accompany the Archbishop to England, had also to conform both to the Latin mode of resolving the question of Easter, and also to the Roman method of tonsure. The oriental mode permitted the long hair to fall down behind, but shortened that on the front—and the Archbishop and his assessor were delayed some time in Rome, till the hair of one or both was long enough to be submitted to the scissors of orthodoxy.

In due time, "the flowing locks at the back of his head were abscinded, the licentious prolixity of the beard curtailed, and with the legitimate amplitude and circularity of crown, Hadrian started with Theodorus as 'amicus curiæ' for England."[7] Some years after, there appears an order in the canons of Archbishop Richard, requiring this portion of the clerical toilet to devolve not on the *barber*, but on the *archdeacon*—a duty this for which, in the modern revival of ancient usages, it may be well that our present archdeacons should be prepared!

I would not, however, be supposed to imply by these remarks that Christianity in these early times was merely nominal or trivial, on the contrary there was much in it, as the examples of Aldhelme, Anselm, and others shew, which was deep, loving, and real. An edition of the works of this eminent man, the father of Anglo-Saxon literature, was printed at Mayence in 1601,[8] but his life written by King Alfred has unfortunately perished.

He died A.D. 709, and was buried at Malmesbury.

ATHELME, BISHOP OF WELLS.

It is well know that Ina, King of Wessex, a sovereign not more eminent for his courage and success as a warrior,

(6). Vitalianus. (7). Hook, p. 144.
(8). Dict. Historique de l'Avocât—Librn. of the Sorbonne.

than for his qualities as a statesman, a legislator, and a devout Christian, about the year 704 (five years, *i.e.*, before the death of Aldhelme, the subject of the preceding memoir) founded a collegiate church at Wells for four canons; the church was dedicated to St. Andrew, and the little foundation is said to have been augmented in 766, by Cenulph (successor of Sigebert in the West-Saxon territories). In this state this humble seminary of religion remained for 200 years, until the year 905, when, as we are informed by the historians of the times,[9] a Synod was held; in pursuance of an edict issued by King Edward the Elder, at this synod it was resolved to increase the members of the episcopate and to erect three new bishoprics, to be taken out of the large dioceses of Winchester and Sherborne, these sees having become vacant in 909, some others also being found void at the same time. The Archbishop of Canterbury consecrated seven bishops, it is said, on one occasion. At this time, and since the year 890, Plegmund,[10] once the hermit of Plegmundesham, or Plemstall near Chester, was Archbishop of Canterbury, having been appointed to that see by King Alfred, who is said to havé had a high opinion of his piety and learning.

Athelme had been chosen President, or as it was afterwards called Provost (now Dean), of the Canons at Wells, and was promoted to fill the new office of Bishop of Wells. By some authorities he is said to have been also Abbot of Glastonbury, but as his name does not appear in the list of the abbots in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, it is probable that he was only a monk of that religious house. Glastonbury, as is well known, was the Eton of Anglo-

(9). Ralph de Diceto, and William of Malmesbury, &c.

(10). Plegmund was consecrated in 890.

Saxon England, "the chief seat of education for the upper classes of society." From this great school of learning, when Plegmund had resolved to form Somerset into a diocese, he fixed on Athelme to be its first bishop.[11] The bishop elect may not have held so dignified a post as abbot of that important monastery, he may not have been either the provost or even the head master of the Eton of those early days, yet is it a sufficient attestation to his eminence as a scholar, a theologian, and a man of piety, that he was chosen by the King and the Archbishop to fill the office of first bishop for the Somersætians at Wells.

The Canon of Wells tells us that the dioceses supplied at this time by Archbishop Plegmund, were Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, Devon, and Cornwall; and that the bishops then consecrated were Fridstan, Bishop of Winchester; Brornock, Bishop of Selsea (for Sussex); Eadulph Bishop of Crediton, for Devon; Athelme, Bishop of Wells; and Athelstan, who was seated at Petrockstow, or Padstow, in Cornwall, with two others.

After occupying the see of Wells for nine years, Athelme was considered the fittest person to be advanced, on the death of Plegmund, to the see of Canterbury. Collinson, in his notice of Wells, and Cassan, in his *Lives of the Bishops*, speak of "the strict integrity of his moral character, and of his intuitive knowledge of mankind."

However that may be, having filled to the satisfaction of the Church and the crown the office of a suffragan bishop, it is surely no small confirmation of the esteem in which he was held, that, in the year 914, Athelme was selected

(11). It has been said by some (see Hook in Plegmund) that the vacancies in many of the dioceses were occasioned by King Alfred rigourously declining to appoint any but men of learning to the vacant bishopricks.

for the highest position which a prelate of the Church of England can be called to fill.[12]

If the question occurs, "Why was Wells thus fixed upon as the seat of the bishop in this county?" no better answer can be given than that which Mr. Freeman has suggested in his able and interesting little volume on *The Cathedral Church of Wells*,—neither of the two larger towns then existing in the county, neither, *i.e.*, the "Roman city of Bath, at one extremity, nor the English town of Taunton, founded by King Ina, on the south-west, were sufficiently central to form a suitable place of residence for the bishop. Glastonbury, surrounded by water in its Island of Avalon, was occupied with important pursuits, and of a different character, neither would its mitred abbot be likely to have approved the planting of a rival authority either on his chair, or in his immediate neighbourhood. Wells, therefore, seems to have been chosen for its more central position, where was already a body of clergy attached to the Church of St. Andrew, and the salubrity of whose springs was probably bringing the place, called also Welwe and Fonticuli, into some notoriety.

Most ecclesiastical preferments at this period were given to monks. Not that monastic institutions seem to be suited to the character of the English people—on the contrary there is a love of liberty, of independence, of self-conquest, and self-control, which are far more truly characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race. But many of the kings and archbishops under the influence of the

(12). From the dates which are assigned to the episcopate of Ealdhelm, sometimes called Adhelm, at Sherborne, and the appointment of Athelm or Adhelm first Bishop of Wells, it will be seen that there was an interval of about 200 years between the two prelates. Ealdhelm died at Sherborne in 709; Athelm of Wells died after his translation to Canterbury, A.D. 923.

Popes, discouraged the secular clergy, favoured and advanced the regulars.

It is very interesting to observe how steadily Wells has maintained the original character of its foundation amidst all vicissitudes of its history, from the very beginning down to the present day. Notwithstanding the power and prejudices of kings and archbishops—of the Edreds, the Odos, and Dunstans—the services of the Church have been continually performed, not by "cucullated" clergy, as was the case in all cathedrals of the new foundation, but by a dean and canons, as is the case now. And its "president" and four canons, such as they were in the 9th and 10th century, are represented now by the dean and four canons of the present period.

Mr. Irvine, who has acted as clerk of the works during the recent restoration of the west-end of Wells Cathedral under Mr. Ferrey, the architect, took a deep interest in the constructional history of the church. His very careful observations of the fabric, which are now published in the last volume of the *Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society*, convinced him that there were five periods in which the chief works of construction were effected. These five divisions are indicated by particular characteristics in the architecture and masonry.

To me this remark seems full of interest. It shows the zeal which prompted the clergy and people of Somerset in so many different periods to promote the enlargements, improvement, or restoration of their diocesan church—these costly additions or repairs prove in what high estimation their cathedral and its services were held, through so many successive ages. I look at these several restorations as "*petrifactions*" of the motto, "esto perpetua," and of

the desire of so many consecutive generations that their noble church and its services should last while the world itself lasted.

The great and good monarch of Wessex in the 8th century could not but be gratified if he were permitted to see his foundation at Wells, 200 years older than the bishoprick, maintained and flourishing, after the flight of ten centuries. Nor would *he* be disappointed if he were to behold the last restoration, which, by the liberality of his Somersætians, has just been completed. If, standing at the new entrance gate,[13] he should behold Bishop Jocelyn's noble front, with its storied sculptures, and shafted canopies, supported by elegant pillars of Kilkenny-Purbeck, rising up from its levelled carpet of green, freed from all vulgar incumbrances, with a grandeur it never knew before, or certainly has not known for 400 years!

EXTRACT FROM THE ACCOUNT OF THE PRELATES BY THE "CANON OF WELLS."

Plegmund, the most excellent learned man of his time, was borne in the kingdom of Mercia. In his youth he first dedicated himselfe to a solitarie life, and lived an eremite in the Island of Chester, which of him (as it should seem) was wont to be called Plegmundsham. He was taken thence to teach Alfred, that was afterward king of England. Being chosen archbishop, he travailed to Rome, in person, and was there consecrate. Soone after his returne, to requite belike the curtesie he had found there, he tooke great paines in collec-

(13). Near Brown's Gate.

ting the almes of al men wel disposed thro' the land, which the King sent together with much treasure of his owne by Athelmus Bishop of Winchester, appointing a certaine portion of the same to be conveied unto Jerusalem. Marianus then Pope, a little before had gratified the King divers waies. He had granted immunitie of tribute unto the Saxons schoole at Rome, and sent sundrie presents unto him, namely, among other things a piece of the crosse upon which our Saviour was thought to have suffered death. By this contribution his kindnesse was sufficiently requited. The most remarkable action of this Archbishop is, that the yeare 905, he consecrated seven bishops in One day. By reason of continuall warres, all the province of the West-Saxons had been without any bishop for seven yeares, which Formosus the Pope *imputing unto the negligence of the King*, sent out an *excommunication against him*. He therefore caused Plegmund the Archbishop to call a convocation, wherein it was ordered that the country of the Gewisses,[14] which till that time had but two bishops (one at Winchester, another at Shirburne) should hereafter have five; viz., besides the Sees afore-named, Welles in Sommersetshire, Crediton in Devonshire, and *St. Petrock's in Cornwall.* Unto Winchester was appointed Frithstan, to Shirburne Wolfstan, to Criditon Cendulfe, and to Saint Petrock's Athelstane. . . . . Plegmund sat archbishop 26 yeares, and dying ann. 915, was buried in his owne church.

"Athelm that had been Abbot of Glastonburie and was appointed the *first Bishop of Wells* was chosen to succeed Plegmund in Canterburie. William of Malmesbury saith that this archbishop laid the first foundation of the Abbey of Malmesburie, but it seemeth to be more ancient than so. He sat nine years. Died anno 924, and was buried with his predecessors."

Of the appointment of Athelm or Aldhelm to the see of Wells, the Canon of Wells thus speaks (pa. 289):—

"It happened then (the yeare 905) that Plegmund Archbishop of Canterbury, by the commandment of the King, consectrated seven bishops in one day, whereof three were

(14). Gewisi—the West-Saxons.

appointed to sees newly erected; among the rest Aldhelm,[15] abbot of Glastonbury, was ordained Bishop of Wels, and Somersetshire allotted unto him for his diocese. He sat there ten years, and after the death of Plegmund was removed to Canterbury.

2. Wifelnius who saw Aldhelm both here and at Canterbury. He lived here nine yeares and there fourteen; a man (saith Poly. Virg.) famous as well for vertue as learning.

3. Elfeth.

4. Wifhelm.

5. Brithelm.

6. Kene*war*dus or *wal*dus.

7. Sigar.

8. Alwyn, Adelwyn, Ealfwyn.

9. Burwold. His tombe is to be seene with his name engraved, upon the south side of the quier at Wells.

(15). Thus the Canon of Wells calls Athelm Aldhelm.

Ealdhelm,

First Bishop of Sherborne,

AND THE MEETING OF THE ENGLISH AND BRITONS, AND THEIR TWO CHURCHES IN WESSEX.

BY W. BARNES, B.D.

THE few notes which I would cast into the increasing store of knowledge which is gathered by the Somerset Archæological Society, are not, in themselves, so truly history, as clues to a further insight into the meeting of the two races—Saxons and Britons, and, in later times, that of the two Churches—the Saxon and British Churches in Wessex.

The Anglo-Saxons came in on the Christian Britons as heathen, or "without Baptism," as Aneurin, the British bard, says of them, in scorn,[1] and the West-Saxons were first called by the Gospel, in the mission of St. Birinus in A.D. 634.

Under Ine, however, a Christian king of Wessex, the settlement of the West-Saxons seems to have fairly reached down to the river Parret; and it is very likely that, while, as yet, they had not settled on the lands below the Parret, they claimed them as their own, just as we have heretofore landed, and planted our flag on some lands of

(1). Gododin xii. 14.

so-called savages, and called forth to the winds that they thenceforth belonged to England; and they were at once our own.

About A. 705, King Ine cut off the western end of the over-wide bishoprick of Winchester, which was, indeed, the bishoprick of the whole of Wessex, of which Winchester was the thronestead, and so founded a new bishoprick, of which the bishopsettle was at Sherborne, and over which he set, as the first bishop, a friend and kinsman of his own, Ealdhelm. It is not easy to understand the line of the upper edge of Ealdhelm's bishoprick. The Saxon Chronicle says that he was bishop on the west of Selwood. "All to the east of Selwood," says a lately-printed outline of the history of the diocese, "remained in the diocese of Winchester. All to the west of Selwood was constituted into a separate diocese, the see of which was fixed at Sherborne." But we cannot hence mark the edge of Ealdhelm's diocese, unless we know whether it was west of the whole of Selwood, or west of the upper edge of it, or at what lines the wood itself was understood to end.

Asser, in his *Life of King Alfred*, gives the name of the wood as Selwood, in Latin Silva Magna, but in British, Coit Maur, or, in Welsh of our day, Coed Mawr—the Great Wood.

We should not readily believe that Selwood reached upward farther than to the unwoody chalk hills of Dorset or Wilts, though the "Stone of Egbert," where Alfred gathered his men against the Danes, is deemed by most writers to be Brixton Deverill. We may believe that it took in or touched Frome Selwood and Pen Zelwood or Selwood—in Somerset, if not Silton in Dorset; and the names of the parishes of Wooton Glanville (Wudu-tún or Wood-tún), and North Wootton, near Sherborne,

bespeak them as in Selwood, or in some other wood that reached onward from it.

A Topographical Directory (Capper's, 1808) says, under *Frome* and *Selwood*, that Frome Selwood was the chief town in Selwood, and that it began there, and reached about fifteen miles long and six broad. And where then was the end of it? As far as I can see by the map of the land, it must have been at some unmarked line, which, if it was the boundary of Selwood, was yet no ending of the woodiness of the ground; so that Selwood must in that case have ended in the midst of a wood.

It is likely that Selwood reached to the chalk downs which rise by Stourton and Mere, and which wind onward from Shaftesbury to Blandford, as the eastern edge of the Vale of Blackmore, and that it held the more latterly out-marked forests of Blackmore, or the White Hart, and Gillingham; and in that case "Egbright's Stone," or Brixton Deverill, would have been, as Asser puts it, on the eastern edge of Selwood; and Mere, close under the chalk downs, might have been the Mere or Mearc—edge or boundary of it; and Mere Woodlands, like Frome Woodlands, would have been within it. And we may believe that the Selwood reached down through the then woodlands in Somerset, and that Ealdhelm was bishop of *Selwudu-scir*—Selwoodshire, as Ethelwerd calls it, or the district which was below the chalk hills, and widely overspread with wood; and, indeed, that in the Saxon mind he was bishop of the whole of lower Wessex, down to Land's End, though, in Cornwall, the Britons were under the ministry of their own Church.

It is not likely that the woodlands ended at or near Sherborne, for Asser writes of King Alfred, as lingering for a time, with some of his followers, among the wood-

lands of still woody Somerset, near Athelney. Later writers have said that Ealdhelm's new bishoprick took in the counties of Dorset, Wilts, Devon, and Cornwall,[2] but it cannot be likely that the Selwood reached over the chalk downs of Wilts and Dorset, which could not have been, even in their wild state, a thickly-timbered land; and if Ealdhelm was bishop of Dorset and Wilts, how can it be that he was bishop of a diocese only on the west side of Selwood? It does not, therefore, seem to stand good that Ealdhelm himself was bishop over Wilts or eastern Dorset, or that his bishoprick reached eastward from Selwood; but it is likely that, after Archbishop Plegmund, under Edward the Elder, had consecrated some new bishops, and some of them for new bishopricks in lower Wessex, one in Somerset (Wells), and one in Devonshire (Crediton, afterwards Exeter), and one in Cornwall (St. Germain's), then Wilts and eastern Dorset were cut from the diocese of Winchester, and given to that of Sherborne, which lost its western end to the new bishoprick below it.

A full and good list of Ealdhelm's works is given in the new edition of Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, and some of them may afford matter of interest, and clues to some further historical truths. Ealdhelm was a well-schooled man, and must have been a steady reader, in Latin at least, and had won himself no little skill in the common lore of his time, as well as in Biblical and Church learning. His style, as Bede says, was clear, and he had bestowed no less of thought on Latin prosody than on syntax; and, indeed, the reader would sometimes be likely to take his verse as clearer than his prose. Among his main works are one in hexameter verse, and another of nearly the like matter, in prose, on celibacy, "*De Virginitate, or Unwedlock*," built

(2). Foot note to Dr. Giles's *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, and *Canon of Wells*.

mainly of praise of unwedded labourers in God's work, whether patriarchs or prophets under the law, or apostles or other saints under the Gospel. Besides these pieces, and some letters and smaller bits, he wrote, also in hexameter verse, a poem on the *Eight Main Vices*, and about eighty riddles, or epigrams, of sundry lengths on sundry things, from the sea tides to a daddy-longlegs. Some of our readers may like to see the way in which, in the early times of less severe thought, he handled his subjects :—

ON THE RAINBOW:

"DE IRIDE VEL ARCU CELESTI.

Taumantis proles priscorum famine fingor,
Ast ego prima mei generis rudimenta retexam,
Sole rubro genitus sum partu nubis aquosae
Lustro polos passim solos non scando per austros."

ON SEA SALT:

"DE SALE.

Dudum lympha fui, squamoso pisce redundans;
Sed natura novo fati discrimine cessit,
Torrida dum calidos patior tormenta per ignes,
Nam cineri facies nivibus que simillima fulget."

A PAIR OF BELLOWS:

"DE POLIADIS.

Flatibus alternis vexor cum fratre gemello.[3]
Non est vita mihi, cum sint spiracula vitae.
Ars mea gemmatis dedit ornamenta metallis;
Gratia nulla datur mihi, sed capit alter honorem."

THE DIAMOND:

"DE ADAMANTE LAPIDE.

En ego non vereor rigidi discrimina ferri,
Flammarum nec torre cremor, sed sanguine capri,[4]
Virtus edomiti mollescit dura rigòris.
Sic cruor exsuperat, quod ferrea massa pavescit."

(3). This implies the old form of bellows, from which we have the wording "A *pair* of bellows," or blast-skins, of which one filled while the other blew, so as to keep up an on-holding blast.

(4). Whence could have first arisen this belief that the diamond melts in goat's blood?

On turning over the leaves of an old Latin book of *Peripatetic Physiology*, by Johannis Magirus, M.D., and professor of the science at Marburgh, in Hesse, I found a slight handling of the question why warm goat's blood melts the diamond, but he answers it not. He says that Scaliger could not give the reason of it, and so it must be an "Occulta Causa." The belief is most likely given in Aristotle's *Physics*.

ON THE ORGAN—

As it must be, though it is headed

"DE BARBITO.

Qamvis aere cavo salpinctae classica clangant
Et cytherae crepitent, strepitu que tubae modulentur;
Centenos tamen eructant mea viscera cantûs,
Meque strepente stupent mox musica corda fibrarum."[5]

One on the silkworm, and others on the peacock and on the magnet, show that they were not unbe-known to Ealdhelm.

Ealdhelm writes a riddle on pepper, which, by whatever line of traffic it came into England, was then found on the English board :—

"DE PIPERE.

Sum niger exterius, rugoso cortice tectus
Sed tamen interius candentem gesto medullam
Delicias, epulas regum luxusque ciborum,
Jus simul et pulpas battutas condo culinae,
Sed me subnixum nullâ virtute videbis,
Viscera ni fuerint nitidis quassata medullis."

One riddle on a book-case, "De Arcâ Librariâ," seems to show that in Ealdhelm's mind it was a book-chest, or box. Whether like the Roman capsula, for rolls, or a chest for bound leaf-books. Our word book-case, instead of book-shelves, would seem to point to a case. He makes its contents to be mostly divinity; as he says,

"Tota que sacratos gestant praecordia biblos."

(5). As it has happened of late years in many of our churches, where the fiddle and bass viol have yielded to the organ.

In a riddle "De Mola," the mill-stones are given, saying,

"Nos sumus aequales communi sorte sorores."

And Fire says,

"Me pater et mater[6] gelido genuere rigore."

ON A DRINKING GLASS:

"CALIX VITREUS.

* * * * * *

Nempe volunt plures collum constringere dextrâ,
Et pulchre digitis lubricum comprendere corpus;
Sed mentes muto dum labris oscula trado
Dulcia, compressis impendens basia buccis
Atque pedum gressus titubantes sterno ruinâ."

Of the meeting of the Saxon and Celt in Wessex, it has been given as a truth in some of our histories that the Anglo-Saxons drove the Britons off the land, as clean as a man would drive a lot of stray sheep out of his field, and that they drove them into Brittany, and drove them into Wales. We may believe that many of them, and, above all, many who had holden land, and lost it, withdrew into Brittany, or Wales; but it is far less likely that they were driven or fled, in a body, out of the land, any more than we have driven the Neustrian kin out of the Channel Islands, or the Manx out of Man, or the Maltese out of Malta, or the Hindoos out of India, or the French kindred out of Lower Canada, or the Maories into another island. It may be said that the red men of America, and the men of Tasmania, and other tribes, have been driven out of their lands. It is true that they have, as tribes, more or less, nearly dwindled away, or died off; but it is not true that they have been driven, or fled into another land—for in what other land are they found? It, moreover, seems true that the rate at which one hitherto land-holding race may dwindle away before or under

(6). The flint and steel.

another land-seeking one, is quicker or slower, as the in-pushing race may be higher, or less high, above the land-holding race in the might of civilization. We should most likely make head in New Zealand less fast against a German power as Germans are, than against a power as that of the Maories, brave though they may be. And we should bear in mind that the Britons, at the time of the Saxon inroad, as a Christian people, with Church schools, and a national school of poetry and music, and much of Roman civilization, were not so far below the Anglo-Saxons (if they were not, at least, even with them) as are the red men or Maories below the English. The Saxons overcame the Britons by their brave hardihood, in which they had been long trained in their never-ending struggles againt the sea and foes on the shores of the north.[7]

The works of Ealdhelm, as well as the laws of King Ine, and other historical writings, will shew clearly that, in his time, and afterwards, Britons of sundry ranks were living in Wessex among the Saxons. For we find laws in the code of Ine for British men, as theows (serfs), and scotpayers, and men of one hide, and of five hides of land. Among the writings of Ealdhelm was a small book, though in Bede's opinion one of mark, which he wrote at the bidding of a Saxon synod, when he was a priest and abbot of Malmesbury. A book against the so-thought mistake of the Britons, in which, either they did not keep Easter at its true time, or did many other things which (in his opinion) were against the straightness and peace of the Church; and by the reading of it many of the Britons

(7). An old constitutional law of the Friesians, was that they should not be called out to war farther than on the east to the Weser, and on the west to the Flee, and on the south not farther than that they could come back in the evening to hold their land "toe-ienst weeter ende toe-ienst den heydens hera"—against water, and against the heathen prince.

who were under the rule of the West-Saxons were brought to the keeping of the Roman Catholic Easter-tide. A proof that Christian Britons deemed worthy of his care were living under Saxon rule in Wessex. And hereon a matter worthy of attention has been put forth by Mr. Thomas Kerslake, of Bristol, in a paper on *The Celt and the Teuton at Exeter*, where, as he has shown, the Britons and Saxons were for a long while living side by side, in their two sundry quarters of the town, the church of St. Petroc, a British dedication, being in the British quarter. Mr. Kerslake seems to have opened a hitherto unseen door of historical discovery, which may be open to other antiquaries in old British towns.

In such of our towns as are known to have been British ones, we find, in written or unwritten tradition, or from shells, or pieces of walling, of old churches, that the towns, at some earlier time, had a great many churches; more, after the rate of their size and likely population, than had stood in towns which, though not of fewer houses, were at first purely Saxon ones, or only Roman *Castra*, but never British *Caerau*.

In seeking the British quarters of our old heretofore British towns for the furtherance of our knowledge of the meeting of the British and Saxon races, and their churches, we may hope to find a clue to the British side of the two-kinned population in the dedication of their churches, as St. Petroc's is a token of a British congregation at Exeter. Now, among dedications very likely to be British, or Celtic, is that of St. Michael. As that of St. Michael's churches on hills, in Cornwall, or at Glastonbury, and in Brittany; and of Welsh churches, of which many are of that dedication, which is also found in some of the towns of the British *Caerau*. St. Martin was a Gaulish, and so a

Celtic saint, and it is clear that British churches were dedicated to him before the coming of the English, for Bede [B. I. cxxvi.] says that there was on the east side of Canterbury, in Ethelbert's time, a church dedicated to the honor of St. Martin, built while the Romans were still in the island ; and among the southern Picts was a monastery dedicated to St. Martin [Bede, B. 3, iv.]. And Marianus Scotus says that the Irish monks at Colen in his time (A. 973), [Marianus Scotus, quoted by Lloyd], made St. Martin the patron of their monastery. Of the Scilly Islands, named as we may believe by the West Britons, the five inhabited ones are called St. Mary's, Tresco, Bryher, St. Agnes, and St. Martin's. So that St. Mary and St. Agnes, as well as St. Martin, are British dedications; though St. Mary's, as well as the Holy Trinity and All Hallows, may be a Catholic dedication, and either British or English, but is not uncommon in Wales or Cornwall. St. Stephen is honoured with British dedications; and Launceston is said to be a down-worn shape of Llanstephen. St. Cross (Llancroes) is found in Wales, and among Celtic people elsewhere. And the Welsh have (under the name Llanbadarn) at least four churches to St. Paternus, to whom, I believe, a church was dedicated at Malmesbury [Caer Caradóc?] The little town of Wareham, Dorset, which seems to be the Môrin (Little Sea of the Morini), or the Dwrin (Little water), which gave name to Dornsaet, now Dorset, had formerly eight churches, of which two are St. Mary's and St. Martin's ; and Shaftesbury, Dorset (Caer Paladr or Peledyr), has had twelve churches, and among them a St. Martin's Church [Hutchins's *History*]. Canterbury (Caer Gaint) has had more than twelve churches, and four or five dedicated to St. Mary, with dedications to St. Martin, St. George, and the

Holy Cross. Cirencester (Caer Coryn), the Coryn being the stream now called the Chern, had two churches which are now lost. Chester (Caerleon), among many churches, has a St. Michael's, St. Mary's, and St. Martin's. Chichester (Caer Cei) has eight churches, and among them St. Mary's and St. Andrews. Gloucester (Caerloew) had formerly eleven churches. Ilchester (Esc. Lat. Isca Belgarum) at the Norman inroad had several churches. Lincoln (Caerlwydcoed) had heretofore fifty-two churches, not without a St. Martin's, and more than one dedication to St. Mary and St. Peter. Norwich (Caer Cynnan) is said to have had twenty-five churches in the time of Edward the Confessor, and Broomfield's *History of Norfolk* says, "The churches are ancient buildings, and, till of late years, many of them were only thatched, one of them still remaining so."[8] Shrewsbury (Amwythóg), formerly the thronestead of the Princes of Powis, has had many churches, and among them dedications to St. Michael and St. Mary. Warwick (Caerwythelín) had formerly six churches, and Winchester (Caerwent), had many, and dedications to St. Martin and St. Michael. Worcester (Caerwyrangón) had formerly eleven churches and dedications to St. Martin, St. Peter, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Michael, and St. Alban, a Celtic Saint of Britain. York (Caer Efrawc) has had twenty-three churches, with at least two dedications to sundry saints, as St. Helen, St. Mary, St. Michael, and St. Martin. Bath and Bristol may not show strong tokens of a British quarter, as, most likely, the towns may not be on the ground of the British *Caerau*.

It is not unlikely that these very many old churches,

(8). Capper, quoting Broomfield in his *Topographical Dictionary*.

some of which were old beyond the backreach of our history, and the cases of two or three churches of the same dedication, in the same town, may give a clue to further knowledge of the meeting of the British and English races, with their two Churches, in Wessex, as far as those Churches may be tokens of the dwelling of a two-kinned population, for a while, in two quarters of the same town. The Saxons would not, as Christians, be in communion with the British Church, as long as they kept a sundry—the Roman, and not the British—Eastertide, and the later Roman rites; nor, if the British congregations dwindled from their churches, would their buildings, therefore, belong to the English, or be wanted by them, so that some of them might slowly have fallen to other, or out of all, uses. That the two races were closely mingled in lower Wessex in the tenth and eleventh centuries, or at and about the time of Edred and Edwy, is clear from deeds of manumission of theows (serfs), the names of whom, British and English, show that some Englishmen, as well as some Britons, were unfree. Such deeds of out-freeing are given in the *Codex Diplomaticus*, and some of them, for Somerset and Cornwall, are put by Kemble into an Appendix (c), vol. 1, p. 496, of his *Saxons in England.*

It may be thought that, though some of the Saxons were unfree, all the Britons were in bondage. But no. It was not so; for the deed of manumission was fulfilled openly, in the sight of witnesses, whose names the document often bears, and these witnesses were "good men" to the law; but as bondsmen were nobodies to the law, it is clear that the "good men," so called by the law, were free men, and men of higher rank than the serfs. And, indeed, some of them were priests, and men holding offices in the borough, and yet many Britons.

Some of the Church laws for the men of Wessex under King Ine and the Bishop Ealdhelm were :—Law (2). That a child should be baptized within thirty days of its birth, under a fine of thirty shillings. (3). If a theow man should work on a Sunday by his lord's bidding, he should be free, and his master should pay thirty shillings. And so after the rate for free men. (4). That people should pay their church scot (cyric sceat). The church scot being most likely the Easter offerings. (62). That a man should pay church scot for the home and hearth whereat he abode at Midwinter. And a godson and godfather were shielded by the law, (75) one for the sake of the other. So that if a man slew another's godson or godfather, he should pay *Bót* (amends) to the godfather for his godson, or to the godson for his godfather.

Poyntington.

BY THE REV. J. HEALE.

I SOLICIT your indulgence while I read what I beg to call my Parish Paper, No. II. I shall be as brief, I hope, as on a former occasion; and without venturing to draw your attention to the peculiar features of the Manor House and of the other, older, specimen of domestic architecture which you will presently visit with interest, my few remarks will resolve themselves into more private details of our past, our present, and our future.

I will merely, in passing, remind you that the ancient and proper name of this parish is POYNTINGTON,—with a *y*—not POINTINGTON, a mode of spelling which is indeed occasionally seen, but used chiefly by illiterate men, or those who are ignorant of archæology.

In my former paper I mentioned (Vol. XVI., at page 66, where there are unfortunately some typographical errors[1]) three discoveries which I had made, one of which was of an old parish register. To-day I have the pleasure of announcing one more discovery, almost as interesting as that of the parish register. The circumstance is some-

(1). At page 69, line 11, for "these discoveries" read "three discoveries;" line 17, for "for more" read "it was more;" line 33, for "pier" read "piers."

what singular, and, therefore, I may be permitted to tell it.

Within a mile of where your President sat in 1870, and at the bottom of a trunk, belonging to, I believe, one of my hearers, there were mouldering away, whilst I was reading Paper No. I., two fragments of parish books which had been removed, but a few years before, from this parish in entire ignorance of their real antiquarian interest, and of their rightful and true ownership. After some little difficulty they are before you to-day; and I trust they will never again be allowed to pass out of the proper custody of the rector and churchwardens of the parish to which they belong.

I had mentioned that my old parish register, so strangely recovered from the dirt of ages, contained many interesting entries. So do the fragments of the churchwardens' and of the overseers' books. I cannot but hope that if I occupy five minutes of your time, and it shall not be longer, in reading to you some few of those extracts (which might be multiplied) I shall not weary you, but rather give you a deeper interest in our little village, which now has nothing of interest in it but what is ancient.

The fragments I now hold in my hand are those of two books, sadly defaced, and, alas! even wilfully mutilated by the use of scissors.

The "Churchwardings'" book begins with the year 1666, and continues for seventy-six years, with the entire loss of twelve pages.

The fragment of the overseers' book begins at 1716, and shows, out of 37 years, only 29 years' accounts up to 1752 and part of '53.

The first entry of the churchwardens is as follows, indicating what I have already alluded to, how much more populous our village formerly was :—

"Imprimis at Whitsuntide for bread and wine .. 1 9
It laid out for hospetall money at Medssomer .. 5 7ob.,"

and in the same year, and throughout many succeeding years, we find entries for bread and wine for four celebrations in the year, and the charge for the elements varies from 2s. 1d. at Whitsuntide to 3s. 2d. at Christmas, a somewhat large sum for those days. I find also frequent entries, at least twice a year, for expenses at Visitation "att Camell," and for Sessions "att Brewton," and "att Carie," and "att Marson," and "Privie Sessions" at Milborne Port and elsewhere. The first mention of a Visitation at Yeovil is in the year 1682. The churchwardens' receipt for the sum spent by them I find sometimes takes this form :—"Recd of the parish for this yeare abovemensioned foer Chorch Rates after the rate of A Grote to A nobell, which som is in the hole £4 1s. 6d.

By us Thomas Norman } Church
William Hanham } Wardings."

We were evidently bad spellers then, according to our present mode of Johnson and Walker; but though "shoues" was written for shoes, and "kott" meant a coat for "John harve," we always spelled Poyntington with a *y*, except in some few years where the name is spelled "Pointington"; but in these instances the writing and the spelling both show that the office was held by very illiterate and uneducated wardens. Some of the entries cannot be deciphered. The following "a Count of" a fee to the Bishop's officer is better than many such :—"To ye parriter for a prockley Massion."

I find that in 1675 is the first entry for payment for polecats, and for "heggogs," for "duzzens of sparrows," and for foxes' heads, all at the same rate of 2d. The standard of our charities was, I am glad to say, a little

higher. We gave "to a maimed soldier 4d." ; "to a pore traveler with his wife and children, £0 0s. 4d."; to "11 mores cast away coming in several companys, £0 01s. 06d."; to "2 seamen that were taken by the Turks, 06d." ; "five soldiers exchanged out of France, 6d." ; (1688) to "one seaman with a petticion for his Brother that is A Slave in Turkey, £00 00s. 06d." ; whilst in some years the entries of donations to "pore travellers," or to seamen with a pass, or to a "pore man burnt by fier," are nearly half of all the entries in the year.

I will conclude with one or two of these taken at random :—In 1686, "Laid out when ye farmer and I was at Brewton when the Commissioners sate conserning who was out in monmouth's army, £0 4s. 2d." In 1716, "for bureing A mad dog, £00 00s. 06d. 0q." In 1689, after giving "to a poor blind woman £00 00s. 02d.," we "pd. ye Mountibanks for cureing of William King's scruffhead, £0 10s. 0d."

But such entries as these are of the "past." I would rather pass on to our "present." I have not yet made any extracts from the oldest parish register. I may do so, perhaps, when speaking of the future. For our "present" I can only repeat my assertion that we have now but little of interest amongst us but what is ancient. And you will perhaps better understand our present state if, passing over all allusion to the domestic buildings, I confine myself to what may be noticed in our church. Besides the Norman doorway I formerly referred to, you will notice our Norman font, with its cable moulding and its shaft of solid masonry. It is manifestly not in its original site, but was probably removed to its present position when the aisle was built. The recumbent figure is believed to be that of a Cheney, who built the aisle, in

which you will notice particularly the singularly beautiful and uncommon square-headed window over the niche, in which the knight's figure ought to be replaced.

On the south wall is monument to George Tilly, "erexted" by one of the ancient family of Parham.[2] I have failed in attempting to find any representative of the Parhams, but within the last month I have been glad to learn that the "George Tilly, Esqvier," of the tablet, is now represented by the gentleman who holds the high and responsible position as Secretary to the Post Office.

You will notice within the interior of the yet unfinished chancel, in the vestry, a mural tablet with black letter legend to the memory of KATHARINE ST . . CCLI (?) "dña de pontyngton."[3] The date of 1402 is almost entirely obliterated. I removed it in 1868, when I built my chancel, from the porch, where it formed part of the pavement, to its present position, in order that the interesting memorial might be less liable to obliteration. The lady (from whom I believe this manor passed four centuries ago into the possession of the present noble owner, the Right Honourable the Lord Willoughby de Broke) is said to have been the wife of "the noble and potent" Lord Fitzwarren; but the date of her death does not accord with that of the tablet itself; and there are other difficulties about the question which have yet to be reconciled.

The other tablet, to the Colier family, formed part of the pavement of the space between the altar rails. On the

(2). "Heere GEORGE TILLY Esqvier Lieth & MARY His Wife, This Beinge Erexted By Sr Edward PARHAM Knight, Whoe Maried ye Daughter & Heire Elizabeth."

(3). "Hic. jacet. domina. KATHINA. ST. . CCLI. dña. de. pontyngton que obiit. iii. die . . . . . anno . . . . . cccc. ii.

floor is the memorial of my predecessor in this living, and of the relict of R. Hesketh Fleetwood Williams, collaterally descended from the family of Colonel Fleetwood, who married Oliver Cromwell's daughter.

On the outside of the chancel walls there are three insertions of inscriptions. That on the north wall was found amidst the rubbish of the old chancel walls.

The large slab inserted into the face of the north-east wall of the chancel, to the memory of "Water Blobole Person of This Parish,"[4] originally, and up to 1868, formed part of an altar tomb which stood within the rails on the north side of the altar. It was his successor in the living, George Alford, clerk, who began the old parish register in 1618.

The tablet to the Pagets on the south-west side of the vestry wall originally stood upright on the south side of "the table." It is the only monument we have of any of the Paget family. The following memorandum in the aforesaid old register is interesting :—"Memorandum—That John Paget, clerke, was inducted into ye Parsonage of Poyntington, Aprill 25, 1691, by Mr. Caleb Cooke, Vicar of Milborne Port; and read ye 39 Articles ye day following being Sunday." From that day—the first, I believe, on which a Paget came to live in Somersetshire—the name has been an honoured one in this county, and now the county has honoured it by having one of that family as one of its representatives in Parliament.

Nothing else of special interest demands our notice, though I may state, on the authority of the king of bellmen, the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, that the oldest and the most musical of the good bells in my old church tower, which bears the black-lettered legend of "Maria" is of the

(4). "Here. Lyeth. The. Body. Of. WATER. BLOBOLE. Person. Of. This Parish. Bvried The. 19 Day. Of. Janvary 1617."

14th century; but the founder is unknown; his mark will be engraved in the forthcoming book, now in the press, on the ancient bells of Somerset.

In the belfry portion of the tower you will find the remains of a fine old clock, of the date, I believe, of Elizabeth's reign. From the very earliest record we possess, the churchwardens were wont to pay "For kiping the clock one hole year, £0 12s. 0d." It was allowed to get out of repair about the year 1830.

One more sentence, including the present and the past. In my churchyard is a flourishing and vigorous young yew tree, which too much hides, on the north side, the beautiful proportions of my fine old tower. It seems to have been planted in 1694, in which year I find an entry, "Pd. for a yew tree, £0 1s. 6d."

I think I may well sum up our "present" by saying we are very proud of the past, and a little hopeful for the future. That future is mercifully hid from us, but we do indulge a hope, which I am sure will be fulfilled, that in the contemplated improvements in the parish, which are not unlikely, I understand, soon to be begun, every possible respect will be paid to all that is ancient, and that special consideration will be shown to all that most shows the infirmities of age; and we have a very strong hope that, whatever else may be done, it will certainly happen that, either in the present Rector's time or his immediate successor's, our dear village church will be restored to something like its former beauty. We trust that, with due conservative care, a new north wall, and a new porch will be builded. The gallery removed will throw open the fine west window: and the splendid records, which you will notice directly, to the good and devoted Sir Thomas Malet and his brave son Baldwin, will find a place suited

for them ; and there will be over all a new roof, raised to its original pitch, indicated by the weather moulding on the old tower. Funds will, I am sure, be forthcoming. I have the pleasure of announcing that a lady, a native of Sherborne, now resident in Devonshire, has offered me, if I will begin, a donation of £5, *as a beginning;* and that in November last a Doctor of Divinity from the United States, who came here claiming a cousinship, besides that which is National, with the Rector, because a common ancestor of theirs had been one of the *Pilgrim Fathers*, promised that as soon as the restoration of the north wall was begun, at least one stone, together with the wherewithal for its embedment, should be sent, with all cousinly good wishes, from South Carolina! Some of the most remarkable entries in the parish register relate to help we formerly sent to other parishes. Almost the very first entry we meet with is, "July 31, 1653—Collected in our Church of Poyntington, toward the losse of Marlborough by fire, the sum of six shillings and halfpenny." And similar entries relate to more than a dozen counties. To some places we sent as little as a few pence. "The breife for the fire hapning in the sugar-house situate in Coleharbur, in the parish of Alhaallows, in London, was read in our Parish Church of Poyntington, August 18, 1672. Collected to it three shillings and sixpence." But we gave more to that sugar-house than to some churches. In 1685 we gave, "For rebuilding the Church of Portsmouth, to Joh. Savage, Collr., ye sum of two shillings one penny." However, we gave twice that year, "for the Church of St. Bridgett's, in ye City of Chester, ye sum of one shilling two pense."

We were very abhorrent, seemingly, of play-houses, for under date 1673, after "The brife for the fire happening in

the Theatre Royal in Medelsex," there is no entry of any donation, and probably none was given.

The record of what we did for others in the olden time of our wealth and prosperity is but an earnest of what we are willing and desirous to do, according to our ability, for the restoration of our own dear old church. We think and feel that in the parish where lie the ashes of a Cheney, and a Stuckley, of a Malet, of a Tilly, of a Fox, and of a Paget —where a William Draper Best, who rose to become a Wynford, passed his childhood and his boyhood—there should be, and we will do our best that there shall be, a temple more worthy than it is of our great and good Lord and Master.

Memoir of Sir Thomas Malet.

BY OCTAVIUS WARRE MALET.

IN the able account of the parish of Poyntington by Mr. Heale (Vol. XVI. of our Proceedings, p. 67), he mentions the old Manor House as "having been, in the 17th century, the residence of Sir Thomas Malet then one of the Judges of the King's Bench (or Common Pleas), who for his loyalty, and adherence, to the cause of his royal master, suffered very severely in both purse and person."

Many families in Somerset and the West of England being connected with the Malets, it has been thought that a slight notice of Sir Thomas might be acceptable.

Sir Thomas Malet, or, as the name was then spelt, Mallet, a lineal descendant of the William Malet, honorably mentioned in Freeman's noble *History of the Norman Conquest*, was the son of Malachias Malet, and his wife, a Trevannion of Cornwall. He himself married a daughter of Sir Francis Mill, of Southampton.

Of the early life of Sir Thomas we have no record. He was first appointed a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas on the 1st July, 17 Charles I, 1642, and knighted at Whitehall on the 6th of the same month. It is also recorded that he was again appointed a judge on the 31st May, 12 Charles II, 1672.

It appears from Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, that in 1642, while Sir Thomas was holding the assizes in Kent, "a petition to the two Houses of Parliament was prepared by the justices of the peace and the principal gentlemen of the county, to the effect, that the militia might not be otherwise exercised in that county than the known laws permitted; and that the Book of Common Prayer, established by law, might be observed."

Before the presentation of the petition, copies having been circulated among friends, "The House of Peers took notice of it as tending to cause commotion in Kent; and the Earl of Bristol having in the debate noticed that he had seen a copy, and had some conference about it with Judge Malet, who was the judge of assize in Kent, and newly returned out of his circuit, both the Earl and the Judge were presently committed to the Tower."[1]

This time Sir Thomas does not appear to have been long kept in confinement (I again get my information from Clarendon), as I find he was judge of the great assize at Maidstone during the summer circuit. While sitting there, "a committee of the Parliament came to the Bench, and required him, in the name of the Parliament, to cause some papers they brought with them to be read. Sir Thomas told them 'that he sat there by virtue of his Majesty's Commission, and that he was authorised to do anything comprised in those commissions, but he had no authority to do anything else; and, therefore, there being no mention in either of his commissions of those papers, or the publishing anything of that nature, he could not, nor would do it.' The committee, finding less respect and submission than they had expected, both to their persons and their business, from the learned judge, returned to the

(1). A portrait of the Earl of Bristol is at Sherborne Castle.

House with great exclamations against Mr. Justice Malet, as the fomenter and protector of a malignant faction. against the Parliament. A troop of horse, with an officer, were sent with a warrant to Kingston in Surrey, where Sir Thomas was then holding assize, and, to the unspeakable dishonour of the public justice of the kingdom, and the scandal of all ministers or lovers of justice, in that violent manner took the judge from the bench, and carried him prisoner to Westminster, from whence, by the two Houses, he was committed to the Tower of London, where he remained for the space of above two years, without being charged with any particular crime, till he was redeemed by his Majesty, by the exchange of another whose liberty they desired." The only notice we have of the intermediate time between the two imprisonments, is a letter to Sir Thomas from Charles I (whether autograph or not I do not know). In this it is said, "His Majesty had had a faire and just report of his Fidelity and Courage. Wee doe foresee that answerable to some other parts of their accons they (the Houses of Parliamint) may endeavour to send for you and drawe you before them again, and soe put some disgrace upon us, and our service, for soe Wee doe, and shall esteeme it; but Wee having occasion to use you in the country where you dwell, for the peace of the place, charge you, upon yr allegiance you owe to us, that you repair to yr own House with all convenient speed, where Wee have use of yr special service, and to that place Wee shall addresse our despatches to you, and you must not faile to be there ready to receive them, and execute them with yr best endeavors. And least any violence shall be attempted to hinder you in yr returne, Wee have by letter sent at this time also commanded our High Sherif of Surrey to attend upon you, and carry you safe out of that

county, and wee have also written the like letters to others, the Sherifs of the Counties by which yo are to passe, that they assist you if there shall be occasion. Given at our Court of York ye last of July, 1642."

I have given this letter almost entire, as it shews the high esteem in which Sir Thomas was held, and also that that most attaching quality, a Personal solicitude for the welfare and safety of a subject, was felt by royalty, before the reign of our Queen Victoria, when instances of this kind feeling are (though highly appreciated) too frequent to excite particular notice.

During the time of the Commonwealth, prudence, as well as reduced fortune, must have induced Sir Thomas and his family to lead a life of seclusion, though two of his sons lost their lives fighting for the King.

That Sir Thomas conducted his duty to the satisfaction of the Crown, assisting in the trial of the regicides, after the restoration, is apparent, from the fact that the patent of a Baronetage of the United Kingdom was granted him, under the Sign Manual of Charles II. Appended to the patent is a long letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which acquits Sir Thomas and his heirs and assigns from the usual payment of £1,095, on account of Sir Thomas having voluntarily paid the maintenance of thirty foot soldiers in the army of Ireland. I give a short extract :—"And whereas Wee are resolved to confer on him the said dignity of Baronett, and yett upon just and honble cause us moving, Wee are well pleased that the said Sir Thomas Malet, his Heirs, Exrs., Admrs., and Asyns, and every of them, shall for ever and at all tymes hereafter, bee free acquitted and discharged of and from the aforesaid sume of one thousand nyntie and five pounds, &c." The remainder of the letter merely reiterates

this, and ends, "that it is signified to be your Majesties pleasure under yr Majesties Royal Sign Manual;" and signed, "T. Palmer, 19 Novbris 1663."

The imprisonments named above were not the only sufferings endured by Sir Thomas. His second son, Baldwin Malet, as eloquently told by Mr. Heale, was killed in action, in this village of Poyntington. Mr. Heale relates that, "He is said to have leaped on horseback with all his armour on, right into the midst of the fight, and after killing more than a score, to have been brought back dead to his father's house, and for fear of the plague, to have been buried the very next day. A fact confirmed by the old parish register." I have seen, also (though I am unable to give my authority), that another son was killed at the battle of Roundaway Down.

Family tradition says that Sir Thomas's house was plundered, and that her wedding ring was taken from Lady Malet. Her portrait is at Wilbury in Wiltshire, the present seat of the head of the family. In this she is depicted, rather ostentatiously shewing a black ring on her wedding finger, said to be a horn one, that she used when her proper one was taken from her. Another version is, that she wore a black horn ring in place of her wedding ring during the detention of Sir Thomas in the Tower. There being no written record, which is the correct account it is hard to say. One circumstance that makes me think it is true that the family house of St. Audries was plundered, is the want of any family relics antecedent to the time we are speaking of, and which, considering the position held by the family, would most probably have been preserved. I have been shewn an old triptych picture by Von Beust, in the possession of a collector, of Sir Baldwin Malet and his wife and children. This Sir Baldwin was

Solicitor-General temp. Henry VIII, and of the St. Audries branch. On the 17th December, in the year 1665, Sir Thomas, aged 83, died, and was buried at Poyntington. A small panel painting of his coat of arms, "Malet" quartered with those of "Hatch," and impaling those of "Mill," is still extant; with the motto, "Dieu vovlant je suis content," which, it has been supposed, was adopted by Sir Thomas (in preference to the older one, which we at present use, of "Ma Force De en Havlt") to shew that he was contented with his lot, such as it was. The family owe their most grateful thanks to Mr. Heale, the rector, for having preserved the memorials.

Sir Thomas never took up the title of baronet, we do not know for what reason. It may have been that he thought it was not a sufficient requital for his sufferings and services, or on account of his advanced age and impoverished circumstances, or that he was a claimant to a barony (still in abeyance).

I may here mention that the Communion plate of this parish of Poyntirgton has engraved upon it the Malet arms, and was probably given, either by the worthy judge, or by his widow.

The eldest son of Sir Thomas Malet, Sir John, Recorder of Bridgwater, and married to a Wyndham, of Orchard Wyndham, succeeded to the St. Audries estate, either by purchase from his kinsman (as said by Collinson), or, as I think, more probably owing to a failure of the elder branch of the family. This place went, I believe, to the youngest surviving son, Michael, but I have no record of anything done by him; and thus came to an end the connection of the Malets with Poyntington.

Trent.

BY JOHN BATTEN, F.S.A.

TRENT has so many attractions for the antiquary, the architect, and the historian, that some particulars respecting it and its possessors, supplementing those given by Collinson in his *History of Somerset*, will not, I hope, prove uninteresting to the Members of the Society I have now the pleasure of addressing.

The superior Lordship or Seignority of Trent in the time of the Conqueror was part of the vast possessions of Robert, Earl of Moreton, which were afterwards known as "The Honour of Moreton." In *Domesday Book* Ansger is said to hold Trent of "The Earl." He also held of the same Earl, Preston on the west side of Yeovil, now called Preston Bermondsey, Odcombe, Isle now called Isle Brewers, and other manors in this county, several in Dorset, and Buckland in Devon. From the corresponding account in *The Exeter Domesday* we learn that Ansger bore the additional name of Brito, and this is confirmed by other evidence. *The Annals of the Abbey of Bermondsey*[1] tell us that in 1126 (26 Hen. I) Ansgerus Brito and Walter his son gave to the monks the Manor of Preston, and from another source[2] that Walter, the son of Ansger,

(1). Published by the Master of the Rolls.
(2). Cott. MSS. Claud. A. viii. p. 110.

gave to them two hides of land at "Stane," now called Stone Farm, in the parish of Preston. This Walter Brito gave (anno incerto) a corody out of his Manor of Isle and Chederlee to the Priory of St. Nicholas, Exeter, for the health of Hawisa his wife—Walter (?) his brother being a witness to the charter.[3] 12 Hen. II, Walter Brito answered for fifteen knights' fees in Somerset of the fees of Moreton, one of which was held by William Brito,[4] and all were held of the King in chief, and constituted the Barony of Brito. He held another knight's fee of Moreton of Richard Fitzwilliam,[5] and, 20 Hen. II, he paid sixty-six pounds and a mark for relief of his lands in Somerset and Dorset.[6] He died probably in this reign, as, according to Sir William Pole,[7] Chederlee was, temp. Hen. II, the land of Walter Croc, who was his nephew and one of his heirs. He did not however succeed to his inheritance without opposition. 1 John, Walter Croc pays a fine of 200 marks for having a recognition of Mort'-d'ancestor of a moiety of the land which had belonged to Walter Brito in Trente, Otecumbe, Isle, Chedderlee, Stocleg' and Bukeland;[8] and in the same year John de Montacute, who appears to be in possession of the lands, fines for remanding the recognition demanded by Walter Croc against him of a moiety of "The Honour of Brito" in Otecumbe, Trent and the other places above-mentioned.[9] The result of the assize was in favour of Croc, who was found to be the next heir of Walter Brito, of a moiety of his "Barony."[10] It is not very intelligible from the language of the record, whether John de Montacute

(3). Coll. Top. et Gen. Vol. I. p. 386.
(4). Hearne's Liber Niger, p. 98. (5). Ib. p. 85.
(6). Pipe Roll 20 Hen. II. Dors. and Som.
(7). Pole's Devon, p. 192. (8). Rot. de obl. et Fin. 1 John.
(9). Ib. (10). Plac. Abb. 2 John, Rot. 6 in dorso.

did not claim some consanguinity with Brito, and it is quite possible that they may have been related, as Ansger was sometimes surnamed Ansger de Montagud.[11] Walter Croc did not retain the property long. 2 John, he granted to the King, in open court, the moiety of the whole barony which had belonged to Walter Brito his uncle, to the intent that Richard Briewere, and his heirs, might hold and enjoy the same.[12] 4 John, William Briewere paid a fine of 500 marks to have the daughter of Hugh de Moreville in marriage with his son Richard, and also for a moiety of the land which was Walter Brito's, then in the King's hands; and Richard de Hasecumb, heir of the said Walter, came into court, and released to the King and the said William all his right to the said moiety to the use of the said Richard Briewere.[13] This Richard de Hasecumb was, we may conclude, another nephew of Brito, and coheir of his barony with Walter Croc. Although in the record called Robert de Hattecumb, he is no doubt the person who, 3 John, levied a fine of "The Ville of Ysle and of Odcumb" to the use of Richard Briewere and his heirs, receiving in return a grant in fee of two hides of land in Hasecumb,[14] which is an unknown part, either of the parish of Odcombe, or the adjoining parish of Brympton, but is to this day separately assessed to the land tax. It is clear that the entirety of the whole barony was vested in

(11). Since this paper has been in the Printer's hands my attention has been called by the addenda to the 3 Ed. of Hutchins' Dorset, to a notice in that work of the family of Brito, which substantially agrees with that given in the text.

(12) Lib. Nig. p. 372, where the charter is set out. Pipe Roll. 2 John, Dors. and Som.

(13). Pipe Roll. 4 John, Cumb.

(14). Ped. Fin. Som. 3 John, No. 48.

Richard Briewere, for, 13 John, he answered upon a scutage for the fifteen knight's fees of the Honour of Moreton, which, as we have seen, belonged to Walter Brito;[15] and about the same time he acknowledged the receipt from Hugh the Prior and the Convent of Bermondsey of forty marks, promised him for the confirmation of the lands of Preston and "La Stane," which they had by the gift of Ansger Brito and Walter his son.[16] Richard Briewere was the son of William Lord Briewere, a baron of great wealth and influence in the west, and died without issue in the lifetime of his father, who was succeeded on his death, 11 Hen. III, by his only surviving son, William. He also died without issue, 16 Hen. III, leaving his sisters—Alice, wife of Reginald de Mohun, and Margaret, wife of William de la Ferte, and the daughters of his sister Joan, wife of William de Percy, and the daughters of William de Braos, son of Griselda or Græcia, his eldest sister, and Hugh Wake, son of his sister Isabel, wife of Baldwin Wake, his coheiresses. Now to some or one of them, Trent, in the partition which was made of the barony, must have been allotted. But it is only recorded[17] that Alice de Mohun took (inter alia) the Manor of Isle and 4s. 7½d. rent out of the Manor of Trent, and the daughters of William de Percy a rent of 39s. 2½d. out of the same manor. Indeed there is no mention of the Barony or Honour of Brito, eo nomine, in the partition. The estates taken by Alice de Mohun, Margaret de la Ferte, and the daughters of William de Percy are set out in the roll, and the locality of the share of Hugh Wake is sufficiently indicated by his relief being accounted for by the sheriff of

(15). Pipe Roll, 13 John Dors. and Som.

(16). Cott. MSS. ubi sup.

(17). Close Rolls 17 Hen. III, m. 8.

Nottingham and Derby ;[18] but the estates constituting the allotment of the daughters of William de Braos are not recorded. However as we afterwards find both Trent and Odcombe in the possession of them or their descendants, we may safely conclude that they formed part of the Braos share. It should here be mentioned that Hawis Wat is said to have held Trent, in the Hundred of Horethorne, 19 Hen. III, of the gift of King John, and that it was worth £10.[19] But this cannot, consistently with the foregoing account, refer to the manorial estate, except to a lease or other limited grant of it whilst in the King's hands. A much more difficult feature is introduced into the title by a proceeding many years afterwards.

It is an Inquis. p. m. taken at Yeovil, 4 Ed. I.[20] The jurors there find that "Walter le Bret" held the Manors of Odecumbe, Milverton, Ile Brywere, and the Manor of Trente, of our Lord the King, in chief by barony on the day he died ; that the said Walter had two daughters, Alice and Annora, that the issue of Alice was Stephen le Bret, and of Annora, Henry Croc ; and that the said Stephen and Henry are the next heirs of the said Walter, and forty years of age and upwards, but there is no finding of the time of his death. Henry Croc was a nephew of Walter Croc, who, 4 Hen. III, had "entered into religion," and Umfry, his brother and heir, on whom his lands devolved, relinquished them in favour of Henry, his son, a minor, whose wardship and marriage were granted to William Briewere.[21] With the evidence before us of the transfer of the Brito Barony to Richard Briewere, so far back as 4 John, we must conclude that the Inquisi-

(18). Pipe Roll, 17 Hen. III, Nott. and Derb.
(19). Testa de Nevill. (20). Inq. p. m. 4 Ed. 1, No. 22.
(21). Excerpt e rot fin Vol. I. p. 41.

tion refers to the death of Walter Brito at the time we have mentioned, and the proceeding was possibly instituted by his then heirs, as a foundation for a claim to the estates which had been alienated after his death. The claim may have been set up at this time in consequence of the recent death of Joan, the widow of William Briewere, who held the Manors of Ile, Odcombe and Milverton, and perhaps Trent also, in dower.[22] The omission of the date of the death of their alleged ancestor shews that the parties were not well informed in an important and necessary element in such inquiries; and as Walter Croc could hardly have been mistaken in the charter quoted above, in calling Walter Brito his mother's brother (avunculus), Alice and Annora must have been the sisters, and not the daughters, of Walter Brito, as stated in the Inquisition. There is, however, no reason for not giving due weight to the confirmatory and express evidence it affords us, that Trent was part and parcel of the Brito barony.

Assuming then upon the evidence set out, that Trent fell to the lot of the grand-daughters of Græcia de Braos, we will proceed to enquire who they were. Her son, William de Braos, married Eva, daughter of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and left issue by her four daughters—Eleanor, wife of Humphry de Bohun; Eva, wife of William de Cantilupe; Isabel, wife of David, son of Lewellyn, Prince of Wales, and Maud, wife of Roger Lord Mortimer of Wigmore,[23] who not only acquired a goodly inheritance from their father, but, as coheiresses of their mother, succeeded also to the large possessions of the Earl Marshal, upon the death of her brothers without issue. But, although there were

(22). Inq. p. m. 49, Hen. III, No. 5.
(23). Dugd. Bar. i. 419.

four daughters, their maternal estates are said, by a recent authority, to have been divided amongst three of them only—Eva, Maud, and Eleanor;[24] and this must have been the case with the father's estates also, Trent being held by the same three in undivided shares.[25] Of the demesne lands a partition was subsequently made, but the manor itself, including the Manor Mill, to which in feudal times certain manorial rights were incident, and also the advowson of the church, which was appendant to the manor, continued undivided down to the reign of James I, if not later.

William Lord de Cantilupe, the husband of Eva de Braos, was of Aston Cantilupe, in the county of Warwick. The Cantilupes had other property in this neighbourhood. The Lordship and Hundred of Berwick belonged to them, in which was the Manor of Chilton (consequently called Chilton Cantelo), and part of Marston. 34 Hen. III, William Lord de Cantilupe and Eva his wife bestowed her one-third of the Manor of Trent in free alms for ever on the Priory of Studley in the county of Warwick.[26] This was a Priory of Augustine Canons, first founded in Stephen's reign, at Wicton in Worcestershire, but afterwards transferred to Studley, near Aston Cantilupe. It had fallen into decay, until re-endowed by the munificence of Lord Cantilupe's grandfather, and he himself again enriched it[27] with a grant of lands in Worle, Locking, Kewstoke, and Norton, in this

(24). Coll. Top. and Gen. vi. pp. 68—86.

(25). Dugd. Bar. i. 180, from which it would seem that Isabel was wrongfully deprived of her inheritance by Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford.

(26). Ped. Fin. Som. 34 Hen. III.

(27). Dugd. Mon. vi. p. 185.

county,[28] part of the estates he had inherited as one of the coheirs of William de Courteney.

The priory held this one-third down to its dissolution as one of the lesser monasteries, 26 Hen. VIII. In the minister's accounts for several subsequent years[29] "the rent of the farm of the Manor of Trent in lease to Richard Lawrance" is accounted for. In the 38th year of that reign it was granted (except the one-third of the advowson) to Robert Brokelsby and Nicholas Girdlington, and subsequently distributed by sale amongst the owners of the remaining two-thirds, and perhaps others.[30]

The grant describes the premises as "The Scite and Capital Messuage of the Manor of Trent with the Buildings Curtilages Gardens and orchards adjoining; 8a. of Pasture called The Eight Acres, A close of pasture called Marles, 109 Acres of Land in the Common Fields of Trent all late in Lease to John Hannam and divers other tenements out on Lease—Also the third part of a water mill called Trent Mill with the fishery there and one Virgate and two acres of arable and pasture the other two parts belonging to William Gerard Esqre and
Stukeley Gent and their heirs in fee—Also perquisites of Courts and also Trent wood 7½ acres set with underwood of oak and hazel. In Trent wood and Trent Grove and about the scites of divers Tenements there and in the hedges and closes pertaining to the same be 700 Elms and Oaks usually cropped of 30 40 and 50 years growth whereof 400 reserved for Timber to repair the Houses standing upon the same and for Stakes and for Hedgebote to repair and maintain hedges and fences of the same and

(28). Glaston. Reg. in the library at Longleat.

(29). Mon. Acc. 27 and 28 Hen. VIII m. 35, 30, and 31 Hen. VIII m. 17.

(30). Particulars of Grants Aug. Off. 38 Hen. VIII.

300 residue valued at 4d per tree which is in the whole £6."

As to the one-third of Eleanor, wife of Humphry de Bohun, it was probably sold by her and her husband, or their son, as, early in the reign of Edward I we find it in the possession of Robert de Seford and Matilda his wife. But the Bohun family remained chief Lords of the Fee. An Inquisition, taken 8th Feb., 47 Ed. III,[31] after the death of Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, to ascertain the knight's fees held by him in chief, finds that he had half a fee in a third part of the Manor of Trent and—which identifies it with the part now under consideration,—that it was held by Robert de Wyke (a misnomer as we shall see for Roger), and was worth by the year comm. ann. 50s.

From Robert de Seford and Matilda his wife it passed to Sir Gilbert le Chasteleyn. The family of Le Chasteleyn was of great antiquity in the county of Suffolk, deriving their hereditary surname from their ancient office of *Castellan* to the sovereign or some great lord, in the same way as that of Chamberlayne, Spencer, Marshal, and others is derived. The name in the earliest records is therefore said to be written Le Chasteleyn, and not as subsequently, de Chasteleyn, and the arms of Alan le Chasteleyn, on his seal to a charter, 34 Ed. I, are, in allusion to the office—*or* three castles triple-towered *sa*. In the British Museum is a manuscript containing a genealogical account of this family, verified by transcripts of old charters relating to their possessions.[32] In its original state it contained the grant of Trent to Sir Gilbert le Chasteleyn and his son Alan, but that is

(31). Inq. p. m. 46 Ed. III, No. 10.
(32). Harl. MS. 6152.

now wanting by the loss of two of the leaves; the date, however, of the purchase is preserved in a subsequent passage, which says, "The said Alan enjoyed the Manor of Trent in the County of Somerset by survivorship upon the death of Gilbert his father who had made him joint purchaser with himself anno. 13 Ed. I"—referring to fo. 7, being one of the lost leaves. From other evidence we find that the purchase only comprised one-third of the manor; for, 15 Ed. I, a fine was levied between Gilbert le Chasteleyn, and Robert de Seford and Matilda his wife, of one-third of the manor of Trent to the use of the said Gilbert and his heirs, to be held of the said Robert and Matilda, and the heirs of the said Matilda, by the rent of 1d.[33] It is clear from this reddendum that the property was the inheritance of the wife. 17 Ed. II, it is found by Inq. that Alan *de* Chasteleyn held at his death one-third part of the Manor of Trent of Robert de Seford and Matilda his wife, by the annual rent of 1d.; that it was worth £10 by the year, and that Thomas *de* Chasteleyn, his son, was the heir of the said Alan, and aged twenty years and upwards.[34] From Thomas, the son of Alan, this one-third descended, in the reign of Edward III, to Joan, daughter and heiress of his son, Thomas Chasteleyn, of Dinnington, in this county, by Emma his wife, one of the daughters and coheiresses of John de Cantelo, Lord of Chilton Cantelo.[35] Joan was the wife of Roger Wyke, whose family were seated at Bindon, near Axmouth, Devon. She became entitled during her minority to certain lands in Chilton Cantelo, as coheiress to her

(33). Ped. Fin. Som. 15 Ed. I, No. 100.

(34). Ped. Fin. Som. 17 Ed. II, No. 2.

(35). Coll. Som. ii. 339, Inq. p. m. 23 Ed. III, No. 47.

mother, and made proof of her age 36 Ed. III,[36] after the death of Walter Parker, her mother's second husband, who was tenant by the curtesy of the lands, which were held in chief by the heir of Lawrence de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, and in the custody of the Crown during his minority. The jurors find that the said Joan was the heir of her mother, and of full age, and that she was born at Dinnington, and baptized in the Church of St. Nicholas there. One of the witnesses states that "he well remembers on the day of the Baptism of the said Joan going with Thomas Chasteleyn her Father to Donyat Park (in the adjoining parish) and killing two deer there with bows and arrows and that the said Thomas Chasteleyn gave him the skin of one of the Deer to make a waistcoat in remembrance of his daughter's age."

This lady survived her husband, Roger Wyke, and became the wife of John Manyngford, *alias* Modyford, of the adjoining parish of Mudford. By a deed in Norman-French, dated 10th May, 1 Hen. IV,[37] "Between Robert Knyvet of the County of Essex and Joan his wife cousin and heir of Gilbert Chasteleyn who was the Father of Thomas the Father of William the Father of John the Father of the said Joan, of the one part and John Manyngford of the County of Somerset and Joan his wife cousin and heir of Alan Chasteleyn—that is to say daughter of Thomas son of Thomas son of Alan brother of the said Thomas son of Gilbert, of the other part" It is declared that if the said Robert and Joan should die without issue of her body—the said Joan the wife of John Manyingford will be the heir and next of blood to the said Joan the wife of Robert Knyvet of all lands which

(36). Inq. 36 Ed. III, Som. No. 36.
(37). Harl. MS. 6152.

were of the inheritance of the said Gilbert Chasteleyn and in like manner if the said John Manyngford and Joan his wife should die without issue of her body the said Joan the wife of Robert will be the heir and next of blood to the said Joan the wife of John Manyngford of all lands which were of the inheritance of the said Alan Chasteleyn." From an indorsement on this deed it appears that the above-named Robert and Joan did die without issue, and "That Elizabeth the daughter and heir of John Manyngford and Joan his wife is married to Thomas Affelton whose issue are John, Richard and Robert and the Lands descended to the said John from the said Alan are 'en Trent jouste Yevle en la comte de Soms.'"

The Affeltons were of Affelton, in the county of Devon. Katherine, daughter and heiress of John Affelton, son of the above Thomas and Elizabeth, brought this one-third to her husband, Hugh Stukeley, sheriff of Devon, 27 Hen. VI. His son, Sir Nicholas Stukeley, married Alice, daughter of Sir John Wadham, the owner of Chilton Cantelo, and was no doubt the Nicholas who, according to Westcote,[38] resided at Trent. His mother, who survived her husband, was married secondly to William Bouchier, Lord Fitzwarine.[39] She died 7 Ed. IV, and was buried according to the directions of her will in the Church of West Wolrington, Devon, in which parish Affelton lies, and not at Poyntington, as has been supposed. The inscription on the grave stone in the porch of Poyntington Church refers to Katherine, widow of Sir John Streeche, or Streche, whose daughter Cicely was married to Sir William Cheney, Lord of Poyntington.[40]

(38). Westcote's Devon, pp. 579, 585.
(39). Pole, 439. Dugd. Bar. ii. 131.
(40). Pole, p. 303.

In the hall window of the old Mansion House of Breakspeare, near Harefield, Middlesex, there was a shield of the Stukeley arms and their quarterings, amongst which were those of Chastelyn and Cantilupe, and a chevron between three roses *gu.* for Manyngford.[41] Roger Manyngford was sheriff of Somerset and Dorset, 1372, and escheator of those counties, 1389.

36 Hen. VIII, Hugh Stukeley, grandson of Sir Nicholas, sold this one-third to John Young, and with his son Lewis Stukeley, levied a fine of the Manor of Trent (but which passed in fact only one-third) and twelve messuages and divers lands in Trent, the third part of one water mill, and one-third part of the advowson of the Church of Trent, to the use of Young in fee.[42] He was succeeded by his son, William Young, who died 29th March, 1623. By Inq. p. m. taken 15th January, 5 Charles I,[43] it was found that John Young, his son, died 30th September, 1630, leaving by Anna his wife, daughter of Robert Harbyn, William Young his son and heir, and seized of the Manor of Trent and one-third of the advowson of the church held of the Hundred of Horethorne in socage and also of other lands purchased of the grantees of the priory estate, and described as "three closes of land in Trent containing 16 acres and one coppice wood called Studleys Wood 12a. parcel of the possessions of the late Priory of Studley held of the King in chief by knight's service." The whole of the Young estate was sold by a subsequent member of that family, and became united with the other parts of the manor

(41). Gent. Mag., vol. xciii. p. 209.

(42). Ped. Fin. Som. Trin. Term 36 Hen. VIII.

(43). Harl. MSS., Cole's Esch. i. p. 261.

in the ancestors of our President, Mr. Danby Seymour, the owner of the entirety.

The mansion house belonging to the Youngs is that on the south-west of the church, now occupied by Mr. Stacey, and in the window of a small chamber, which has the appearance of an oratory, are the arms of Young—*or* three roses and a canton *gu.*, which were confirmed to William Young in 1615. On the ceiling beam of the parlour are three coats in plaster—a dolphin embowed (Fitzjames), a stork (Storke), and an eagle displayed —which arms are also on escutcheons in the church. There is a fourth, apparently a butterfly, which may refer to Nicholas Girdlington, one of the grantees of the priory lands, who bore three butterflies for his arms.[44] Richard Fitzjames was Rector of Trent, 1476.

.We have yet to deal with the one-third of Maud, the wife of Roger de Mortimer, which (with the exception perhaps of the seignority) was not long retained by her. 8 Ed. I, Henry de Wollavington came to the assizes at Somerton,[45] and asked that a charter might be enrolled, by which, in consideration of sixty marks, Lord Roger de Mortimer released to the said Henry, son and heir of Henry de Wollavington, certain lands and tenements in Trent, which belonged to the said Henry his father,—probably as lessee. And 7 Ed. III[46] a fine was levied, wherein John de Wollavington and Agnes his wife were plaintiffs, and William Fitz Richard de Caleshall, and Peter Pownsond, defendants, of a rent of £6 7s. 2d., and four bushels of corn in Trent and Chilton Cantelo, and one-third part of the Manor of Trent, and of the

(44). Coll. Top. and Gen. iv. p. 190.
(45). Assize. Rolls. Som. 8 Ed. I.
(46). Ped. Fin. Som. 7 Ed. III, No. 120.

advowson of the church of the same manor, to the use of the said John and Agnes, and the heirs of the said John. But it appears at the same time to have been in the hands of Sir Thomas West, first Lord West (whose wife was a first cousin of William de Cantilupe), for, 6 Ed. III, he, with others, presented a clerk to the Church of Trent. And 32 Ed. III, by a fine, wherein his son, Sir Thomas West, was plaintiff, and John de Terstwode, or Testwode, and Maria his wife, were defendants,[47] (inter alia) one-third part of the Manor of Trent, was entailed on the said John and his issue. Notwithstanding this, the said John and Maria, in consideration of 100 marks, levied a fine, 2 Rd. II, of one acre of land in Trent, and the advowson of the Church of Trent, to the use of John Harewell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and his heirs in fee.[48]

The settlement made by Sir Thomas West is referred to in the Inquisition taken after his death, 22nd September, 10 Richard II.[49] The Jurors find that Thomas West Chiv., deceased, once held one-third part of the Manor of Trent, with the third part of the advowson of the church, which was held of the heirs of Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, by knight's service, but which, long before he died, he had by charter given and confirmed to John Testwode, and the heirs of his body, with remainder for default of such issue to himself in fee; that the said third part of the manor was worth by the year ten marks, and the church twenty marks. This Inquisition, it will be observed, says this share was held of the Bohuns; if so, Humphry de Bohun must have acquired the lordship of two third parts at least, and it may have been one of the results of

(47). Ped. Fin. Divers Counties, 32 Ed. III.
(48). Ped. Fin. Som. 2 Rd. II, No. 17.
(49). Inq. p. m. 10 Rd. II, No. 52.

a litigation between him and Roger de Mortimer and Maud his wife, relative to the Braos Estates.[50]

I have found no intermediate link in the title of this one-third until the reign of Henry VIII, when it belonged to the Storke family, who inhabited the ancient house on the north-west side of the church, now occupied by Mr. Seymour, and celebrated as a place of refuge for Charles II, after the Battle of Worcester. The main front of the house is comparatively modern, having been erected by Sir Francis Wyndham, in 1706. But there are subordinate parts of the building much earlier, which still exhibit features of a mediæval house, and raise a suspicion that the royal fugitive was not the first Papist in disguise who had been concealed within its walls.

The family of Storke, of which perhaps, that of Starky of Lancashire, connected by marriage with the Gerards of Ince, may be a variety (both bearing for their arms a stork), were not improbably lessees under the priory. They had an early connection with the counties of Somerset and Dorset. John Storke was, 20 Hen. VI, party with Tristram Burnell to a fine of lands in Yeovil and Chilthorne; and Alice, his widow, died 15 Ed. IV, seized of lands in Bagber, in Sturminster Newton.[51] Tristram Storke, of Trent, who was returned as one of the gentry resident in Somerset, temp. Hen. VII, died 1532, leaving, as is recorded on the tablet in the church, by Alice his wife daughter of Robert Bingham of Bingham's Melcombe, four daughters his coheiresses, viz., Joan, the wife of Richard Compton; Ann, the wife of John Larder; Isabel, the wife of Alexander Seymour of Evenswinden Wilts, and Bourton Oxfordshire (a younger

(50). Plac. Abbr. 4 Ed. IV, p. 266.
(51). Inq. p. m. 14 Ed. IV, No. 12.

branch of the Duke of Somerset's family), and Mary the wife of William Gerard, who in the partition of her father's property took, we may presume, Trent as her share.

The Gerards came to Trent immediately from Dorsetshire, but they claimed, as appears by the monument to Wm. Gerard in the church, to be of the same family as the Gerards of Bryn in Lancashire. John Gerard, of Friar Mayne, temp. Ed. IV, was the direct ancestor of the Trent branch,[52] the elder line terminating in an heiress, married to Sir Nathaniel Napper, or Napier, now represented by Mr. Gerard Sturt.

William Gerard, grandson of William Gerard and Mary Storke, died 1st May 1604, leaving Mary his wife, and Thomas his son, surviving, seized of "one third of the Manor of Trent and of 4 acres more in Trent" and of the Manors of West or Gerard's Waddon, Broadway, and Nottington, Dorset.[53] And in 1607 the benefit of the recusancy of Mary Gerard of Trent, his widow, was granted by the Crown to David Stewart.[54]

Thomas Gerard, son and heir of William, married in 1618 Ann, second daughter of Robert Coker of Mappowder, and their daughter and coheiress Ann was the wife of Sir Francis Wyndham, who by that means became possessed of the Gerard part of the manor and estate.

It is worthy of remark that in the adjoining parish of Sandford Orcas there was resident, from the reign of Hen. IV, if not earlier, down to the time of James I, another distinct family of Gerard or Jerard, who were owners of a moiety of that manor, which John Jerard

(52). Hutch. Dorset, 3 ed. Vol. I. p. 608.
(53). Cole's Esch. iv. p. 191.
(54). Hutch. Dorset, Vol. I. p. 556.

settled by charter dated at Sandford, 20th January, 9 Hen. V.[55] The arms on his seal are a chevron between three ermine spots, and the inscription "Sigillum Johannis Jerard," and yet over the west door of an old manor house in Sandford there was, and perhaps is still, a lion rampant crowned, the arms of the Gerards of Trent.

An heiress of the Sandford Jerards was married in the reign of Richard II to Richard de Strode of Parnham,[56] whose descendants quartered the arms of Jerard. William de Strode, son of Richard and Alice his wife, levied a fine of lands in Trent, 36 Hen. VI, which lands were sold by the Strodes, in the reign of Charles I, to William Gundry of Trent gentleman, and have lineally descended through his heiress to Mr. Flambert, the present owner.

There is considerable obscurity in the title to the advowson, especially about the time of the Reformation. The first incumbent noticed in the register is Thomas de Upton sub-dean, rector of Donyat (where as we have seen Thomas Chasteleyn resided), and afterwards Archdeacon of Wells, who was, 6 Ed. III, presented by the Prior and Convent of Studley, Thomas Lord West, and Thomas Chasteleyn, the three owners of the manor. In 1361, William Pikewille was on the death of Upton presented by the Crown alone, the presentation belonging to it, as the register states, by reason of the minority of the heir of Thos. Chasteleyn, although why that circumstance should affect the rights of the other two owners is not intelligible.

The priory join in the presentations regularly down to its dissolution, but it is difficult to connect the other patrons with the title we have traced until the time of

(55). Harl. MS. 1141, fo. 41.
(56). Hutch. Dor. 3 ed., vol. 2, p. 131 Coker's Dors. p. 21.

Nicholas Stukeley. After the dissolution the crown which had only, so far as appears from documentary evidence, acquired the one-third belonging to the priory, appropriated the entirety and presented alone down to 6 James I, when it was granted[57] with other advowsons to Sir Henry Fowkes, Kt., and by him sold four years after, with the advowson of Gyrlington, Oxfordshire, to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for £350.

In 1680, John Young, a descendant of the purchaser, claimed one-third of the advowson, which had been bought by and conveyed to his ancestor, and contested the right of the college to it. The case set up by Young in the pleadings was this. That one Storke left three coheiresses and divided the manor and advowson between them; one married Hugh Stukeley, who conveyed one-third of the manor and advowson to the plaintiff's ancestor, John Young, another daughter married Gerard, and another continued a maid and left her part to the Priory of Studley, whence it came to the Crown on the dissolution, and whilst it remained in the King's hands he alone presented, but that since he had granted his right to a subject, the plaintiff was entitled to his one-third. But upon a trial at Wells, September 23rd, 1680, the college got a verdict.[58] It is impossible to reconcile Young's case with the recorded title, and it is fair to assume that he was unable to support it by evidence. On the other hand it is as difficult to understand on what grounds the college succeeded, there being no evidence of the title of the Crown, either to the Young or the Gerard third, although the latter may have been forfeited or transferred by the disabling statute against papists.

(57). Pat. Rolls, 6 Jac. I. pt. 14.
(58). MS. of B. Smyth, Rector of Trent.

The following list of presentations kindly furnished to me from the Registry at Wells will complete the series given in Collinson :—

DATE	INCUMBENTS	PATRONS
1333-6, Feb.	Thomas de Upton	Prior of Stodlegh, Thomas West, and Thomas Chasteleyn
1361, 18th Feb.	Wm. de Pikewille	The King by reason of the minority of the Heir of Thomas Chasteleyn
1424, 11th Oct.	Richd. Penyfade	Prior and Convent of Stodley, Thos. Beauchamp, Kt., John Rendall, and John Bottreaux
1427, 18th Oct.	Wm. Morys	Ditto
1427, 3rd Feb.	Henry Blakmoor, in exchange with Wm. Morys	By consent of ditto
1440, 29th May	John Pleymarke	Giles Rendale, John Botreaux, and Prior and Convent of Studdelegh
1460, 14th Sept.	Thos. Caas	Said Prior & Convent, Wm. Boucher, Lord Fitzwaryn, Kt., and Wm. Wayte, Esq.
1476, 23rd July	Richard Fitzjames	Said Prior & Convent, Nicholas Stukeley, Esq., and John Bonvyle
1485, 31st Jan.	John Lugwarden on the death of John Combe (sic)	Said Prior & Convent, John Bonvyle, Rich. Stucley, and Wm. Roo, gent.
1500, 10th Nov.	Henry Stevyns	Said Prior & Convent, Thos. Stucle, and Alice, widow of Giles Rendale, gent, also Alice Clayton

With regard to the church itself I must leave a particular description of it to abler hands. The nave and chancel are Perpendicular, but the tower is Decorated. It stands on the south transept, which is lighted by a three-light window on the south, and another smaller one on the east. It is terminated by a pierced quatrefoil parapet, supported by a corbel table, with crocketed pinnacles (lately restored) at the four corners. Rising from it is an elegant spire, 35 feet high, with moulded angles. This tower with its spire always struck me as a peculiarity not congenial to the Somersetshire type, a spire being of rare occurrence, and the tower generally a western one. But when we consider who the patrons were at the period when the tower was erected, and also what was the prevailing style of Warwickshire, we may fairly conjecture that we are indebted to the Priory of Studley for introducing the novel feature we so much admire; and this conjecture is strengthened by the invocation to the Patron Saint of the Priory on one of the bells "Augustine tuam campanam protege sanam."

Corresponding with the south transept is a chapel on the north side of the nave the eastern window of which, as well as the single lancet light in the western end, are also of the Decorated period. Under the recessed arches in the north wall of this chapel are two stone effigies, which Collinson erroneously attributes to the Gerard family. The western effigy represents a man in plate armour of the period of Ed. III. He wears on his head a conical bascinet, with a camail attached, and he rests on his tilting helmet, the crest of which is defaced; on the elbows and knees are strapped elbow pieces and knee caps; the legs are cased in greaves; the feet, girt with heavy spurs, rest on a dog statant. Attached to the girdle is his great

sword on the left side, and a short dagger on the right. There is no shield. His hands are raised on his breast in prayer. The face is exposed with a moustache on the upper lip; signs of colouring are slightly apparent on the surface. There is no record or tradition assisting us to identify this figure, and I gave up the case as hopeless until a second examination. Then on looking closely at the tilting helmet I discovered that, although only a fragment of the crest remained, it was certainly the body of a duck or goose. Now the arms of Wyke are a chevron between three barnacles, or solan geese, close,[59] and the effigy is, I venture to suggest, that of Roger Wyke, the first husband of Joan Chasteleyn, owner of one third of the manor, who died between 36 Ed. III and 1 Hen. IV.

The other effigy is of a different character. It represents a civilian, and apparently a youth. The head which rest on two cushions is uncovered, and the hair is short and formally dressed. The body is draped in a close tunic, the folds of which about the neck and shoulders indicate a kind of hood. Round the waist is a girdle with a sword attached on the left side; the feet rest on a dog couchant. It is possible this figure may be intended for a son of Roger and Joan Wyke.

The chapel is probably that of the chantry, founded by John Frank or French, a native of Trent, and Master of the Rolls in the reign of Hen. VI. He was of Oriel College, Oxford, and a lawyer of great repute, rendering great assistance to the chancellors of that King, in enlarging the equitable jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, and establishing it on principles which are still observed.[60] The chantry was founded *within* the church,

(59). Westcote's Devon, p. 558.
(60). Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors.

and this chapel appears to be the only part of it appropriate for the chantry altar and services. But, as it was not founded until the time of Hen. VI, the chapel, which is much earlier, must have served some purpose previously. There is no record of any other chantry connected with the church, and it has been conjectured that, although the position is unusual, it may have been a Lady Chapel. But, looking at the exterior, and the style of the arch in the interior, so far as the original work remains, may it not originally have been a real transept, corresponding with the other, with the Decorated window then in the north wall, but removed to the eastern end when the chapel was enlarged, and adapted for the purpose of Frank's chantry ?

On the suppression of chantries the temporalities of this one vested in the Crown ; and by a grant, 2 Ed. VI,[61] the mansion (or manse) of the chantry of Trent, within the church there, with the stables and garden adjoining, then in the occupation of John Shete, clerk, the late incumbent, and worth 6s. per annum, was granted to William Fountayne and Richard Mayne, for the sum of £6. By a memorandum on the receipt for the money it appears that the endowment consisted of an annual rent of £8, granted by the provost and scholars of Oriel College, by the license of King Henry VI, to the rector of Trent, and the men of the same ville, for the support of the chaplain, and for the obit of John Frank, viz., for the salary of the chaplain and the repairs of his manse and the ornaments of the chapel, £7 6s. 8d.; and for the obit, 13s. 4d. It is added that there hath been yearly (*i.e.*, since the suppression) distributed amongst the poor people of the parish 10s. 8d.,

(61). Particulars of Grants Aug. Off.

parcel of the said sum of 13s. 4d., granted for the maintenance of the obit. The house of the chaplain is still standing adjoining the churchyard. It is a building of a superior character, with some of the original windows and doorways remaining, but the coats of arms mentioned by Collinson are gone.

The chapel itself seems to have been taken possession of by the Gerards, when they succeeded to their estate in the parish, and Collinson has preserved many inscriptions on the floor, relating to their burial, which have now disappeared. The soffit of the arch dividing it from the nave is decorated with two genealogical trees, with nearly forty shields of arms suspended on the branches, exhibiting respectively the arms of Thomas Gerard and Ann Coker his wife, and their different alliances. The painting, which had become faded and defaced, was in the year 1792 restored at the expense of the Wyndham family and Mr. Seymour, and the heraldry was corrected under the superintendence of Francis Townshend, Windsor herald. It must have been on this occasion that a shield was added with the arms of Wyndham. The arms are so clearly delineated in the plate in Collinson that it is not necessary to set them out here, but the following is believed to be a correct list of the families bearing them, which information Collinson does not give :—

The Gerard tree, on the north side of the arch—1, Otho, the common ancestor of Windsor, Fitzgerald, Gerard, and other families ; 2, Windsor ; 3, Gerard de Windsor, imp. Bryn—Prince of Wales ; 4, Gerald or Fitzgerald, Earl of Kerry ; 5, Gerard, imp. Kingsley ; 6, Gerard, Earl of Desmond ; 7, Gerard and Bryn, quarterly, imp. Bromley ; 8, Gerard, imp. Bryn ; 9, Gerard and Bryn quarterly, imp. Stanley; 10, Gerard, imp. Meers ; 11, Gerard, imp.

Ratcliffe; 12, Gerard, imp. Wells; 13, Gerard, imp. *gu.* a chevron *or* between three swans or geese (*Lyte* or Wyke?); 14, Gerard and Bryn quarterly, imp. Dutton; 15, the same, imp. Storke; 16, Roper, imp. Gerard; 17, Hansby (?), imp. Gerard; 18, Gerard, imp. Willoughby; 19, Gerard, imp. Allen; 20, Wyndham, Bart., with Gerard and Bryn quarterly, on an inescutcheon.

The Coker tree, on the south side—1, Coker; 2, Coker of Bower, imp. Norris; 3, Seymour, imp. Coker; 4, Coker, imp. Walsh; 5, quarterly, one, two, and three, Seymour and Beauchamp, four Coker; 6, Coker, imp. Vele (by which marriage Mappowder came to the Cokers, temp. Henry V); 7, Bingham, imp. Coker; 8, Coker, imp. Turges; 9, Ludlow, imp. Coker; 10, Coker, imp. Malet; 11, Coker, imp. Strode; 12, Coker, imp. Sutton; 13, Daubeny, imp. Coker; 14, Coker, imp. Beaumont; 15, Husey, imp. Coker; 16, Coker, imp. Turbervile; 17, Brune, imp. Coker; 18, Coker, imp. Petre; 19, Coker, imp. Williams; 20, Coker, imp. Moldford.

On one side of the arch is a panache, issuing from a coronet, intended for the crest of Gerard de Windsor[62] —although doubts are entertained whether the panache should ever be so considered—and on the other side a Saracen's head for the crest of Coker. On a shield affixed to the wall of the chapel is this coat; Party per pale, baron and feme—1, Storke; 2, *arg.*, a chevron *sab.*, between three eagles disp. of the same; 3, *az.*, three cov. cups *or*; 4, *arg.*, an eagle disp. *sab.* (qy. Bryn); 5, Paly indented *gu.* and *or*; 6, *arg.*, a saltire *sab.* within a bordure of the last—imp. quarterly 1 and 4; *az.*, a bend cotised

(62). See the seal of William de Windsor, 1381, in Boutell's English Heraldry.

or between six crosses patee of the same (Bingham); 2 and 3 *erm.*, a lion ramp. *gu.*, crowned *or* (Turbervile). Several of these arms have not yet been identified.

There was formally a chapel at Adbere in this parish, served by the rector—but at one time so reluctantly that the inhabitants were compelled to seek redress. In the reign of Hen. VIII the inhabitants of Overadbeare instituted a suit in Chancery against Emericus Tuckfield, clerk, rector of Trent, and others, to compel the due performance of the service in the chapel, and it is recorded in the Book of Decrees in Chancery,[63] on the 20th November, 37 Hen. VIII, "This day the said Emericus Tuckfield hath appeared in proper person and hath confessed in open court that the said Plaintiffs ought to have a priest found at the Chapel at Overadbeare according to an ancient custom and is contented that a priest be found there to celebrate accordingly."

Colonel, afterwards Sir Francis Wyndham, the first baronet, and Lady Wyndham, his wife, who survived him, are both buried beneath the chapel. We may have anticipated that gratitude and respect would have raised some fitting memorial to the loyal and faithful preserver of his Sovereign—who "forsook not the Crown even when it hung upon a bush"—but there is none, save the following inscription on a Hamdon Hill stone, lately removed from the floor :—"Here lyeth the body of Sir Francis Wyndham Baronet who dyed the 15th day of July 1676 Ætatis suæ . . .", and this to Lady Wyndham, "Dm. (Dame) A W obt Jul 19 Ano Dom. 1698." From his coffin-plate we learn that Sir Francis was aged 66.

General Hugh Wyndham, son of Sir Francis, is also buried here. The register states, "The Honble. Hugh

(63). Decrees in Chancery, Vol. I. A.

Wyndham died at Valencia in Spain Sept 30 1706 and was brought and buried at Trent May 31 1707." There is a tradition that he was buried in three kingdoms—his body in one, his heart in another, and his bowels in a third. His heart is certainly preserved in spirits and deposited in the chapel vault.

The baronetcy of Wyndham expired with Sir Francis Wyndham, who died in his childhood, 1719. The female line is continued in several families, and amongst them in that of Harbin Elizabeth one of the daughters of Sir Francis, the first baronet, being the wife of William Harbin, ancestor of the present Mr. George Harbin of Newton, where there are portraits of Sir Francis and Lady Wyndham, and some royal grants and relics noticed in the Society's *Proceedings* for 1853.

ON THE

Cephalopoda Bed & the Oolite Sands

OF

Dorset and part of Somerset.

BY JAMES BUCKMAN, F.G.S., F.L.S., ETC., ETC.

AT the village of Bradford Abbas, in the county of Dorset, there have been opened during my residence three distinct quarries, namely :—

1. AMBURY QUARRY, near the road between Yeovil and Sherborne, adjoining the farm.

2. EAST HILL QUARRY, on my farm.

3. HALLS QUARRY, to the south of (2), also on my farm.

These three quarries are in a line almost north and south, East Hill Quarry, the central one, being nearly equidistant from the other two, and 1 and 3 are about a mile apart.

A general idea of these may be gathered from the section :

a Inferior Oolite Sands. *b* Inferior Oolite. *c* Fuller's Earth.

These three quarries have mostly been worked for road-mending and rough masonry work. Their difference of level is accounted for by a series of faults. (The surface of the section and the hill behind afford a view of the substrata of my farm, the buildings of which are situate at 4.) The difference in the level of the farm is about 150 feet, the lowest part being situate on Fuller's Earth. This higher geological stratum having been brought down by faulting, as indicated in the section.

The following section will illustrate the general composition of the three quarries :—

About Feet						
6	1. Irregular beds of whitish and blue centred Freestones, parted with seams of a white Marl.	1			Fuller's Earth	
10	2. Beds of white, sometimes blue, centred Freestones.	2	Quarry	ditto	ditto	Inferior Oolite
4	3. Foxy coloured and bluish ironshot Oolite, divided into two stages by a thin band of dark marl.	3				
2	4. Grey and bluish Silicious Oolite.	4				
100 to the base of Babylon Hill.	5. Sands with occassional bands of blocks or nodules of indurated stone.	5	Hall's	Anbury	East Hill	Sands—Inf. Oolite

The beds as here set down are of great interest as regards their fossils, which may now be briefly noted as follow :—

1. Contains examples of *Ammonites subcontractus*, Morris and Lycett, pl. 2. f. 1—2, and *A. arbustigerus*, D. Orbig. The latter, as stated by Morris and Lycett, "described by M. D'Orbigny as occurring both in the Great and Inferior Oolite of Normandy." *Belemnites canaliculatus*, *Geol. Chelt.* t. 3, f. 8, is not uncommon. Other shells occur, but, as a rule, the rock is very barren.

2. The Freestone beds contain but few Fossils, poor specimens of *Ammonites Parkinsoni*, *Belemnites*, and *Trigonia* are sometimes met with.

3. This bed, of from 2 to 5 feet in thickness, is, perhaps, the richest *fossil deposit* of the Inferior Oolite; and, both in the numbers of species and individuals, it is, perhaps, not surpassed anywhere. We have already ascertained the following, namely :—Species—consisting of—

Cephalopoda	...	65	Species more or less.
Gasteropoda	...	50	
Brachiopoda	...	15	
Mollusca	...	80	

4. Contains but few fossils. *Iosocardia (Ceromya)*, *concentrica*, is the most characteristic. It is here called the "Dew bed."

5. The sands present but few, and those very imperfect, fossils in the purely arenaceous beds, but some of the interpolated bands of stone are full of organic remains; and as I think them so truly Oolitic they will be commented upon presently.

Here it will be seen that the beds 3 and 5 present especial points of interest; it will be my object then to direct particular attention to them.

Now, as regards the bed marked 3, it may be stated that it has generally received the name of THE "*Cephalopod Bed*," to which the abundance of remains of this class fully entitles it. It will be seen that at Bradford it rests on the so-called "Inferior Oolite Sands" of the Ordnance Survey, quoting from a map of 1811, but named "Liassic Sands" by Dr. Wright. This author, in his excellent paper on the *Inferior Oolite*, in the 16th vol. of the *Journal of the Geological Society*, has the following remarks (p. 34):—

"The Inferior Oolite, which near Yeovil immediately overlies the sands, is comparatively thin, in consequence of the absence of the thick-bedded limestones which impart such a thickness to this formation in Gloucestershire."

The late Hugh E. Strickland took another view of these Dorset beds, as in his description of the Leckhampton Hill section we find the following:—

"(7). Ferruginous beds, consisting of coarse Oolite in the upper part, and of the very peculiar, large-grained Oolite or Pisolite ("Pea-grit") in the lower. A few miles to the south the Pisolite disappears, and is replaced near Painswick, and at Haresfield Hill, by strata containing ferruginous Oolite grains in a brown paste. This is the precise equivalent of the well-known Oolite of Dundry, near Bristol, which may be recognised as far off as Bridport, on the Dorset coast. At Leckhampton the Pisolite rests on a few feet of ferruginous Oolite and sand. The total thickness of this portion of the series is 42 feet." —*Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. vi. p. 249.

Now I have been particular in quoting thus much, as it so clearly expresses the author's opinion—not that the lower beds of the Inferior Oolite are absent in Dorset, but —that the Cephalopoda bed of this county is the equivalent

of the lower Oolitic bed of Leckhampton, or, rather of the "Upper Liassic bed."

Dr. Lycett expresses the same views, he says :—

"Considering the position of the Mollusca bed beneath the freestones, and overlying the Cynocephala stage, it may approximately be placed upon the parallel of the Cheltenham ferruginous Pisolite."—*The Cotteswold Hills*, p. 72.

Mr. Moore has very recently written to the same effect, as in speaking of the section at Half-way House (within a mile of Bradford), he says :—

"The Cephalopoda bed of Half-way House contains many of the organic remains of that zone in Gloucestershire, and amongst the Ammonites may be mentioned, *A. Parkinsoni*, *A. Sowerbyi*, *A. Moorei*, *A. Martinsii*, and *A. variabilis*."—Moore on *The Middle and Upper Lias of the South-West of England. Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society*, vol. xiii. 1865-6.[1]

It may be observed in passing, that this small list of Ammonites occurring together in this place must be a hard nut for the zonal theorists to crack.

The last paper on *The Inferior Oolite*, from which we shall now quote, is by Dr. H. Holl. This geologist, after quoting some of the opinions we have already cited, says :—

"The result of my own investigations is at variance with each of these views; and, having followed the beds stratigraphically along the line of their outcrop, I shall endeavour to show that their true position is higher in the series than is stated by any of these geologists, and that they are, in fact, the southern extensions of the Upper and Lower Ragstones of Mr. Hull, the uppermost of which is not represented in the typical section of Leckhampton, having risen above the level of the country, and cropped

(1). Reprinted later in a separate book.

out before reaching the brow of the hills."—*Quarterly Journal Geological Society* for August, 1863.

If, then, we sum up these opinions, we shall find that, while Dr. Holl places our Cephalopod bed so high that it is above Leckhampton Hill, and yet does not account for the Oolitic mass at Leckhampton (which, according to his view, is not found in Dorset), Dr. Wright *now* correllates the Bradford Cephalopoda bed with the Humphresianus zone on the top of Leckhampton, considering the beds below as absent. Other writers, however, consider it to be the representative of the Cephalopoda bed at the base of the Gloucestershire Oolite series.

Now, as, after eight years of work in Dorset, I happen to differ from all these conclusions, it will, perhaps, be as well to state shortly at this point the views I mean to advocate. My notions, then, are :—

1st. That the Dorset Cephalopoda bed is the representative of the Rubbly Oolite at the top of Leckhampton Hill, and of Cold Comfort, and consists of the Gryphite and Trigonia Grits of the *Geology of Cheltenham* (p. 25).

2nd. The so-called "Lias or Oolite Sands" underlying the Bradford Oolite Stone are really the representatives of the lower members of the Inferior Oolite of Gloucestershire, at least for 100 feet of their thickness.

As it may assist in any conclusions as regards the first position, I here give a list of the Cephalopods from the bed mostly in my own village :—

BELEMNITES.

B. canaliculatus, Schl., D'Orbig., &c.
,, Blainvillii, Voltz, Phill. Monograph.
,, terminalis, Phill. do.
,, anomalus, Phill. do.
,, apiciconus, Phill. do.

B. sulcatus, Miller.
,, giganteus Blainc.
,, ellipticus, Miller.
,, abbreviatus, Sow.
,, irregularis, Phill.
,, brevis—new.

NAUTILUS.

N. latidorsatus, D'Orbig.
,, intermedius, Sow.
,, truncatus, Sow.
,, excavatus, Sow.
,, sinuatus, Sow.
N. clausus, D'Orbig.
,, lineatus, Sow.
,, inoratus, D'Orbig.
,, inflatus (?), D'Orbig.

AMMONITES.

A. subradiatus, Sow.
,, concavus, Sow (?).
,, Murchisonæ, Sow.
,, opalinus, Rein.
,, corrugatus, Sow.
,, lœviusculus, Sow.
,, Tessonianus, D'Orbig.
,, subcostatus, new.
,, subradiatus, D'Orbig., non Sow.
,, discoides, Zeit.
,, discus, Sow.
,, variabilis, D'Orbig.
,, Sowerbyi, Sow.
,, Truellii, D'Orbig.
,, Moorei, Lycett.
,, hecticus, Hartman.
,, Jurensis, Zeit.
,, Ooliticus, D'Orbig.
,, polymorphus, D'Orbig.
,, dimorphus, D'Orbig.
,, Martinsii, D'Orbig.
,, Garantianus, D'Orbig.
,, Parkinsoni, Sow., *and Niortensis the same.*
A. Dorsetensis, Wright., *and Niortensis the same.*
,, Linneanus, D'Orbig.
,, Eudesianus, D'Orbig.
,, Tessonianus, D'Orbig.
,, Edouardianus, D'Orbig.
,, Thouarsensis D'Orbig.
,, Cadomensis, Defrance.
,, pygmeus, D'Orbig.
,, Gervellii, Sow.
,, Brocchii, Sow.
,, Blagdeni, Sow.
,, Humphresianus, Sow.
,, Braikenridgii.
,, longiferus, D'Orbig.
,, Brongniartii, Sow.
,, Deslongchampsii, Defrance.
,, Sauzei, D'Orbig.
,, insignis, D'Orbig.
,, aalensis Zeit. (candidus), D'Orbig., Pl. 63.
Undetermined forms } several.
Undescribed forms }

We have a number of specimens with the terminations to the mouths of the shells beautifully preserved. Indeed, as a rule, the Ammonites from Bradford, Sherborne, and Milborne Wycke might sit for such portraits as those drawn in the *Palæontologie Francaise.* I have made sketches of all these that I could well make out.

The following Ammonites belong to the sands :—

A. Moorei.	A. Jurensis.
,, Murchisonæ.	,, opalinus.
,, Eduardianus.	,, others.

ANCYLOCERAS.

A. annulatus, D'Orbig.	A. subannulatus, D'Orbig.
,, bispinatus, D'Orbig.	

On looking over these lists it will be seen that a fair percentage of Lias forms is represented ; at the same time the mass of these Cephalopods indicate a high position in the Inferior Oolite, and this prevalence must guide us, in as much as it is common for older forms of life to have a more or less wide range upwards, while the reverse would not be possible ; *i.e.*, fossils may range upwards, not downwards, from their starting point.

Again, while some of the shells of these lists are undoubtedly Liassic, yet we now know that many of them have been attributed to the Lias stage, on the assumption that the Dorset Cephalopoda bed was the equivalent of the lower Gloucestershire one : indeed, I have seen specimens from my own Bradford Abbas quarry labelled as from Upper Lias ; but, it is clear that, if this be so the whole series must belong to Upper Lias—a conclusion which no one would agree to.

It should here be mentioned that most of the fossils of the list have been obtained from my own quarry at Bradford Abbas ; at the same time, the same horizon, at no very distant points, will be found to differ greatly as to the prevalence of different species, especially of Ammonites.

Thus, at Bradford, the quarry by my dwelling-house is remarkable for the prevalence of *Ammonites subradiatus* and *A. Sowerbyi*, the latter less frequent than the former, while a cutting at the farm buildings presented more of the latter.

A quarry on the next farm, scarcely a quarter of a mile distant, is remarkable for *A. læviusculus.*

At Half-way House, not half a mile from the latter, *A. Parkinsoni* is a most constant and beautifully-preserved fossil, remarkable both for quantity and size, as they not uncommonly attain to a diameter of as much as 24 inches.[2]

In the quarries close to the town of Sherborne the prevailing Ammonite is *A. Humphresianus*, mixed with *A. Gervellii*, both of which forms are rarely met with at Bradford, while it is worthy of remark that *A. subradiatus* and *A. Sowerbyi* rarely occur at Sherborne.

At Milborne Port *A. Blagdeni* and *A. Brocchii* are common, to the exclusion of those so abundant elsewhere; so that, in a distance of little over five miles, the same bed may be called the *Zone* of any favourite Ammonite out of twenty.

I have thus far confined my observations to the "Cephalopoda bed," as this particular rock is so rich in them, and as the bed itself has been confounded with the one abounding in these remains in Gloucestershire; but, it may be well to remark that, a large list of both *Gasteropoda* and *Conchifera* occurs in the same stratum, and these, like the Cephalopods, afford different species at different quarries: thus, the East Hill quarry at Bradford Abbas has afforded the finest series of univalve shells yet discovered in our British Inferior Oolite, and, indeed, taking all the fossils into consideration, it may be said that this two or three feet of rock yields a richer fauna than the two hundred feet making up the Inferior Oolite in the neighbourhood of Cheltenham.

It will be well now to give a detailed section of the Inferior Oolite of Dorsetshire, for which purpose I shall

(2.) This fossil has been erroneously named *A. Dorsetensis.*

choose that of Hall's Quarry, Bradford Abbas, as it contains the top of the Inferior Oolite, it being covered with the Fuller's Earth.

Section of Hall's Quarry, Bradford Abbas, in descending order :—

			ft.	in.
Fuller's Earth, called Fuller's Earth Rock.	1	Soil (comparatively stiff), Marly Oolite, with nodular masses of white Freestone, containing *Belemnites canaliculatus* and *Ammonites sub-contractus* (Morris and Lycett)	6	0
Trigonia Grit of Cold Comfort.	2	Bed of white Freestone, with irregular cleavage	2	6
	3	Shaly Oolite	2	0
	4	Hard, blue-centred, rough Freestone ..	5	0
Bivalve Bed at Lineover.	5	Foxy-coloured and bluish Freestones, with several species of Astarte	1	6
	6	A thin band of Marl, charged with Nucula and small univalves		6
Gryphite Grit of Leckhampton.	7	Cephalopoda bed, containing a large list of Ammonites Terebratula Philipsii, &c.	2	6
Lower Beds of Inferior Oolite of Gloucestershire.	8	Hard, Silicious Oolite, graduating into sands—"Dew Bed"	2	0
	9	Sands, with Freestone bands, as made out from deeper sections	100	0

The section of Half-way House is much the same, but here it is not capped with Fuller's Earth.

The Marly band with Ironstone nodules is rich in *Astarte excavata*, *A. obliqua*, a small form of *Lima proboscidea*, and two new species of Myaconcha, *M. Longirostris*, *M. truncata* (nob), besides *M. crassa*.

These two latter, it would seem, take the place of the *Perna mytiloides* (Bronn), which so abounds at the Lineover section at Cold Comfort.

As regards the Cephalopoda bed in the Bradford sections, it should here be mentioned that towards the bottom it is highly charged with univalves, with which are *Astarte elegans* and *Opis trigonalis* among the bivalves.

At Milborne Wycke the sands resolve into perfect white Oolite. The section occurs in a road cutting through a hill, at the bottom of which is a stream.

Section at Milborne Wycke, near Sherborne (in descending order) :—

			ft.	in.
		Soil.		
Trigona Grit.	1	White Oolite of irregular cleavage, with few fossils	15	0
Gryphite Grit.	2	Cephalopoda bed, white and chalky in appearance, with occasional markings of green (Phosphate of Iron), charged with *Bel. ellipticus*, *Ammonites Blagdeni*, *A. Gervellii*, *A. cadomensis* and *A. subcostatus* (nob) prevail	2	0
Sands at Bradford.	3	White Oolite Freestone in irregular blocks, with a few Belemnites Terebratula, &c., as both 1 and 2	20	0
	4	Layers of Oolitic Freestone, embedded in Marl, to bottom of section	10	0

1. *Rhynconella spinosa, Ter. spæroidalis.*
2. The usual Inferior Oolite Ammonites, *A. Humphresianus*, as well as the above-named.
3. } Very unfossiliferous.
4. }

Now, if we compare this section with that of Ham Hill, in the opposite direction, as being to the left of Bradford, or west of Yeovil, we shall find that in this admitted section of nearly 100 feet of Inferior Oolite Stone the Cephalopoda bed is absent, and fossils are exceedingly rare.

Section at Ham Hill, Somerset :—

Probable position of Cephalopoda bed denuded ..

			ft.	in.
Freestones, &c., of Leckhampton	1*	Soil.		
	1*	"Ochre beds," a soft bedded sandy Oolite, not the best building stone	50	0
Shelly Oolite of Leckhampton	2*	Yellow and Ochreous beds, best building stone	30	0
Pea Grit of Leckhampton and Cotteswolds	3*	A grey harder Oolite	10	0
		Sand.		

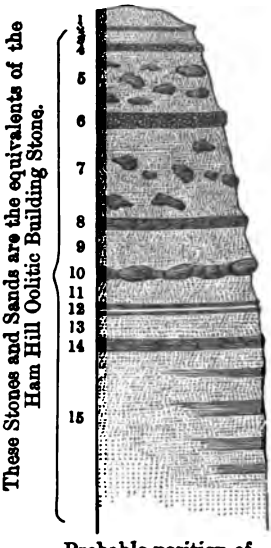
Probable position of Midford Sands, see Phillips' *Valley of the Thames.*

* These beds are the equivalents of the Sands at Bradford, but here wholly Oolitic, and both at Ham Hill and Bradford the Pecten dimissus is a common shell.

The accompanying section is that of the road cutting ascending Babylon Hill, between Yeovil and Sherborne :—

Section of Babylon Hill :—

Cephalopoda bed.



Probable position of Midford Sands

		ft.	in.
1.	Sand	5	0
2.	Sandy Oolite		9
3.	Sand	1	6
4.	Sandy Oolite	1	0
5.	Sand with occasional Stone ...	10	0
6.	Sandy Oolite	2	6
7.	Sands with irregular Stone ...	15	0
8.	Stone	2	0
9.	Sand	5	0
10.	Irregular masses of stone ...	2	9
11.	Sand	4	0
12.	Two bands of Stone ...	1	6
13.	Sand	3	6
14.	Stone	2	0
15.	Sands with occasional layers of stone at the upper part...	50	0

In the Hollow-ways leading to Bradford, and again at the Yeovil Junction, the same section is repeated in its main characters, and it is impossible, on looking at any one of these (without knowing how soft the sands are), not to be struck with the general similarity in bedding and colour with the Ham Hill stone; and I take it, then, that while at Ham Hill the rock became wholly consolidated into a more or less hard Freestone, at Bradford it has only been partially hardened.

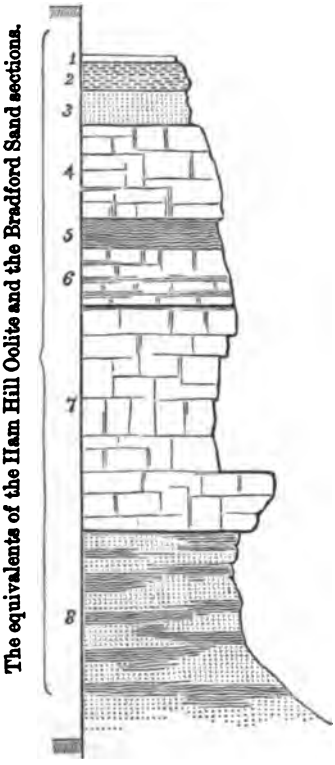
In both, fossils are rare, but at Ham Hill the stone is mostly made up of comminuted shells; so the stone beds at Bradford are occasionally full of fossils, perfect specimens

of which are rare, but still so fossiliferous is its aspect as to have got for some of the layers the name of the Shelly bed, and there is reason to think that it really does correspond with the Shelly Oolite of the Cotteswolds.

The following section of the escarpment at Crickley Hill, Gloucestershire, in 1855, will explain the correlation now sought to be established.

Section at Crickley Hill Quarries :—

—— Probable position of Dorset-
—— shire Cephalopod bed.



		ft.	in.
1.	Soil		8
2.	Rubbly Oolitic debris	4	0
3.	Sandy bed	6	0
4.	Hard Freestone in large blocks, "building stone"	15	0
5.	A kind of Pisolitic Ragstone	5	0
6.	Oolitic Freestone, parted by seams of Pisolitic Stone ...	9	0
7.	Hard blocks of brownish Oolite ...	35	0
8.	Sandy Oolite, containing large blocks of Ragstone, occasionally Pisolitic (as traced to the outcrop) ...	25	0

—— Probable position of Gloucester-
—— shire Cephalopod bed.

Upon this section we have the following notes :—

"Some of bed (7) consists of seven layers of hard stone, some of which are as much as 3 ft. 6 in. thick, parted by thin seams of Oolitic sand."

"The bed (7) presents a fine example of the smooth-faced 'lissens' of the quarrymen."

"The blocks of stone include fine specimens of *Lima proboscidea*, *Gervillia Hartmanni*, *Modiola plicata*, *Belemnites compressus*, &c."

Now, although the list from our sand—or infra Cephalopoda beds—as yet is not large, the following will sufficiently indicate their Oolitic character :—

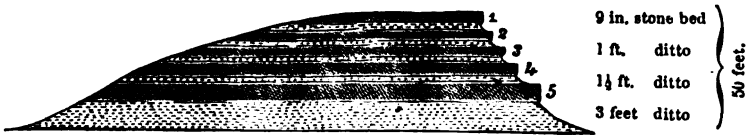
Belemnites compressus.
,, tricanaliculatus.
,, subtenuis.
,, abbreviatus.
Ammonites Moorei.
,, Murchisonæ.
,, Eduardianus, D'Orb.
,, opalinus.
,, Jurensis
others.
Nautilus latidorsatus.
,, inornatus.
Ostræa bullata.
,, Marshii (young).
Gryphæa Buckmanni, Lycett (frequent).
Lima densipunctata, Ram.
,, grandis.
Astarte elegans.
,, pullus.
,, obliqua
Astarte clathratus.
,, rigida.
Avicula complicata (Buck.) *Geol. Cheltn.* t. 6 f. 5.
Gervillia Hartmanni.
,,
Pinna Hartmanni.
,, ampla.
Pecten lens.
,, annulatus.
,, discites.
,, demissus.
Trigonia[3] (both costated and elavellated forms).
Lucina Bellona, M. and L.
Ceromya (Isocardia) concentrica.
Tancredia donaciforme.
Cardium.
Serpula socialis.
Ossicula of Apiocrinus.
do. of Pentacrinus.
Spines of Cidarides.

(3). As this genus is now being reviewed by Mr. Lycett we abstain from naming them more particularly, and especially as this matter is said by Mr. Lycett to be full of interest.

Most of the fossils in the above list occur in the hardened layers of "*Shelly Oolite*" which mark different stages in the sand. Occasionally these stones are mere masses of agglomerated shells, and must contain remains of a very large list of species, but they are so broken as to render their complete determination next to impossible.

As an evidence of the position of these we give the following section at Yeovil Junction :—

Section at the Yeovil Junction.



1. CEPHALOPODA BED. The top bed or Gryphite Grit of Leckhampton.
2. Sandy stone, with but few shells.
3. Do. with *Ammonites Jurensis* as much as 22 in. across.
4. Sandy Oolitic stone, occasionally separated into potlids, in which occur *Nautilus inornatus*.
5. Shelly Oolite, containing a long list of ascertained Oolite fossils, and probably a still longer list not made out.

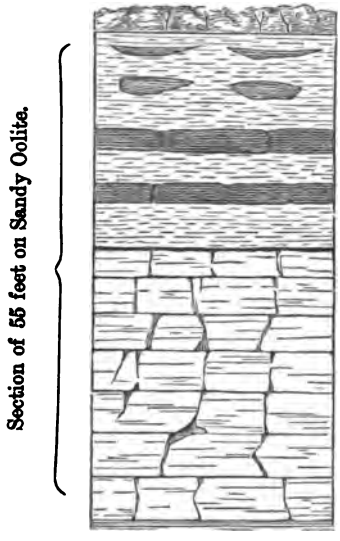
The above is a fine section on the west of the village of Bradford Abbas. It corresponds with the one to the east, the village reposing in a valley caused by faulting, the highest stratum of which consists of Fuller's Earth.

One point of interest in a section near the junction will be found in the appearance presented by the lower beds of sand, which break up into blocks, which, at a distance, both in colour and form, have the appearance of stones in a quarry of Ham Hill stone, and it is only when one

ascertains how soft they are that we become aware of the absence of lime and the presence of sand. And, indeed, in a cutting near my own farm, veins of white, powdery carbonate of lime—probably derived from shells—will be found in horizontal layers here and there in the sand.

We give a sketch of the section just adverted to :—

Section in the Sand near the Yeovil Junction.



From what has been already advanced it follows not only that the Dorset Cephalopod bed cannot be the equivalent of the Gloucestershire one, it being near the top, instead of at the bottom, of the inferior Oolite—nay, as some consider it as part of the Lias itself;—but that the so-called Lias Sands of Dorset are in reality the equivalent of the Inferior Oolite, and represent the mass of that rock as it occurs at Leckhampton and Crickley Hills, near Cheltenham.

In order to show this the more clearly we now take Dr.

Wright's section of the Oolites at Cleeve Hill, and by its side place—a plan of what we consider the Dorset equivalents. These latter are taken from three points—Sherborne, Bradford Abbas in Dorset, and Ham Hill in Somerset. It should, however, be remembered that the different members vary in thickness, even in quarries very near to each other, so that our plan[3] may better be considered as affording a relative view of the position of the different beds concerned, rather than as containing exact admeasurements.

It will be clearly seen from the diagram that the Dorset and Gloucester so-called Cephalopoda beds occupy very distinct positions, but if we revert to our list of these shells from Dorset, it will be found that most of them have been made out from D'Orbigny's *Palæontologie Francaise, Terrains Jurassique*, and it may be said that the list has been made up from specimens much of the same character as the continental examples.

In the work just quoted many of our truly Oolitic examples are put down as from Lias; nay, more, very important conclusions have been founded upon the assumption that they are Liassic, when, after all, it now appears that the very fossils so confidently appealed to as an evidence of Lias *are from near the top of the Inferior Oolite.* Shall we say then, not that the fossils decided this question, but that these were quoted as Liassic, *after* the Gloucestershire Cephalopoda bed at the bottom, and the Dorset bed at the top, had been decided to be identical; and if further evidence were required upon this point it will be sufficient to state that we have examined specimens from our own quarry which had been labelled as from the Lias.

(3). See next page.

DORSET AND SOMERSET—BUCKMAN.	GLOUCESTERSHIRE—WRIGHT.
The Dorset and Somerset equivalents of the Inferior Oolite, Gloucestershire. The equivalents of the Sherborne and Bradford Abbas Oolites, including the Dorset Cephalopoda bed	TRIGONIA GRIT. Ammonites Parkinsoni, and Corals.
	Thecosmilia gregaria, Thamnastræa, Isastræa, &c.
	Gryphæa sublobata, Lima proboscidea, Trigonia costata.
	CHEMNITZIA GRIT. Chemnitzia procera.
	Rubbly Oolite.
	BRACHIOPODA BED. Terebratula Phillipsii, in clusters.
	ROAD STONE. Ammonites Humphriesianus, Chemnitzia Sœmanni.
	OYSTER BED. Ostrea flabelloides, Lima Etheridgii.
	Not known.
	Yellow and Brown Sands, with lenticular nodules of Sandstone.
This is a hard bed in the sands of Bradford Abbas, and contains serpula socialis and Pecten discites, and P. dimissus.	Hard wavy Sandstone. Serpula socialis, abundant.
	Marly Oolite.
	UPPER FREESTONE, with old Terebratula fimbria.
	Thin flaggy Oolite.
The equivalent of the Sherborne and Bradford Abbas Sands, "Midford Sands" in part, consisting of bands of Ooolitic stone and more or less indurated sands	OOLITE MARL. Lucina Wrightii, Terebratula fimbria.
	Thin hard bands of Limestone.
	Thin beds of fine-grained Oolitic Limestone.

Also the equivalent of the Ham Hill building stone, which is simply the Dorset sands more Oolitic and compact .. ..

Hard rubbly Oolitic Marl in broken masses.

LOWER FREESTONE, the Upper Terrace.

LOWER FREESTONE, the Lower terrace.

Hard beds of pisolitic Oolite.

Buff-coloured pisolitic Limestone.

ROE STONE. Pseudodiadema depressum, Acrosalenia Lycetti, Trochotoma carinata.

PEA GRIT. Pygaster semisulcatus, Ammonites Murchisonæ, Patella rugosa, Hinnites velatus, Avicula complicata, Terebratula simplex, T. plicata.

Coarse ferruginous Oolite.

Position of the Gloucestershire Cephalopoda bed, ammonites abundant

LIASSIC SANDS. Highly ferruginous.

UPPER LIAS. Ammonites bifrons.

As regards this point, it should be stated that both continental and English geologists have fallen into the same error, and yet the investigations of the *one* are *confidently appealed to as harmonising with and as confirming the views of the other.*

We see then that instead of there being an abrupt termination of Lias Cephalopoda upwards, we now find that many of the species really extend to near the top of the Inferior Oolite; so that, after all, the species of this important family, so constantly appealed to as separating the Lias from the Oolite in Gloucestershire and Dorset, extend to nearly the top of the Inferior Oolite of the latter county, while in neither district do they go downwards below the position of that bed in Gloucester, a fact which to us seems conclusive, that the Cephalopoda bed of the latter county is truly Oolitic.

It may, however, be urged, that if the Cephalopod beds of the two districts be so wide apart, the species will in no case be identical, and we are free to admit that, had the distinctive characteristics of these beds been made out before, many of the fossils would have got other names. Indeed, had it not been universally assumed that the Ironshot Oolite, so full of Ammonites in Dorset, was the counterpart of the Ironshot Cephalopoda bed of Frocester, the knowledge of the Ammonites would, perhaps, have been more confused than it is now, on account of the necessity a strict zonalist might be under to make the fossils of these two zones specifically distinct.

Again, as such fossils as the following

Ammonites Parkinsoni.	Ammonites Murchisonæ.
,, Humphresianus.	

were found not to harmonise with the Cephalopoda of the Cephalopoda bed in Gloucestershire, we find our friend,

Dr. Wright, constructing a table, which he calls a "Tabular view of the Inferior Oolite in the south of England," &c., in which we have four different zones marked out, three named after the above Ammonites, and allocated to the Inferior Oolite of Cleeve, Dundry, Bradford, &c., and another as at the base, named the "*Zone of Ammonites Jurensis*," and said to belong to "*the Sands of the Upper Lias*," with "*Leckhampton, Dundry, and Yeovil*" given as "*type localities*." This table will be found in the *Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. xvi. facing p. 5.

Now it so happens that nowhere in the Yeovil district have we these four zones marked, but in my own quarry and those in the district the Ammonites of these so-called four zones are inextricably mixed in about three feet of rock, and Dundry furnishes nearly the same list of Ammonites as Bradford.

If the Jurensis zone of Gloucestershire be found near Yeovil, it will be towards the bottom of the so-called "Sands of the Upper Lias," containing in part, if not wholly, the Midford Sands of Professor Phillips.[4]

Now, in a paper entitled *Note on the Midford Sands*, by Mr. H. B. Woodward, F.G.S., we have the following notes upon Dr. Wright's statements :—

"Dr. Wright pointed out that wherever the sands are well exposed (and he gave sections in Gloucestershire and Dorsetshire) they are overlain by a brown, ironshot, marly Limestone, containing 'an immense quantity of individuals of several species of Ammonites, Nautili, and Belemnites, with a few shells of other Mollusca,' and he maintained that this 'Cephalopoda bed,' in its organic remains, belonged rather to the Lias than the Oolite formation."[5]

(4). See *Geology of Oxford*, p. 109.
(5). *Geological Magazine*, vol. ix. No. 11.

If, then, this view be correct, my Bradford Abbas quarry at its base consists of this very "brown, ironshot, marly Limestone," belonging to the Lias; in other words, as it is a famous locality for *A. Jurensis* it would be called the "Zone of A. Jurensis," which, indeed, would be to split a stone to make a division between the Lias and Oolite. If, however, we recognise the fact that the Dorset Cephalopoda bed occupies the top of a thick mass of Oolite, which is here sandy in its composition, and that this thick mass is the true equivalent of the Inferior Oolite of Crickley Hill, which latter, again, is the equivalent of the Ham Hill, then the Gloucester Ammonite bed would be at the bottom of these representative sands if present, but though we find the A. Jurensis to pass through these sands into the Humphresianus zone or the Parkinsoni zone—whichever may be chosen,—yet we have not found any true Cephalopoda bed below the one we have described, though we are far from supposing it to be impossible.[6]

Speaking of the Ham Hill or "Stoke Section," Mr. Moore says as follows :—

"The workable freestone at this spot is 58 feet thick, and almost entirely composed of comminuted shells, united by an irony cement, and is a remarkable deposit; for, though attaining so considerable a thickness, it does not appear to be represented in any other locality."[7]

Here, then, we claim for the first time to have pointed out the representative of this deposit in the thick mass of sands and unbedded concretionary Limestones which

(6). Since this was written we have found bands at the bottom of the sands much charged with Ammonites, which we hope soon to work out.

(7). *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society*, vol. xiii. 1865-6.

occur at Bradford Abbas, Babylon Hill, and other districts, both in Dorset and Somerset.

These beds have no claim whatever to be classed with the Oolite Sands of Gloucestershire, as the latter occupy a much lower horizon. It is, however, curious that the lithology of the Cephalopoda bed of Dorset and the one at Gloucester should be so much alike, and is interesting as showing how little reliance can be placed on structure.

The Brachiopoda are by no means so abundant as in the Cotteswolds, but the following are common in the Cephalopoda bed :—

Terebratula Philipsii.	Terebratula Buckmanni.
,, perovalis.	Rhynconella concinna.
,, perovalis var ampla.	,, spinosa.
,, sphæroidalis.	

We have hitherto dwelt principally upon the Cephalopods of this fine fossil bed, as they furnish such an extensive list, and as we nowhere know, in so small a thickness of rock of such an exhibition, both in the number of species and the frequency of individuals of very many of the forms ; but it must not be thought that this rock is poor in other groups of fossils, as, on the contrary, we find that this particular bed, of from 2 to 4 feet in thickness, has yielded about fifty species of Gasteropoda, whilst nearly all the *Lamellibranchiata* of the Cotteswold, and some few we have not met with there, are found in the rock in question.

Echinodermata are well represented, but neither these nor the *Zoophyta* seem so numerous as in the Cotteswold strata.

Plants are nearly absent, but fossil wood, and the remains of some form of Cycad have been found both at Bradford Abbas and at Half-way House.

In concluding this paper, I would thank Dr. Wright for the loan of a fine collection of Ammonites, which he kindly sent me for examination. My best thanks are also due to the Managers of the Bristol Institution, for their kindness in sending me their Oolitic series of Ammonites for study.

It should here be stated that in compiling the list of Cephalopods a great mass of notes have been made, with which it has been thought inexpedient to burden the text.

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1874-5.

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Lloyd, Dr., *Sec. Archæological and Natural History Society*, Warwick.

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Smith, C. Roach, Esq., F.S.A., Strood, Rochester.

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Williams, Rev. George, B.D., Ringwood.

Willis, Rev. R., F.R.S., F.G.S., *Jacksonian Professor*, Cambridge.

Wilson, Daniel, Esq., LL.D., *Professor of English Literature*, Toronto, Canada.

Societies in Correspondence.

The Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland
The British Archæological Association
The Society of Antiquaries of London
The Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland
The Associated Architectural Societies of Northampton, &c., &c.
The Sussex Archæological Society
The Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History
The Surrey Archæological Society
Societie Vaudoise des Sciences Naturelles, Lausanne
The Lancashire Historic Society
The Chester Local Archæological Society
The Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society
University College, Toronto, Canada
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.
Imperial and Royal Geographical Society of Vienna
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester
The London and Middlesex Archæological Society
The Royal Dublin Society
The Royal Norwegian University, Christiania
The Essex Institute, Salem, Massachussets, U.S.
The Bristol Naturalists' Society
The Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club
The Geologists' Association
The Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool
The Plymouth Institution and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society
The Kent Archæological Society

Rules.

THIS Society shall be denominated "THE SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY;" and its object shall be the cultivation of, and collecting information on, Archæology and Natural History in their various branches, but more particularly in connection with the county of Somerset, and the establishment of a Museum and Library.

II.—The Officers of the Society shall consist of a Patron and Trustees, elected for life; a President; Vice-Presidents; General and District, or Local Secretaries; and a Treasurer, elected at each Anniversary Meeting; with a Committee of twelve, six of whom shall go out annually by rotation, but may be re-elected. No person shall be elected on the Committee until he shall have been six months a Member of the Society.

III.—Anniversary General Meetings shall be held for the purpose of electing the Officers, of receiving the Report of the Committee for the past year, and of transacting all other necessary business, at such time and place as the Committee shall appoint, of which Meetings three weeks' notice shall be given to the Members.

IV.—There shall also be a General Meeting, fixed by the Committee, for the purpose of receiving Reports, reading Papers, and transacting business. All Members shall have the privilege of introducing one friend to the Anniversary and General Meetings.

V.—The Committee is empowered to call special Meetings of the Society upon receiving a requisition signed by ten Members. Three weeks' notice of such special Meeting and its object shall be given to each Member.

VI.—The affairs of the Society shall be directed by the Committee (of which the Officers of the Society shall be *ex-officio* Members), which shall hold Monthly Meetings for receiving reports from the Secretaries and sub-Committees, and for transacting other necessary business; three of the Committee shall be a quorum. Members may attend the Monthly Committee Meetings after the official business has been transacted.

VII.—The Chairman, at Meetings of the Society, shall have a casting vote in addition to his vote as a Member.

VIII.—One (at least) of the Secretaries shall attend each Meeting, and shall keep a record of its proceedings. The property of the Society shall be held in Trust for the Members by six Trustees, who shall be chosen from the Members at any General Meeting. All Manuscripts and Communications and the other property of the Society shall be under the charge of the Secretaries.

IX.—Candidates for admission as Members shall be proposed by two Members at any of the General or Committee Meetings, and the election shall be determined by ballot at the next Committee or General Meeting; three-fourths of the Members present balloting shall elect. The Rules of the Society shall be subscribed by every person becoming a Member.

X.—Ladies shall be eligible as Members of the Society without ballot, being proposed by two Members and approved by the majority of the Meeting.

XI.—Each Member shall pay Ten Shillings on admission to the Society, and Ten Shillings as an Annual Subscription, which shall become due on the 1st of January in each year, and shall be paid in advance.

XII.—Donors of Ten Guineas or upwards shall be Members for life.

XIII.—At General Meetings of the Society the Committee may recommend persons to be balloted for as Honorary or Corresponding Members.

XIV.—When any office shall become vacant or any new appointment shall be requisite, the Committee shall have power to fill up the same; such appointments shall remain in force only till the next General Meeting, when it shall be either confirmed or annulled.

XV.—The Treasurer shall receive all Subscriptions and Donations made to the Society, and shall pay all accounts passed by the Committee; he shall keep a book of receipts and payments which he shall produce whenever the Committee shall require it; the accounts shall be audited previously to the Anniversary Meeting by two Members of the Committee chosen for that purpose, and an abstract of them shall be read at the Meeting.

XVI.—No change shall be made in the laws of the Society except at a General or Special Meeting, at which twelve Members at least shall be present. Of the proposed change a month's notice shall be given to the Secretaries, who shall communicate the same to each Member three weeks before the Meeting.

XVII.—Papers read at Meetings of the Society and considered by the Committee of sufficient interest, shall (with the author's consent) be published in the *Proceedings* of the Society.

XVIII.—No religious or political discussions shall be permitted at Meetings of the Society.

XIX.—Any person contributing books or specimens to the Museum shall be at liberty to resume possession of them in the event of a dissolution of the Society. Persons shall also have liberty to deposit Books or Specimens for a specific time only.

XX.—In case of dissolution the real property of the Society in Taunton shall be held by the Trustees for the advancement of Literature, Science, and Art, in the town of Taunton and the county of Somerset.

April, 1875.

*** *It is requested that Contributions to the Museum or Library be sent to the Curator, at the Taunton Castle.*

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1875.

Those marked * are Life Members.

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5 Allen, I. Mountford, *Crewkerne*
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Badcock, H. J. *Taunton*
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10 Bagehot, Walter „
Bagehot, Watson, *Heale, Curry Rivel*
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45 Braikenridge, Rev. G. Weare, „
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Perceval, Capt. *Severn House, Henbury, Bristol*
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Pooley, C. *Weston-super-Mare*
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Rutter, John, *Ilminster*

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Sparks, W. B. „
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Thring, Theodore, „ „
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Tomkins, Rev. W. S. *Castle Cary*
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Winterbotham, W. L., M.B. *Bridgwater*

Winwood, Rev. H. H. 11, *Cavendish-crescent, Bath*
Wise, Rev. W. J. *Shipham, Bristol*
Wood, Alexander, *Gower-street, London*
380 Woodforde, F. H., M.D. *Amberd House, Taunton*
Woodforde, G. A. *Castle Cary*
Woodhouse, Rev. F. T. *Otterhampton, Bridgwater*
Woodley, W. A. *Taunton*
Wotton, E. . „

385 Yatman, Rev. J. A. *Winscombe, Weston-super-Mare*

New Members

Acton, H. B. 4, *Great Bedford-street, Bath*
Chapman, Wm. *Taunton*
Clifford, The Hon. and Right Rev. Bishop, *Bishop's House, Park Place, Clifton, Bristol*
Davies, J. Trevor, *The Abbey, Sherborne*
390 Davies, Dr. Nathaniel, *Sherborne*
Digby, Rev. R. H. W. *Thornford, Sherborne*
Donne, Robt. *Odcombe*
Eden, Chas. *The Grange, Kingston*
Errington, The Most Rev. Archbishop, *Prior Park, Bath*
495 Esdaile, Rev. W. *Cleeve, Bristol*
Glyn, Sir R. G. *Leweston, Sherborne*
King, Richard J. *The Limes, Crediton, Devon*
Lysaght, John, *West Town, Backwell, Bristol*
Manley, H. F. *Upcott, Bishops Hull,*
400 Manning, T. D. *Yeovil*
Newell, Rev. F. C. *Chiselborough*
Odgers, Rev. W. J. *Saville House, Weston, Bath*
Woodland, Wm. *Haines Hill, Taunton*

Members are requested to inform either of the Secretaries of any errors or omissions in the above list; they are also requested to authorise their Bankers to pay their subscriptions annually to Stuckey's Banking Company, Taunton; or to either of their branches; or their respective London Agents, on account of the Treasurer.

F. MAY, PRINTER, HIGH STREET, TAUNTON.

SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY'S

PROCEEDINGS, 1875.

VOL. XXI

Taunton

FREDERICK MAY, HIGH STREET

LONDON: LONGMANS GREEN READER AND DYER

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Preface.

In accordance with the direction of the Council, some changes in form have been made in this Volume, which will at once mark the beginning of a New Series, and will, it is hoped, be held to be an improvement. The Index to the first Twenty Volumes of the Society's *Proceedings* has been ready for some time, but, as with this will be published the Indexes to the Wells Chapter Records, which are not quite ready, the forthcoming of the whole has been delayed: this delay will shortly be over. This Volume of *Proceedings* would have been sent out a good while ago had it not been for the time which the production of the coloured diagrams has taken on all sides. The accuracy and beauty of their execution will, I hope, be considered an excuse for the delay. The thanks of the Society are due to the Hon. and Rt. Rev. Bishop Clifford for the map which he has presented to the Society, and to Mr. J. Mc Murtrie and Mr. Samson for the trouble which they have kindly taken in the preparation of their plans.

W. H.

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Proceedings

of the

Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society,

during the Year 1875.

THE Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Society was held at FROME, on Tuesday, August 10th, in Mr. Harrold's Auction Mart.

The public proceedings began at 12 noon. The Chair was taken by the President, Mr. H. DANBY SEYMOUR. The President said that he had a very short duty to perform, it was to resign his office as President, and to propose as his successor the Right Honourable THE EARL OF CORK AND ORRERY, the Lord Lieutenant of the County. The proposal was seconded by Mr. R. K. M. KING. Mr. H. D. Seymour then left the Chair, and the Earl of Cork was voted President with much applause. The new President thanked the Society, and spoke of the ability of Mr. Danby Seymour, the interest which he took in the well-being of the Society, and in the furtherance of the objects for which it was founded, and of the efficient way in which he had during the last year filled the office of President. The noble President welcomed the Society to Frome, and said that he would do all in his power to make the meeting both profitable and pleasant.

The PRESIDENT then called upon the Rev. W. HUNT, Honorary Secretary, to read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

"The Council of the Society have the pleasure to report that the year which has passed since our last annual meeting has been one of prosperity. The number of members is now 434 (an increase of 31), and there is every reason to believe that it will increase, as the interest which has of late been taken in our proceedings seems to promise that we may look forward to having the means of doing more than we have been able to do in drawing out and preserving those natural, historical, and architectural treasures in which our county is rich. An increased number of Members means greater power given to the Society of carrying out the ends for which it exists; and at the same time encourages those who are entrusted with the work of forwarding its interests, by assuring them that their work is approved. And though the Council by no means desire numbers alone, yet unless the Society is well supported it will necessarily be unduly crippled in its operations. Each member who has the welfare of the Society at heart can do much for it, and if his tastes or his time do not allow him to join often in its pursuits, he can at least make known its aims and enlist others in its ranks. While on this subject the Council must beg leave to remind the Members of the necessity of punctuality in the payment of their subscriptions. The amount of the present subscription is small compared with the work which the Society undertakes. The publication of the volume of Proceedings, on which much of the welfare of the Society depends, alone takes up so large a part of the yearly receipts that but a small sum is left for the many other purposes for which our Society exists. If the Society is to continue its present work, still more if it may hope some day to engage in some of those undertakings which are continually claiming our attention (such as the publication of the Registers of the Dean and Chapter of Wells), it is necessary that its income should be paid in with regularity.

"It will be recollected that at our last Annual Meeting the completion of the purchase of Taunton Castle was reported to you, and you were informed that part of the purchase money had been borrowed from Stuckey's Banking Co. A series of entertainments was then in contemplation as a means by which money might be raised for the repayment of this loan and for needful alterations, and your interest was bespoken on behalf of "the Castle Week." These entertainments have now been held, and the Council rejoice to learn that this effort for the Society has been attended with success. The thanks of the Society are due to those ladies and gentlemen who have worked so well for them—their names are many, but amongst the gentlemen we may perhaps be allowed to mention three to whom we owe much for this and many other things they have done, Mr. W. A. Sanford, Mr. O. W. Malet (one of our Hon. General Secretaries), and Mr. W. E. Surtees. A balance sheet of the receipts and expenses of the "Castle Week" will be published and sent to each Member with the annual volume of Proceedings.

"The Council must mention the munificent offer of Mr. Prankerd, of the Knoll, Bristol, who has taken great interest in the purchase of the Castle, and has promised to give a donation of £100 to pay off the debt, provided fourteen others will come forward with a like sum within six months from the first of August. The Council venture to hope that this example will be followed, and consider that the thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Prankerd.

"During the past year the whole of our collection has been moved to the Castle and arranged by our Curator, and the moving has been managed so carefully by him, that not a single article has been lost or injured.

"Our means have been so scanty that we have been able to do but little in the way of restoration, though we have in some degree fitted up the Castle to meet our requirements. The Great Hall has had its unsightly galleries removed, and has been

decorated with our Wells casts and recoloured. This part of the Castle will be a source of income to the Society, as the Committee propose to let it out for public purposes.

"In the lower story of the Norman Keep a stone doorway has been restored and the partitions removed. Our collection of antiquities has been placed here.

"In the upper story, which has now been made into a large room, entered by a stone archway, we have placed our splendid geological collection. This can now for the first time since the foundation of the Society be seen as it should be. H.R.H. the Prince of Wales has kindly directed that specimens from his Cornish mines are to be sent to us, and this will add to the interest and importance of this department. The attics above this story are at present used as store rooms. The ground floor of the south-west tower has been fitted up as a library and Committee room. Better quarters have been provided for our Curator. The upper story is occupied by the ethnological collection. Gas has been laid on in all the rooms, and the roofs have had some repair.

"In the Castle Court Yard a wretched looking red brick erection has been taken down, and this has brought out a very interesting square turret on the east of the entrance, and gives a good view of the house, which, though badly treated in the time of Queen Anne, is of nearly the same date as this side of the Castle. On the east side a path has been made through the grounds to meet a new entrance from North Street. Mr. W. E. Surtees has given a right of way through his premises at this point. The thanks of the Society are due to this gentleman for his kindness, which has proved a great convenience, as visitors are now able to enter the Castle without passing through the Cattle Market.

"The cost of these repairs and restorations has been about £500.

"The Castle week has proved a success, and will greatly help us in the large outlay which we have been forced to make.

Amongst its various features the Council wish to call special attention to our Fine Arts Exhibition, which will remain open during the rest of the month. It has been chiefly furnished by the kind contributions of residents in this county, with the aid of the South Kensington Museum. The articles have been collected and arranged by the exertions of Messrs. W. E. Surtees, A. Malet, C. Eden, and the Rev. I. S. Gale. Upwards of 300 pictures in oil and water colours, some of rare value, adorn the walls. There are many cases of rare and valuable china and articles of virtu, including the priceless Byzantine vase of Mr. Sanford. The Council can say with confidence that as a whole this exhibition has never been equalled in the West of England. Mr. Owen, the chief director of the South Kensington Museum, expressed his full satisfaction with the arrangements and fittings of the Castle, and he has asked that plans should be sent to the South Kensington Museum.

"The Council have long regretted the lack of an Index to the volumes of the Society's Proceedings. Much vexation and loss of time are occasioned by having to search volume after volume for some piece of information which is known to exist in their pages, but the clue to which has been lost. The volumes at present published are rising in value, and an Index volume to the whole set will cause their value to increase. The publication of the Twentieth Volume of Proceedings seems a fitting opportunity to supply this long felt want. The low state of the funds of the Society has hitherto prevented this being done. The Council are now happy to announce that an Index volume to the Twenty volumes already published is in course of preparation by your Hon. Secretary, Mr. Hunt, and that it will be published without any risk or cost to the Society, and will be sold at a price not exceeding that of the ordinary annual volumes. This Index volume will complete a distinct series of the Society's publications, for the Committee have requested the Secretary in charge of the publishing work of the Society to make such changes in the form of the next volume of Proceedings as may

seem to mark the beginning of a new series of volumes, in order that newly-elected Members may not have fragments of a set. The Council hope that Members will avail themselves of the opportunity which will be given to them of enhancing the value of the volumes which they at present possess, by giving orders for this Index volume, and will secure those at whose risk this scheme is undertaken from ultimate loss. The publishers will, with the sanction of the Committee, shortly forward a prospectus to every Member.

"The Council have received the following report from the sub-Committee appointed at our last annual meeting, held at Sherborne, to secure the preservation of the buildings of the Vicar's Close at Wells, and to forward any plan for its judicious restoration. The Committee consists of the Bishop of the Diocese, Canon Meade, the Members of Parliament for the division of mid-Somerset, Messrs. W. A. Sanford, F. H. Dickinson, T. Serel, and the Rev. W. Hunt, as Secretary.

COMMITTEE ON THE VICAR'S CLOSE.

The Committee appointed last year at Sherborne to secure the preservation of the buildings of the Close and to forward any plans for judicious restoration have to report that two of their members, Mr. Neville Grenville and Mr. Dickinson have had an interview with the Secretary of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners who promised that the reversionary interest in the Commissioners in the Houses in the Close should not be sold. They have also to report that a careful restoration of the Chapel will probably be made, and that it has been leased to the Trustees of the Theological College by the College of Vicars Choral, at a nominal rent, for a term of fifty years, with a view to that restoration. Perhaps it may be as well that this Committee be made permanent, with the addition of the name of the Rev. E. L. Elwes, who has planned the restoration.

"The Council recommend the adoption of the report, and

also that this sub-Committee should be made permanent with the addition of the name of the Rev. E. L. Elwes.

"The Council have received the following report from the sub-Committee appointed to further the publication of the Wells Ecclesiastical Records. This committee consists of Messrs. F. H. Dickinson, J. Batten, T. Serel, and the Honorary Secretaries.

COMMITTEE ON THE WELLS ECCLESIASTICAL RECORDS.

After a discussion raised by Mr. Serel of Wells, at our meeting in 1871, on the Ecclesiastical Documents at Wells, a Committee was appointed to carry out his suggestions.

They have since given their attention more particularly to the Records of the Chapter, and have prepared for publication copies of the indexes to those records, which they recommend for publication in the next proceedings of the Society; or, if that is impossible, separately by subscription.

In the course of the last year the attention of the Committee was drawn to a publication by direction of the Master of the Rolls of the earliest Register of the Bishops of Durham, that of Bishop Kellawe, 1311-6, and application was made to him by the Committee for the publication of the Register of Bishop Drokensford, 1309-29, the earliest extant at Wells, and he has been so good as to say that he will consider their application when he proposes to the Treasury, at the beginning of next year, the works which he desires to publish.

Copies of the application and reply are submitted with this report.

"The Council recommend the adoption of this report."

This report, with the reports of the two committees, was declared adopted.

The PRESIDENT then called upon the Rev. W. Hunt, in the absence of the Treasurers, to read the following FINANCIAL STATEMENT:—

The Treasurers in Account with the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

Dr.

1874. Aug. 14.	£	s	d
By Balance of former Account		12	5
„ Excursion Tickets ...	14	15	0
„ One Life Member ...	10	10	0
„ Entrance Fees	18	10	0
„ Subscriptions	183	12	0
„ Museum Admission Fees..	8	9	7
„ Sale of Volumes from Mr. May	40	0	7
„ Sale of Volumes and Illustrations	5	5	6
„ Transferred from Castle Purchase Fund, on account of Printing, Postage, &c.	10	0	0
	£291	15	1

Cr.

1874-5.	£	s	d
To Expenses attending Annual Meeting, Advertising, &c.	15	10	2
„ Repairs, &c.		10	0
„ Stationery, Printing, &c.	13	10	10
„ Coal, Gas, Water	20	0	1
„ Curator's Salary to Midsummer, 1375	65	7	6
„ Half Year's Rent to Institution for Rooms	15	0	0
„ Mr. May for printing and binding Vol. XIX.	72	11	6
„ Ditto on account of Vol. XX. ...	20	0	0
„ Engraving and Printing Illustrations	16	1	3
„ Rates and Taxes	5	13	0
„ Subscription to Palæontographical Society, 1875	1	1	0
„ Ditto, to Harleian Society, 1875 ..	1	1	0
„ Ditto, to Ray Society, 1875 ..	1	1	0
„ Postage of Volumes of Proceedings	10	13	5½
„ Postages, Carriage, &c.	6	0	3
„ Sundries	2	18	10½
Balance	24	15	2
	£291	15	1

H., H. J., & D. BADCOCK, *Treasurers.*

Examined, compared with the vouchers, and found correct, Aug. 6th, 1875.

HENRY ALFORD.
C. J. TURNER.

Mr. W. A. SANFORD said that he thought the present a fitting opportunity for calling the attention of the Members to the way in which the Society was crippled in its work for want of funds. By the time that the absolutely necessary expenses of the Society were paid there was nothing, or next to nothing, left to meet any demand, however much it might be for the welfare of the Society or for the furtherance of its objects. The Members could not but be aware that the present subscription was exceedingly small, considering that it entitled each Member to receive a copy of the annual Journal. It was so small that he thought that it was quite impossible that it should remain at the present amount. He could not make any proposition on the subject at present; he only wished to throw out a suggestion which he hoped would be carefully considered by all during the year which must pass before they again met as at present. He was sure that there were many who were able and willing to increase their subscription. He thought that it might be well if those who felt inclined to do so should for the future pay a guinea subscription, while others could of course

continue Members at the same subscription as they had paid heretofore, and that all new Members should pay one guinea entrance fee, and one guinea each year as subscription.

The Rev. W. HUNT said that he could endorse all that Mr. Sanford had said as to the way in which the Society was cramped for want of funds. Year after year it had been proposed that some work should be done by the Society of great and lasting importance, such as the publication of the Indexes to the Wells Records, but each year the schemes had to be laid aside for want of funds. Even additions to the Museum had to be made by a special appeal. As to Mr. Sanford's scheme he could not as yet express any opinion upon it.

The Rev. H. H. WINWOOD thought that if there were two classes of subscriptions there must also be two classes of Members. Instead of the arrangement which Mr. Sanford proposed, which would, he thought, cause an invidious distinction between the older Members, and also probably check the present rate of increase of the number of new Members, he thought that it would be fairer if the Members who lived near Taunton—say within a radius of ten or twelve miles,—and who therefore derived much more benefit from the Society than those who lived in other parts of the county, should pay the larger sum, while the subscription of Members who resided at a distance, and who probably hardly ever saw or used the Museum, should remain as at present.

The Report of the Treasurers was then received and adopted.

The Vice-Presidents were re-elected with the addition of Mr. H. Danby Seymour.

The Treasurers, General Secretaries, and District Secretaries were re-elected.

The following gentlemen were elected Members of the Committee:—Mr. H. Alford, Rev. I. S. Gale, Mr. R. K. Meade King, Mr. A. Malet, Mr. Cecil Smith, and Rev. W. P. Williams.

Mr. W. Bidgood was re-elected Assistant Secretary and Curator, and Mr. SANFORD spoke of the untiring energy and

care which he had shown in the removal of the Society's collections from their old quarters to the Castle.

Mr. SANFORD then proposed that the next Annual Meeting of the Society should be held at Bath. He had last year proposed Dulverton as the place of meeting for 1876, but as he understood that it was likely that the West of England Society and Southern Counties Association would hold their meeting for 1877 in Bath, and as it was wished on all sides that an early visit should be paid to that city, he thought that it would be well to make it next year.

Rev. W. HUNT seconded the proposition, and it was carried unanimously.

Mr. C. MOORE and Rev. H. H. WINWOOD both expressed their pleasure at this decision, and said that they were sure that the Society would be heartily welcomed in Bath.

Six gentlemen were then elected by acclamation as new Members of the Society, the rule requiring ballot being suspended for the occasion.

The PRESIDENT then delivered his

Inaugural Address.

THIS year the Somersetshire Archæological Society has chosen as its place of meeting the town of Frome, the centre of a district which to the student of archæology especially presents many attractions. Our possessions may not be so widely known to fame, perhaps, as the remnants of Nineveh or the ruins of Troy. But as compared with the value of those memorials, which chronicle only the doings of a single period, you have for investigation in this part of the county of Somerset relics of ancient Britons, Romans, Danes, Saxons, and Normans, each contributing in turn to increase the store of knowledge which you as Archæologists are accumulating. Scarcely necessary is it however for me to enlarge on the value of this district as a field of inquiry. To the Archæologist all that is valuable

anywhere and everywhere belongs. There is not a carved capital but has its story for him; not a stone or monument but yields him food for thought; not a fossil or shell, or ancient door, but adds to the knowledge which he wishes to gain. And were the district to which you are come apparently less fertile in archæological treasures, there would be, for all that, necessarily sufficient to reward the research. Somersetshire however is a country which is well and favourably known to Archæologists everywhere. Its very name has furnished ground for valuable discussions, some insisting that the summerlike temperature of the atmosphere during a certain portion of the year gained it enviable notoriety, while others who call to mind its condition in winter, the dirty state of its roads, and the marshy character of the land, as shewn in the old proverb, "Bad for the rider but good for the abider," declare that the name of the county is derived from the town of Somerton, and in support of their assertion quote Asser, the old English historian, who always calls it in his writings the County of Sumertun. Be this as it may, I have no intention of re-opening the discussion, nor do I propose to go at any very great length into the history of the county itself. Of its condition during the occupation of the Cangi,[1] we know very little. Presumably these early Britons were about as wild as the rest of their countrymen, and as little inclined to civilisation as the most erratic. Yet they left their mark on the district, and indeed, their names; for have we not Wincanton and Cannington still bearing witness that the Cangi once ruled in the land? The Saxons, however, were a much more practical people. Like their representatives in the Fatherland at the present hour, they appear to have had a very clear idea of the value of territorial property. They parcelled out the land and divided it into kingdoms, seven in number, with a clearness of purpose, which in the eyes of a modern German should give them great favour. And the West Saxon Kings having thus obtained possession of this district in the year

(1). A small tribe of the Belgæ.

519 they did the best they could to make themselves comfortable. So comfortable were they in fact that we hear but little of them till the year 688, when a very notable personage, one King Ine ascended the throne.[2] Then we find a West Saxon King fighting the men of Kent and extending his kingdom to the south of the Thames on the one hand, attacking the Welsh and beating them on the other, and all the while doing something or other for the cause of religion. The results of his energy and piety were a college at Wells, dedicated to God and St. Andrew, and various other works of lesser note, and it is indirectly to him that we are indebted for the See of Bath and Wells, for it was his immediate successor who turned Ine's college into the seat of a Bishop, about the same time that he rebuilt the famous Abbey of Glastonbury. How great a temptation there is to linger over these so called good old times! The doings of the Earls, who under the West Saxon Kings after Egbert, had rule and sway in this country, and in their own district, had almost absolute power, would doubtless, were they known, read more like a romance than a historic tale. They used, it appears, to have the power of determining all controversies, punishing malefactors, and more generally administering what they were pleased to consider justice. In these days of enlightenment, with a free press and a free platform, our ears are now and then shocked by a somewhat strange freak on the part of individuals appointed to administer the law. But what must have happened in the days when newspapers were unknown, and public meetings were scarcely dreamt of? There were Hun, for instance, and Earwulf, who was killed in 823, of whose origin little is known, but who so bravely fought the invading Danes, and at the head of the men of Somerset and Dorset so beat these old sea kings that for six years they refrained from coming any more. After what sort did they

(2). Ine ascended the throne 91 years after the mission of St. Augustine, and 54 years after Christianity had been first preached to the West Saxons by Birinus.

administer the laws and decide between the common people? We may have sadly degenerated, as some people tell us, in these modern days; but there are few, for all that, who would care to go back to the laws and customs of Ethelbald and Edmund Ironsides, even for the pleasure of beating the Danes once more. Yet they were brave men and left "footprints on the sands of time," as Longfellow says, and we as Archæologists in Somersetshire have much for which to be very grateful to them.

Then, to leave history for a moment, the Archæologist finds himself here in a district of great importance, geologically speaking. The sister science indeed finds here the most wonderful examples. In Somersetshire the greatest extremes meet, and the various strata, which usually can only be examined by traversing vast distances, are brought together—the lowest and latest formations are all close at hand. In the Mendip Hills, which commences not very far from this place, are fine specimens of trap or volcanic rock. Mines of lead and zinc, worked long ago by the Romans, have been recently reopened on their summit. North of the Mendip range are wide spreading coal fields. Of red sandstone there are extensive and varied deposits. The limestone near Milverton is full of interesting fossils. Lias may be found at Taunton, Somerton, and Combwitch. Oolite is discovered at Castle Cary and Bath. Iron too seems to have been smelted in this neighbourhood, near Bunns Lane, for a few years ago some gentlemen came upon a heap of what appeared to them to be charcoal scoriæ, mixed with iron ore.[3] The green sand is found along the eastern border of the county, at the elevated point on which Alfred's tower stands. Although there are no collieries south of the Mendips, there is a reasonable probability on geological grounds of coal being found towards the south and south-west, seeing that these hills have evidently been lifted up through what was once continuous strata. Dr. Buckland was of this opinion,

(3). The Iron Mells Bridge.

and a report to a similar effect by a distinguished member of the Royal Society, Mr. John Prestwick, was a few days ago placed in my hands. Altogether then this district is peculiarly rich in valuable fossils and curious disruptions.

Then architecturally we have many objects of note in this county of ours. Take for instance the Abbey of Glastonbury, founded in the first instance by Joseph of Arimathea, whom Philip, or the Apostle St. Paul sent to preach the gospel in Britain, and styled by our ancestors the first land of God, the origin and foundation of all religion in England; or in our own immediate neighbourhood at Witham, the first priory of the Carthusian monks in England, founded by Henry II., and dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St. John Baptist, and All Saints. The ruins of the monastery have been removed, and the church, erected about 1175 by the third Prior, Hugh, who was sent for expressly from the Chartreuse to establish order among the monks who had been most troublesome to his two predecessors, is the only remaining portion of the building. St. Hugh was afterwards created Bishop of Lincoln and died about 1129. There are, I believe, only two other churches left which were built by this body of monks, though there were seven or eight different settlements of them, and, with the exception of the Cathedral at Wells and Abbey in Bath, it is the only church in the diocese with a stone vaulted roof. Then there are the curious old sculptures at Wellington, the rich stonework in Wells Cathedral, the Castle at Taunton, also the Abbey at Sherborne, to say nothing of the places of interest you are shortly about to visit, and the scores of other interesting spots where in years gone by you have pleasantly wandered.

As a Natural History Society too you will find much that will please and reward you. For amongst the fossils to which mention has been made and in the skeletons discovered at various times, you have the richest possible store of specimens both of fauna and flora. Bats, shrews, seals, red and fallow deer, dolphin, grampus and whale, vultures, eagles, owls of all

kinds, and a hundred birds long since departed, are all here, and it would need a long list, much longer than I have time for, to enumerate one half of these undoubted treasures.

While, historically, the student of ancient times might spend much time and gain much knowledge as he visited Ilchester, where Roger Bacon was born in 1214; Wrington, where the great philosopher Locke first saw light; Taunton, with its memories of Charles II, and its hall where the infamous Jefferies held the Bloody Assize; Castle Cary, where the Duke of Monmouth once found shelter; Sedgmoor, the scene of his defeat; Dunster rising at the foot of a fortress reared by the Norman to curb the Englishman. But with such treasures at your feet it would be prodigal to attempt all at once even were that possible; and therefore it is that you confine yourself to certain districts each year, and, like the Saxons of old, parcel out the land, making the most of what is to be gained by careful research.

This year then you are in the Frome district, and are about to consider its archæological specimens. A very fruitful district is that to which you have come. Here it was that Adhelm, the kinsman of King Ine, built a monastery in honour of St. John the Baptist, somewhere about the year 705. And what more fitting name could there be, St. John had preached in the wilderness, they also had a wilderness in the great forest of Selwood, and a river flowing not far below the foundations of their church. Unfortunately for the monks, however, the Danes made a sudden inroad, and so persecuted the holy men that Frome monastery was speedily deserted, although the church that belonged to it lasted till the reign of King Stephen. Indeed at Lower Keyford some vestiges of the building now remain, but they are now converted into small houses for poor families. St. Aldhelm is said to have been buried in a wooden church at Doulting, about seven miles from this place. Then there is a record of the Norman land survey of Frome still extant, by which it appears that it yielded to the King fifty-

three pounds and five pence yearly. Parenthetically I may mention also that a return which was made in 1569, of all able men in the Hundred of Frome, shows that there were then 188 in all, namely, light horsemen, 8; pikemen, 52; archers, 51; bell men, 51, and gunners, 15; while out of a rate of £8,000, collected in the county of Somerset in 1636, for the purpose of preparing a ship of 800 tons, the Hundred of Frome contributed £250. Frome appears also to have been famous so long ago as 1623 for its cloth manufactory, depending entirely (owing to the wooded character of its neighbourhood) for its supply of corn and the other necessaries of life upon Wiltshire. Its inhabitants too at that period seem to have been very abstemious, for I find it stated in an old record that the number of alehouses had been reduced. Of the church I will say nothing beyond recalling to your memories that it was here that good old John Humphrey, in 1662, choosing rather to obey the dictates of conscience than the behests of a thoughtless king, was ejected from his living as Vicar of Frome, and with the rest of the nonconforming clergy of that time, went out like Abraham of old "not knowing whither he went." Here too it was that Bishop Ken, who died while on a visit to his friend and patron Lord Weymouth, was reverently buried. Of the curious monuments and plates to be found on its ancient walls, two or three demand particular attention, more especially the petition for prayerful remembrance on behalf of Henry Champeneys, and a later epitaph to one of the Leversege family. Leaving these you will proceed to Vallis, with its beautiful vale and wonderful rocks, affording deep interest to all who learn lessons from the grand book of nature.[4] Wednesday will be a day of great enjoyment, for the programme is a very varied one. Orchardleigh, with its old church and the Champeneys monuments, will be your first visit, passing by the old stone, about which there is so much mystery, and which will afford you a fair field for original thought and discussion. Then Lullington church, with

(4). Explained by Mr. Moore.

its curious associations, will stand for your inspection. In the year 1292 the value of the living was six pounds, and in Henry the Eighth's time, when that merry monarch dispossessed the Prior of Longleat to whom the advowson belonged, it fell into the hands of John, Prior of the Carthusians, and eventually became the property of the Earl of Hertford. Philips Norton, with its famous old George Inn, and Farleigh Castle will be the next places on your route. The former is a remarkable looking structure of the 15th century. By some it has been thought to have built as a kind of hunting box for Henry VII. Its chief interest however consists in the fact of Monmouth having slept there on the night of the battle when his troops were defeated by the royal army under Feversham and compelled to retreat southward by Frome and Bridgwater to Sedgmoor, where as you all know was fought the battle which ended in his total discomfiture, his subsequent flight, capture and execution. Thence you will return to Beckington, the birthplace of the good Bishop Beckington. The church will be found well worthy a visit, containing as it does several very curious plates and monuments, which shed a great light on the thoughts and doings of the olden time. Here it is that John Cooper, ancestor of the Earl of Shaftesbury, was buried, and bequeathed the sum of forty shillings in consideration of being placed under the high altar. Samuel Daniel, once poet laureate to Queen Elizabeth, also lies in this church and has a monumental bust erected to his memory by the Countess of Dorset.

On Thursday, after a peep at Longleat House, and a short time spent at Holwell quarry, mainly on behalf of geological friends, your steps will be directed to Nunney Castle, with its church and manor house. The name of the place derived from an old nunnery which in Saxon days stood on the banks of the stream hard by, first strikes your attention. You are face to face to antiquity at once, and from beginning to end you are studying English history all the while you prolong your stay. The castle, built about the end of the 13th century by Sir John

Delamere, could, were walls to find speech, tell a marvellous tale. Leland, who wrote about it in the time of Henry VIII, thought it a "pratty castle," but said the interior was somewhat dark. Probably prisoners thought so too. The walls were very strong and the moat was then 20 feet deep. King Charles I thought it a place of some strength for he garrisoned it and left a great store of powder in its precinct. The Parliamentary army however found a way of getting in, and the shattered walls tell to-day how very rough were these practical Puritans. Having thus endeavoured briefly to give you a description of the places to be visited, I will conclude with the hope that your visit to Frome may prove both interesting and profitable. The advantages of such researches as these are too patent to need any eulogy from me. To the archæologist himself they afford undoubted pleasure, while to all the community besides they are of paramount importance. For it is by labours, such as those to which you are about to devote yourselves, that history is completed and perfected. The rise and progress of the institutions and of the constitution, which we as Englishmen hold so dear, are set forth in these stones, monuments, and carvings. From them we learn how

"The thoughts of men have widened
With the process of the suns,"

and are able to deduce lessons which are of the utmost importance, politically and socially. How valuable such knowledge is I need scarcely say. By ascertaining the mistakes of the past we are able to avoid errors in the future. By learning the dangers which have beset our liberties in times that have gone by, we are induced to set more store upon the freedom we possess. And comparing the life of the nation in ages when education and civilisation were in their infancy with these more enlightened days, we are led to conclusions which have a beneficial effect upon our thoughts and actions alike. Fortunately for us this very knowledge is to be obtained in the most agreeable manner. Our lessons are holiday trips, our hardest tasks

congenial discussions. Adopting Carlyle's language, we as archæologists say,

> "In what land the sun does visit
> Brisk are we whate'er betide
> To give space for wandering is it,
> That the world was made so wide."

And wandering, not listlessly, but intelligently, we daily add to the store of knowledge which we possess, and are stimulated to yet farther researches and more persistent inquiries.

Mr. E. A. FREEMAN proposed, and Mr. H. DANBY SEYMOUR seconded, a vote of thanks to his lordship for his address, and requested that he would allow it to be printed in the next volume of Proceedings.

At 2 p.m. the Society visited the

Church of St. John the Baptist.

The Vicar was unfortunately prevented by ill health from acting as guide to the building. In his absence the Senior Curate, the Rev. A. G. MORTIMER, gave the following account of the history of the church—

"This church was founded by S. Aldhelm, towards the end of the 7th century, about A.D. 680. There is a passage in Faricius, who wrote the life of S. Aldhelm, to this effect. Faricius' words are these :—'Aldhelm therefore applied for an edict ratified by the authority of the Supreme Pontiff to the effect that the monasteries which by God's grace he was with great care governing namely—Malmesbury where he had been installed, built by Maidulph of holy memory, from whose race that saint was descended, and another built in honour of S. John, on the river which is called Froome might be rendered free from all secular service.'

"In Ingram's Saxon Chronicle we are told that King Edred died at Frome, and possibly his body may be lying within the church's walls.

"In Domesday Book we have a full description of the

church property belonging to Frome, and it must by then have been of some importance as Reinbald was then Priest who was Chancellor both to Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror.

"Probably the old Saxon church remained till about Stephen's reign, indeed it is mentioned in William of Malmesbury. The church was then entirely rebuilt in the reign of Stephen. The foundations of the north and south doorways of the porches, a doorway in the west wall of the Lady Chapel, and the foundations of the arcades west of the porches still remain as works of this century. In the thirteenth century the chancel arch seems to have been built, the tower also as high as the sills of the belfry window, and the arcade of the nave as far west as the porches. In the 14th century the western portion of the arcade was built on the foundation of the Norman arches, the west front, the windows in the aisles, and the present Lady Chapel. In the 15th century the roof of the nave was raised and the clerestory added, the tower raised with its battlements, and the spire first erected and a rood-loft; a broken piscina still remains where the altar of the rood-loft would have been, also the S. Andrew's Chapel was added, and in the early part of the next century the S. Nicholas' Chapel. I would also observe here that in the tower may be seen some old stones carved with the figures of animals, which were discovered in the restoration. The church has around it four chantry chapels, the earliest the Lady Chapel, first built of much smaller size in Stephen's reign—a doorway, the piscina, and the base moulding on the outside still remain of this. In 1337 it was rebuilt and enlarged as it is at present. In the 'Inquisitiones ad quod damnum' it is found that in the 10th year of Edward III, A.D. 1337, 'Feodith Russell and others gave certain messuages and lands to a chaplain for performing Divine service in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin in the church of St. John of Frome.' Again in the 23rd year of Edward III 'it was granted to Christiana, who was wife of Roger Eliot; Thomas, son of Luce le Webbe;

William, son of Roger Caynez; John Honycod; John, son of John Cable, and John, son of William de Hatcombe, that they may give and assign certain tenements with their appurtenances in Frome to a certain chaplain, to be held in Mortmain.' One Stephen Winslade granted the manor of 'Froome Valleyse' to John Payne of London, and died A.D. 1405, seized of the manor and hundred of Frome, leaving Elizabeth, the wife of Edmund Leversege, his daughter and heiress. This accounts for the armorial bearings of the Leverseges in this chapel. In their family it remained till 1706, when it passed into the hands of Lionel Leaman, and from that family in 1751 it was sold to the family of the Earl of Cork, with whom it remained until the last restoration.

"The next chantry was that of S. John the Baptist on the north side of the choir. It was founded 1377, and Laurence Walshe was the first chaplain. John Lyspole was the last priest who held the chantry, and he was dismissed at the dissolution with a pension of £5. S. Andrew's Chapel on the south side of the choir is the next. Founded in 1412. It has been so altered that there is little of the original chapel left. The endowment of this chapel is given in Collinson. In 1517 license was given to John Cable of Froome Braunch to build and endow a chantry with one chaplain to celebrate the Divine office every day for ever at the altar of S. Nicholas. This chapel is now used as the baptistery, but in the window are four squares of old glass containing the arms of the Cables, and a rebus on their name, a *K* and a bell, the whole enclosed by a rope or cable. These are the only pieces of old glass left in the church, and in the churchwardens' books, which have been preserved from the time of Elizabeth, we find an entry to this effect: 'Paid Mr. Avery one shilling for certificate to ye Parliament that we took down all the painted glass in the church.'

"Under the east window is the grave of Bishop Ken, one of the non jurors, and in the vestry is the chalice and case he used whilst in exile, and which he left to the parish of Frome.

"At the last restoration, which was finished in 1865 under the present Vicar, everything almost had to be renewed, but it was done exactly as it was found—restored stone by stone, so that in form and shape the church is the same old church of S. John of Frome."

Mr. Mortimer illustrated his remarks by references to a good plan of the building.

Mr. PARKER, C.B., said he had been requested to say a few words respecting that very fine church. Their parish churches were not merely historical monuments, but were built for Christian worship. When a church was in a bad state, as that church was at one time, it was necessary to pull it down; and when a grand work of restoration was accomplished they had no reason to find fault. In the case before them nothing of the original church remained but the plan and the foundations. The church was originally Norman, and several of the piers at the west end were still Norman in their character. To that had been added the chancel. Taken as a whole the church was like a piece of patch-work. There were many things which the clergyman had explained better than he could, as he was not sufficiently acquainted with its local history. For practical purposes the restoration had been well, honestly, and judiciously done. Some additions had been made for ornament, and some changes made, which, as an archæologist, he would rather had been left undone; but everything had been carried out to make a handsome place for public worship, with a great spirit of liberality; and all that was worth preserving had been preserved. The present arches were faithful representations of the originals, except in one or two particulars. It was not an archæological question, for there was very little that was archæological left, except the plan and the foundations. It was easy to see that the first five arches were Norman, and that there were three different periods represented. The church was now a comparatively modern one, with everything very handsome, and in imitation of the old style.

Mr. FREEMAN said he had read the church in an opposite way to Mr. Parker and Mr. Mortimer. The original church consisted of chancel, tower, and nave, and the 14th century additions were at the west end.

Mr. PARKER: I do not think you will find it so.

Mr. FREEMAN: Is it likely that the church was commenced at the west end, and the additions made at the east end?

Mr. PARKER agreed that it was not likely.

Mr. FREEMAN said he considered the original church was at the chancel end, where there were little bits of Norman work scattered about here and there.

Mr. DAVIS said that at Ledbury there was a very similar arrangement, but in better style. He did not think there was the slightest ground for saying that the west end was Norman. The doorways were Norman, but they were evidently not in their right places.

Mr. FREEMAN remarked that the removal of doorways was a very common occurrence.

Mr. PARKER said he had taken for granted what had been told him as well as the accuracy of the plan.

Mr. DAVIS said he had no doubt in his mind that the west end was the latest part of the church.

The Rev. A. G. MORTIMER said that Mr. Giles was the architect in the restoration, and that he argued from the north and south porches.

Mr. DAVIS: It is clear that the doors are not in their right places.

Mr. FREEMAN said he saw no signs of Norman work in the pillars referred to. They had before them an example of a church with a single tower on one side, forming a transept; but the transept on the other side did not take the form of a tower. Similar examples might be seen at Exeter and Ottery St. Mary. Originally there was a nave of three bays, besides the bay formed by the tower. It was in the late 14th or early 15th century style. Somebody had added the four bays of a new

type at the west end—a type which Mr. Davis informed him was local; but which he had seen scattered about the country: at St. Asaph's Cathedral and Northampton for instance. They would see that the mouldings ran uninterruptedly round the so-called Norman pillars. He hardly knew what to believe. He would like to have seen the church before it was pulled about, so as to have known what it was like. When they had in this county the best type of wooden roof, why should they run away to other counties for inferior specimens? Why should they go to the east of England for big angels, trefoils, and hammer beams? When he saw them here in Somersetshire he could not help saying—"Friends, you have no business here; go back to Norfolk." If he went on he was afraid he should not agree with Mr. Parker. Surely a church might be made as good for the purposes of worship by preserving its ancient features as by doing away with them. The two were not inconsistent. Was Divine worship promoted by taking away a Somersetshire roof and putting a Norfolk one instead? Could they not pray in an English church as well as in an Italian one? Why could they not have good honest plaster, with paint on it, instead of long lines of bare masonry? Why should the statues at the west end be so large, as though they were on a tower 100 feet high? It was altogether a very remarkable church, and one that had been altered in a very remarkable way, so as to lose many of its original features and interesting peculiarities, and he did not see that the religious purposes of the church had been forwarded thereby. He had no doubt that what he had said would be unpalatable, but he was bound to bear testimony against what seemed to him to be a mere itch for change.

Mr. Parker pointed out what he considered to be distinct remains of Norman work at the west end of the church.

Mr. King said that on the whole the glass in the church, though by many different hands, was fairly good. The glass of the Lady Chapel, however, was simply execrable.

Mr. DAVIS denied that the west end of the church was Norman; the arches and the foundations were a later addition. The doorways could only be accounted for by removal.

Mr. PARKER suggested that the heavy capitals of the Early English period had been blended with the Norman, but that did not disprove that the west end was Norman.

Vallis.

At four o'clock the Society visited Vallis. Entering the vale from the Hapsford road a halt was made at the first quarry, where Mr. C. MOORE, F.G.S., became the guide to the party. He said they had standing before them the representatives of three or four distinct geological formations. At the bottom there was the Carboniferous Limestone, planed down almost as smooth and horizontal as a table. Then there came in on the top of the limestone a little band of blue clay; but between these two there was a gap where thousands of feet of stratified beds should be found; for while the limestone was the bottom of the coal measures, the blue clay belonged to the Rhætic series. Rocks were known by their organic remains, and they would find no trace of the Carboniferous Limestone passing above the blue clay. There was next a fauna coming in, special to that horizon. Above the blue clay were the pebbly beds, which represented the coast line of the Rhætic sea. Mixed up with those pebbles were various interesting organic remains—all dismembered, nothing perfect, as was the case with the lias; but they had as interesting a fauna as there was in the world. It consisted of bones, broken and scattered, teeth, scales of fishes, in some instanes very numerous. There were also certain forms representing some fourteen or fifteen genera of fishes. Associated with those fish remains were found traces of a little creature, which possessed a great amount of interest. A little kangaroo once walked about that neighbourhood, and they knew very well that the kangaroo was now almost confined to Australia. The kangaroo of that district was almost identical with the little kangaroo rat of Australia.

If they compared the teeth of the one with the teeth of the other they would find scarcely any difference. It was called Microlestes. They might depend, therefore, that a little kangaroo once ran about the Mendip hills. He had twenty-nine of the teeth of the animal found in the quarry before them, the teeth having been preserved because the enamel resisted the action of the ocean, and the tossing which they must have had in those pebbly beds. Then there were found various shells, one of which was called the Avicula Contorta, which was confined to that horizon; so that it had been suggested that those beds should be called the Avicula Contorta beds. There were other things in those beds, such as plants and insects, but it required a practical eye to detect them. If he had preceded them a few minutes he might have found a few samples. One of the most wonderful features of geology was the preservation of insects. There was a little band before them full of plants and insects. Then again there was a little crustation—pockets in the ocean of the period, which were occupied by a series of Contorta. When they were opened up in the direction of their laminæ they were very fine. His friend, Mr. Winwood, had brought him a sample which contained a tiny little tooth, and another on which there was a detached fish-scale. In the next quarry they would find above the white lias, beds of oolite. There was another very interesting feature connected with these quarries. They would see a vein running across the section, which had been filled in with a later material, ages younger than the rocks on each side. Every section had its own special features, and he knew of no neighbourhood that possessed the same amount of interest.

In reply to Sir William V. Guise and Mr. Flatman, Mr. Moore said that the Rhætic beds were in all the quarries, and that they belonged to the same series as the rocks at Holwell.

On the way to the next quarry specimens of Avicula Contorta were found by several of the party on a heap of stones ready to be carted away for road mending.

At the next halt Mr. MOORE shortly recapitulated what he had previously stated. Immediately succeeding the Carboniferous Limestone they had a formation which ought to have been thousands of feet higher up. There ought to have been between the limestone and the rubbly or coal measures several thousand feet of Triassic beds; but here resting on the limestone were beds of Rhætic age. All the rubbly beds represented the oolite period. They were very much fissured, but some of the fissures were not very large. Those fissures were filled up with material millions of years younger, and they might tell the age of the fissures by their organic contents.

Mr. SANFORD pointed out that the blue bands were liassic, not rhætic.

Mr. MOORE said they had displaced the oolite on either side.

At the junction of the Egford and Bedlam portions of the vale with the Hapsford valley, Mr. MOORE stopped the party in order that they might obtain a view of the "de la Beche" section of rocks, remarkable for the planing down previously referred to.

At the Egford end of the vale, in reply to Sir W. Guise, Mr. MOORE said that the last bed of the Mendips faced the quarry. The quarry had always greatly interested him—not because he obtained many organic remains there, but because of its grandeur, and the manner in which all the features were placed before them. They had a higher section of the Carboniferous beds than they had seen before, with the same features repeated in various phases, going down into the beds of conglomerate. The explanation of this was that the limestone had been fissured and broken up, and there was an infilling of a much later age. There was also a vein in the rocks composed to a large extent of Sulphate of Barytes, showing that lead was not far distant, though they need not think of sinking for it there. If they were going to sink for iron or lead ore, they would go down to a certain point where the edge of the vein sticks out, when they would suddenly lose the vein in which

they were sinking; for curiously enough there had been a shifting of the beds, and they would have to search ten or twelve feet further on before finding the vein. If they simply followed the vein they would come to the Carboniferous Limestone, and they would think that the vein ended, whereas it had only been pushed forward. In another corner of the quarry there was another vein with an ochrous deposit, and still another vein with Inferior Oolite at the top. At the top of the quarry they lost altogether the Rhætic beds of which he had spoken, and they had nothing but Inferior Oolite.

In reply to the Earl of Cork, Mr. MOORE explained the direction in which the coal measures would probably be found.

His LORDSHIP then said they had heard with great interest Mr. Moore's explanations of those very curious quarries. He knew that he had been a frequent visitor to them, and had acted as a friend to him, for though he had shown him little pieces of lead found there, he had recommended him never to sink for it. They would all be pleased to hear a few words from Sir Wm. Guise, who was the President of a similar society in the county of Gloucester.

Sir WILLIAM V. GUISE said he was present as a learner. He had been to those quarries before them in company with several other gentlemen last year, and they went into the whole story of them. They were very remarkable and interesting. Yet if they came into the Cotswold country he should be able to tell them more about it than he could tell about these quarries. He might perhaps throw out a few suggestions. There had been a great motive power at work in that district, displacing the limestone, which he attributed to the disturbances consequent upon the elevation of the Mendips by a process of infinitessimal slowness, by which no less than 4000 feet of coal measures had been swept away, causing a vast denudation. Those who had been to the Vobster coal field, as he had been with Mr. Mc Murtrie, would see that immense beds of mountain limestone had been turned up on their

edges, or turned completely over, by that denudation. It would be quite worth their while to go to Vobster. The disturbance they saw before them was due to the upthrust of the Mendips. He had never met with any one who could say why those vast regions of mountain limestone had been levelled off almost as smooth as a table. Some persons had attributed it to the action of sea water; but he had never seen such effects produced by the sea.

Mr. MOORE suggested that pebbles, in addition to the sea, would have caused it.

Mr. SANFORD asked whether ice would not have caused the smoothness referred to.

Sir WILLIAM GUISE said that that had been before suggested, and it was not impossible.

Mr. MOORE said they were in possession of facts which proved that that district was at one time entirely covered with ice.

The Old Manor House,

or Dining Hall of the ancient Leversedge family, was next visited. It adjoins the old Vallis Farm. It is now used as a carpenter's shop.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., said that the hall evidently belonged to the time of Henry VII. The roof was still almost perfect. He pointed out where the dais, kitchen, pantry, buttery, etc., must have been.

A large number of Members of the Society, and others, met at dinner at 6.30 p.m., at the George Hotel. At the end of dinner the noble President proposed "The Queen," and "Success to the Society," specially naming Mr. E. A. Freeman, D.C.L., Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., and Mr. Chas. Moore, who returned thanks. Mr. H. Danby Seymour proposed "The health of the noble President," and the Earl of Cork, in reply, spoke of the well known literary tastes which had made Mr. Seymour so good a President during the past year.

The Evening Meeting

was well attended. At the opening of the meeting Mr. J. H. PARKER called attention to the work of restoration which had just been begun in Witham Friary Church. The present church is part of the first Carthusian Monastery ever founded in England. It has been much marred by modern additions and changes. It is now intended to bring it back as far as possible to the simple dignity of its original form. The ugly Georgian tower at the west is to be pulled down, and a bell-cote put in its place. The church has a stone-vaulted roof throughout, and a simple Norman apse.

Mr. E. A. FREEMAN begged those present to mark the importance of Witham Friary Church as a rare instance of an English parish church with a stone-vaulted roof. Such roofs were common enough across the channel. The real founder of the monastery and the builder of the church was S. Hugh of Grenoble. He brought the idea of the stone roof from his Burgundian home across to England, and so it came about that this Somersetshire church was marked by this grand foreign characteristic. S. Hugh was sent for by King Henry to rule over his new foundation at Witham; it was while he was Prior there, in 1186, that he was chosen Bishop of Lincoln, and as Bishop he still went on with his architectural work, of which the result is now to be seen in his cathedral church.

Rev. A. BURNEY, the rector of Witham, said that the greatest care would be taken to preserve the old features of the church. Several interesting things had been discovered, among them a rood staircase, with the moulding of the doorway corresponding with the moulding of the inner arch of the east window, of about the middle of the 15th century. The font, the licence of which was granted by Bishop Beckington, has also been found in the north wall. It seems that the outer walls were once cased. Every care should be taken of the vaulting, and the restoration

should be thoroughly conservative in character. Funds were urgently needed for the work.

The President then called on the Hon. and Right Rev. Bishop Clifford, who read a paper on the "Site of the Battle of Æthandune, and the Campaign of 878,"[1] which he illustrated by a large map.

Mr. FREEMAN said that he could not agree with some of the statements which had been made by the Bishop, and especially differed from him in the estimate which he seemed to have formed of the value of some of his authorities. At the same time the paper was most ingenious, and he cordially welcomed every such attempt to solve some of the difficult questions about the identity of places which often puzzled the student of history.

Mr. H. D. SEYMOUR then read a paper by Mr. C. H. Samson, of Dunster, on "Some discoveries which had been recently made at S. Mary's Abbey, Old Cleeve."[2]

Mr. CHAS. MOORE, F.G.S., then gave a description of the geological characteristics of Vallis. He said that having spoken already to them on the subject it became a question to him whether he could make the physical character of the district further interesting to them. But it was probably not quite exhausted. He had before mentioned that the county of Somerset had as large a share of interest geologically as any county in England, and it was so for this reason, that there were represented in it nearly all the geological formations which occur on the face of the earth. That was saying much, but there were very few formations which were not represented within the boundary of the county. And, interesting as the county of Somerset was, the greatest amount of interest was centred in the neighbourhood of Frome. He knew no locality in England,

(1). Printed in Part II.

(2). When Mr. Samson wrote this paper for the Society the excavations at Cleeve Abbey were still in progress. The work has now been finished, and Mr. Samson has most kindly made such additions to, and changes in his paper, as bring in the whole of what has yet been discovered. The paper, which has thus been in a great part rewritten, is printed in Part II.

or even in the world, which was more interesting than the district a few miles round that town. That circumstance arose from the disturbance which had been effected by the elevation of the Mendip range, which they knew formed the backbone of the county. The most easterly portion of that range was seen in the valley which they had visited that day, or rather the most easterly extension of the carboniferous limestone would be seen at Howell, on the Nunney road, and in a valley at Spring Gardens, near Mr. Shepherd's mill. The carboniferous limestone then passed under the secondary formations, and was never seen in England again to the east of these two places. The Mendip hills passed through the whole of our county to Weston-super-Mare; their equivalents were seen in the islands of the Steep and Flat Holms in the Channel, and then surrounded the South Wales coal basin. The uplift of the Mendip range had not been a slow one, as suggested by Sir William Guise, but very much more sudden than he supposed. That uplift had affected the old red sandstone, the carboniferous limestone, and the whole of the coal measures. Probably Mr. McMurtrie would tell them on the following evening that the coal measures alone of this county were some 12,000 feet in thickness, and when they considered that fact, and that the carboniferous limestone had had not only 25,000 feet of stratified beds brought out of their horizontal position into one nearly vertical, but also a very considerable area turned over upon themselves, they would think that the force which caused it must have been a very powerful one; and they must remember, at the same time, that that force had not only been exerted over the district where they were assembled, but all the way to the west, fringing the whole of the South Wales coal basin. Whether that had been done at one time, or during a considerable period, it was difficult to say. The supposition was that the range of the Mendips, at least the geological formations of which the Mendips were composed, passed under the south-eastern counties, and under the channel, to the south of France,

where the carboniferous limestone was repeated and where coal was worked. And it was in consequence of this that the boring operations in Sussex had been carried on to test the presence of coal in the palæozoic rocks below. The borings had gone down some 1670 feet, and though the palæozoic beds had not been reached, something would result from the operations. It was a very peculiar feature, whether the Mendip range passed in that direction or not, that there was a great covering of secondary beds, and to the surprise of everybody connected with that boring, the Kimmeridge clay, which occurred in our neighbourhood, was found to be upwards of a thousand feet in thickness; this had teased the committee very much, having unexpectedly to deal with such an enormous amount of secondary beds as he had mentioned. One reason why he thought the elevation of the Mendip Hills was sudden was the force with which the outlying beds were displaced. Not only were the beds brought up vertically and left standing on their edges, but they had been turned over and inverted. They had an outlying patch of limestone in the neighbourhood of Vobster, three-quarters of a mile in length, carried away from its parent rock and the overlying coal measures, to a mile or a mile and half from its original position. The force that could have elevated and crumpled up so great a thickness of stratified deposits and carried the whole country bodily with it to the north, must have been very great indeed. Although it was clear that volcanic action alone could account for the physical conditions above mentioned, until lately no visible trace of volcanic rocks had been discovered. It was then his good fortune to discover immediately under the turf at East Lane, a black rock different to anything that had been observed in the neighbourhood, and which turned out to be trap rock. An examination of the Mendips had led to this discovery, that in the immediate neighbourhood of Downend, close by Tadhill, occupying to a considerable extent the northern side of the Mendips, there was a great basaltic dyke, extending three miles in length. It was seen again on the road leading from

Stoke Lane, and on the map before them he had laid down its position coming up through the old red sandstone and the carboniferous limestone north and south. They had seen that day in the sections visited, some of very great interest. He was led to the examination of that district by a very curious accident. He was going along the road to Wanstrow, and on one of the heaps of blue carboniferous limestone by the side of the road he saw a piece of yellow rock which looked altogether different from the other portion of the heaps. He drew up, and on looking at it, and cracking it with his hammer—which was his constant companion,—he found to his surprise fish teeth and bones. He at once saw that those remains belonged to a bed which came in at the bottom of the lias, termed the Rhætic beds, in consequence of having large developements in the Rhenish Alps. It was a surprise to him to find that stone in this neighbourhood, because he was not conscious of the beds being within twenty miles of the spot where he found it, and he rather suspected that at some point or other, in one of the quarries, that this bed came in on the edges of the upturned limestone. As soon as he could he examined the whole of the district, without success; but not very long afterwards he happened to be in the neighbourhood of Holwell, when he saw a vein of yellow limestone going down one of the quarries. On examining it he found that it was from that spot had been dug the stone of which he was in search, and to his surprise he found Rhætic organic remains caught up in the carboniferous limestone. He should mention to them, as he did at Vallis in the afternoon, that those teeth and bones were millions of years younger than the stone in which they were caught up on each side. The representatives of those special remains, and the beds in which they were found, were met with only in a thin band of stone at the bottom of the lias. Where the Rhætic beds were opened there were frequently found beds two or three inches in thickness made up of the teeth of fish and fragmentary bones. If they went to Watchet they would find it there; if

they went through Somersetshire they would find it; and if they went into the Midland counties, where the lias was seen, they would also find it. In the north of England it occupied the same position; likewise in France and Germany, this thin band of stone, made up of fragments and teeth of fish, would be found in the same position, and he had lately been informed that it was present under similar conditions in New Zealand. It was this that the stone at Wanstrow represented. When examining that district it was a long time before he could read it, for it was a great puzzle. In looking over Holwell quarry he found, instead of it being all carboniferous limestone, a vein of the liassic age; then a little patch of limestone, containing remains of the Rhætic age and also liassic; then a little limestone, and another infilling; and so it went on, the infillings usually thickening as they went down. Low down in the bottom of the quarry he found a nest of shells, and he was enabled to cut out of a block of carboniferous limestone as big as his hand five or six different genera of liassic shells. It was not very long before he had exhausted the stone of its fish remains, but soon after he found another place in which there was a reddish or yellowish deposit of marl which had gone down one of those cracks. He found that it contained some remains, and that he could get them out in immense numbers. He thought that if he could get the material home he should be able to do so more carefully, so he went to a farmer and asked for what sum he would remove it to his house. He replied that he (Mr. Moore) could get better gravel nearer home, and he said he could, but that he wanted that. A bargain was struck, and for 55s. he had removed to his house, and placed in the cellar, three tons of the infilling. On that he worked for nearly three years, and obtained from it more than a million fossils, every one of which he had picked out separately. He had with him at that moment 70,000 teeth of one kind of fish alone, found in three square yards of earth. So they might fancy the great amount of interest which was attached to those

peculiar infillings. In the same drift from which these specimens came he found the teeth of the oldest quadruped and the oldest mammal that, as far as they knew, ever walked on this earth—the little kangaroo, the Microlestes, to which reference was made in the afternoon. Only one specimen was known before, and he was lucky enough to find 27 of those in the three yards of stuff at Holwell. The little kangaroo must have been very abundant in order to enable him to find so many in so small a space. He had prepared figures of the different forms of remains he had found with them. They included scutes of a reptile new to this country, with a covering like a crocodile, and teeth, jaws, and vertebræ of various fishes—fourteen or fifteen genera of fish and eight or nine of reptiles. The question came to his mind, how did they get such a peculiar mixture of organisms in those fissures. They had that afternoon a discussion about the planing down of the carboniferous limestone. His belief was—and they must give great latitude to geological time—that the carboniferous limestone formed the bottom of the sea during a very long period, indeed, certainly during the time when those Rhætic remains were being deposited. At that time the limestone became disturbed and fissured, and the remains of a Rhætic sea were carried down and helped to fill up the fissures which were then made. Again, there was a later movement of the limestone, and liassic organic remains were then carried down. It was a fact that the Mendips were so cut up with fissures, east and west, and cross courses passing through them, that, in order to represent the character of the beds in the Mendips, instead of putting them as plain carboniferous limestone, they ought to show long lines of Rhætic beds, and lias intersecting them in every direction. The veins, such as they were, were true mineral veins, and the filling up of some of them had occupied a very considerable time. When a vein was opened it was not filled all at once. If they had a vein two feet wide, carbonate of lime would be formed on each side, then a band of some other material came in—if a lead vein, a thin

deposit of lead, or if an iron vein, a deposit of hematite iron ore. These separate vertical bands filling and occupying these fissures, represented a special and long period of time, during which those thin layers were deposited. They would get that kind of thing in the veins of this neighbourhood, and in the centre of them all find beds as young as the middle lias going down and filling up the whole of the veins themselves. Another very curious feature of this neighbourhood was this. He believed that the whole of the minerals, whether lead or iron, were as young as the above periods, and did not belong to the carboniferous limestone itself. A fissure which had been caused in an old rock must be filled up by some younger material, and it was so in every instance in this neighbourhood, whether lead, sulphate of barytes, or iron, or with material of the secondary age, millions of years younger than the rock on either side. One curious thing he met with on the Mendips at Charterhouse. At a spot where an old mine had been abandoned he found blue clay, identical with the lias and belonging the the liassic age. He was told that it came from the bottom of the mine, but he could not believe it, as it was so much younger than the surrounding strata. The captain of the mine told him that they left off working in the blue clay, and he (Mr. Moore) had the mine uncovered to prove it. He found it difficult to descend the mine by means of ladders, but he safely reached the bottom, where he found that the vein had been filled up in the way he had stated, and discovered 150 species of liassic shells, found on the top of the Mendips carried down nearly three hundred feet in a carboniferous limestone fissure. Mr. Moore concluded by stating that in this district, and the neighbourhood of Frome especially, as much interest can be found geologically as in any other part of the world.

Mr. Tait handed in a note on the subject of Mr. Moore's paper, but unfortunately the hour was so late that the President was not able to arrange that it should be read. The substance of it was that according to Mr. Moore's theory concerning the

age of the stratum under consideration, it was necessary to suppose an unconformability between the middle and upper lias to explain the phenomenon required by his supposition. Mr. Tait considers that the stratum of clay which intervenes between the so-called marlstone and the inferior oolite of the Radstock district, which is estimated by Mr. Moore at 50 feet in the Tunley bank, and which is said by him to belong to the upper lias, really forms part of the middle lias. Only a day or so before Mr. Tait had gathered near Wellow, on the line of railway towards Radstock, most decided fossil evidence as to the age of the stratum. The section displayed inferior oolite resting on about 20 feet of a bluish sandy clay, with small clay stones and a few fossils for the most part fragmentary but determinable. The fossils put in evidence were Belemnites, s. p., Monotis inequivalvis, Pecten priscus, Plicatula spinosa, Pentacrinus scalaris, and some others, the midliassic age of which cannot be doubted. In the north of this district it was true that the upper lias existed below the inferior oolite, but there the succession of the middle and upper liassic strata was complete, for there the marlstone was the highest stratum of the middle lias, and was not coterminous with that of Radstock. He stated that in passing south from Bath the upper lias was truncated; then the higher marlstone disappeared, and thus the inferior oolite finally rested on the subjacent clay bed, which overlies the marlstone of Radstock. So then there was no necessity for calling in the aid of an unconformability between the middle and upper lias.

Mr. Sanford said that, though no one could possibly dispute the value of Mr. Moore's palæontological researches, he dissented from his views of the physical phenomena, which caused the denudation of the older rocks. The upheaval and denudation of the Mendips must be taken in connexion with a similar upheaval and crumpling, and with a similar planing down of rocks of a like age which had taken place throughout the south-west of England, and particularly in the country between

Dartmoor and Exmoor, where the rocks were crumpled like sheets of paper squeezed together in the hand, and were planed off again by some agent similar to that which had planed the Mendips. He stated that the hollows of these rocks were filled with aqueous deposits of similar age; that the earliest of these secondary deposits were of Triassic age, that there were no rocks of Permian age west of the Mendips, and that there was consequently the enormous Permian age to be accounted for. He stated that subaqueal deposits, except coal, were rare, and that submarine denudation was altogether unknown and inconceivable. Hence he argued that the great upheaval and denudation of the whole district took place during the Permian period: that the upheaval would have probably produced mountains of enormous height, which would have furnished an agent quite powerful enough to have effected the denudation, viz., glaciers of immense length and thickness. He suggested that search should be made beneath the Triassic and Rhætic beds for ice scratches, which might in some cases be still preserved. If any such were found it would go far to settle the question.

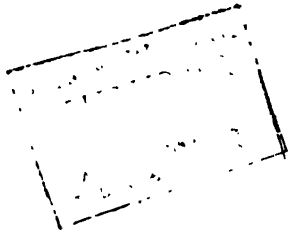
Excursion: Wednesday.

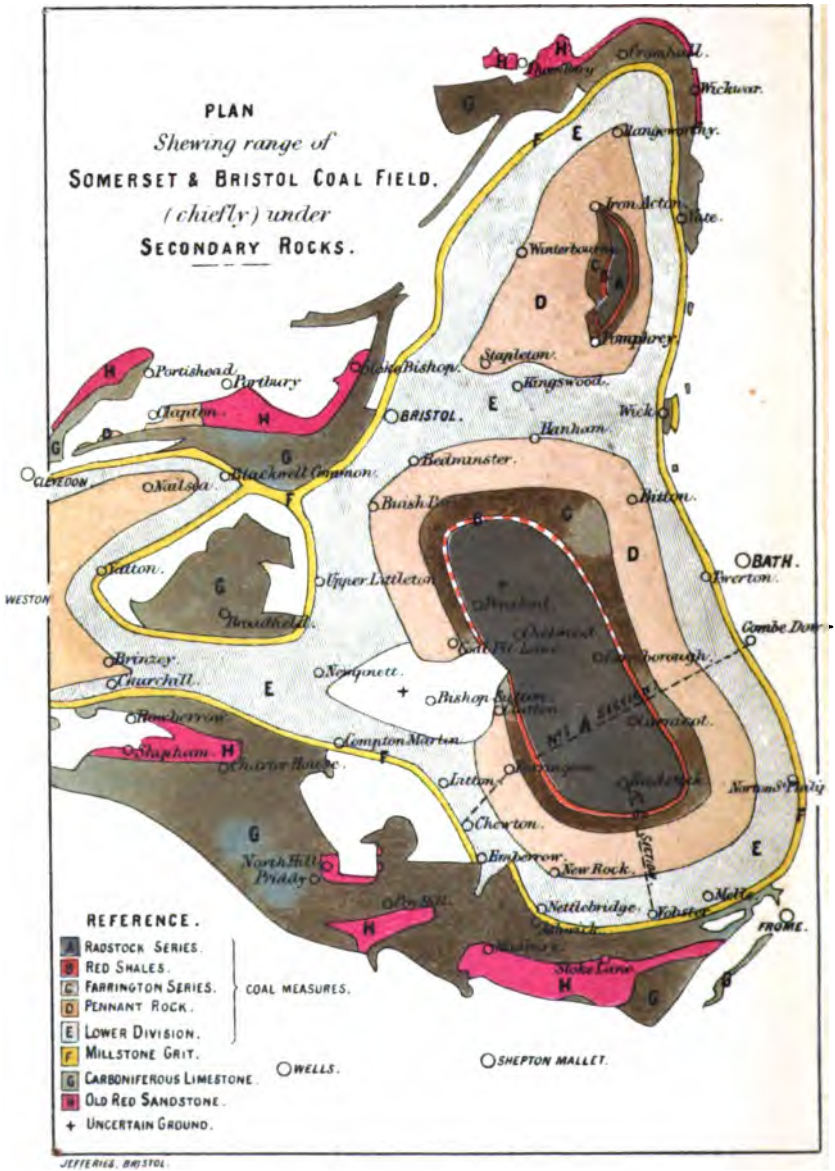
A large number started from the George at 10 a.m. for the Excursion. The road taken led over Innox hill, from which there was a beautiful view of the town, and then entered Orchardleigh Park, formerly the seat of the Champneys family, where a new house has been built by the present owner, Sir Wm. Duckworth. A halt was made on Murtry hill to examine the Cromlech. The Society visited these stones on July 11th, 1850 (Vol. I. part i. p. 40), but they do not seem to have been looked upon with the attention which they most certainly deserve. On this occasion the Society was fortunate in the presence of one of its members, the Rev. E. L. Barnwell, the Secretary of the Cambrian Archæological Association, one of the

most judicious and learned authorities on primeval monuments. The substance of Mr. BARNWELL's explanation, which he has prepared for the Society, is as follows:—

Orchardleigh Stones.

Although these primitive remains are unusually (even for this class of remains) scanty and imperfect, yet they are by no means unimportant or devoid of interest. Of their real character there can be little doubt, and they are rightly described in the Ordnance Map as what is popularly known as a Cromlech. It may not, indeed, in the present instance be easy to present a complete restoration of the original structure without a considerable amount of conjecture: an element in such matters to be handled with caution, and not used, as lately has been the case in a well known instance, with unqualified audacity, as if mere guess work and undoubted facts were one and the same thing. The character however of these stones is so patent to every one who has had the opportunity of examining similar ones, that it is unnecessary to dwell on a modern tradition that these stones are not ancient at all, but were erected by a former owner of the estate for some curious reason; but if report speaks truly, that gentleman was the most unlikely of men to have thus amused himself by setting a trap for unwary antiquaries or for his private amusement. But another and a genuine local tradition exists which annihilates the one alluded to, for the natives of the district to this day have a dread of passing near the stones except in broad daylight, as if there were still remaining the notion that they marked a place of burial, or perhaps of Pagan rites, in which Satan may have taken an active part. Such traditions are not uncommon both in these islands and France, although they vary in details. Among them is the one connected with remarkable line of tall stones near Fishguard, marked on the Ordnance Map as *Parc-y Marw*, or *field of the dead*, to avoid which the peasants after night all make an enormous detour to the left as one goes towards Newport. This




PLAN
Shewing range of
SOMERSET & BRISTOL COAL FIELD.
(chiefly) under
SECONDARY ROCKS.
REFERENCE.
A RADSTOCK SERIES.
B RED SHALES.
C FARRINGTON SERIES.
D PENNANT ROCK.
E LOWER DIVISION.
F MILLSTONE GRIT.
G CARBONIFEROUS LIMESTONE.
H OLD RED SANDSTONE.
+ UNCERTAIN GROUND.
COAL MEASURES.
BRISTOL.
BATH.
FROME.
WELLS.
SHEPTON MALLET.
CLEVEDON
WESTON
Portishead
Portbury
Clapton
Nailsea
Blackwell Common
Stoke Bishop
Stapleton
Kingswood
Wick
Hanham
Bedminster
Bitton
Twerton
Combe Down
Upper Littleton
Broadfield
Brinzey
Churchill
Newpnett
Bishop Sutton
Compton Martin
Litton
Chewton
Emberrow
New Rock
Nettlebridge
Vobster
Melle
Stoke Lane
North Hill
Priddy
Stapham
Rowberrow
Charter House
Iron Acton
Winterbourne
Pomphrey
Wickwar
Cromhall
Rangeworthy
Yate
Norton St Philip
Farmborough
Carnicot
Radstock
Kilmersdon
Nettlebridge
Vobster
Mendip
Ashwick
Stoke Lane
Pry Hill
Jefferies, Bristol.

circuitous route was formerly on the open heath, long since enclosed, but stiles have been placed probably to prevent persons making gaps through the fences. This deviating path is now the regular pathway used after nightfall, for in the day time there does not appear to be the same dread of passing near the stones. The story of the Lady in White haunting these mysterious relics, although firmly believed, may be a comparatively late addition to the earlier superstition. To find something of the same feeling in Somersetshire in connexion with a similar memorial, as in the present instance, is not devoid of interest; for that the Orchardleigh stones are connected with a burial place may be assumed as a fact, or if not exactly an established fact, it is a conclusion arrived at both from analogy and common reason. The original work in its complete state consisted of a large mound, the base of which, but at some short distance, was surrounded by a circular bank of earth. Between this and the base of the mound is a small stone, not of the same kind as the larger ones, of oolite, and as in many instances graves were surrounded by circles of stones placed at regular intervals, the stone in question may be one of these, and the last survivor of the ring. Whether others exist beneath the ground might be ascertained by probing with an iron bar, as such a mode of disposing of such stones by burial was sometimes thought easier than by carting away or breaking up. In ordinary cases the grave proper is found on or near the original level in the centre of the mound. In the present instance it is a little on one side. Whether there was a second and more central chamber cannot now be ascertained, but as there are many instances of two, three, or even more, such chambers under one tumulus, there is no reason why this also may not be an instance of the kind. In the cases of urns, or other similar interments of a smaller class, the finding of them under the shoulder of the tumulus is not uncommon. A mound of the size required in this case could not be heaped up without much labour, and therefore would be utilised by secondary and subsequent inter-

ments, and in many cases the original mound is added to from time to time, thus forming the long barrows not uncommon in the adjoining county of Wilts.

The remains of this chamber have been so mutilated and ill-treated that the exact dimensions and position cannot be satisfactorily made out. The large upright stone is evidently a part of, or one side of it; the smaller stone leaning against it has been broken. In its complete state it may have formed the opposite side, but the whole arrangement is very uncertain. Nor is it a matter of much consequence. All that is important to establish is that the present stones have formed part of an original chamber, and have been covered over by a mound.

Prebendary Clutterbuck, the vicar of the parish, stated that after digging at the foot of the larger stone, to a distance equal to its height above the ground, the labourers were unable to reach to the bottom of it, so that the actual length of it is not known, nor is it worth ascertaining at the risk of overthrowing it. The sinking such stones so deeply into the ground was not done without reason, for as they had to bear a ponderous capstone or cover, as well as the superincumbent earth or stones, of which the enveloping mound was composed, it was of the utmost importance that their perpendicular position should be preserved, as under such great pressure any inclination of them would probably become fatal to the chamber. And it should be remembered that the capstones also are necessarily enormously massive to enable them to bear the weight of the artificial mountain resting on them, so that extra pressure is thus exerted on the supporters, which would give way unless the stones retained their vertical position. Hence we have an indirect argument in the deep sinking of the supporters that every chamber without exception was once buried beneath a tumulus. It is true that many now exposed and dilapidated stones have not the least trace of any covering material near them, and are sometimes found on bleak rocky ground where at the present time neither soil or small stones exist; and hence

some have doubted in such cases whether there ever had been a tumulus, especially if the remains are of any height and size. But whatever some may think of the difficulty of heaping up such artificial mounds, the simple answer is that there are several still existing after the lapse of centuries which could cover at once half a dozen of the largest cromlechs in these islands. As to the want of the necessary material being any objection, it may be replied that centuries ago what is now barren heath may not always have been so, and, even if it had been, what was required could be brought to the spot, especially when there was no want of the necessary hands. The well-known *Tumiac* mound, opposite Locmariaker in the Morbihan, said to be the largest in Britany, has partly been constructed of layers of sea-sand, placed at intervals, which sand could only have been brought up from the sea shore below with immense labour. Plenty of other suitable material was available on or near the spot, but for some unknown reason these bands of sand were added. It is clear then that the usual arguments against the universal use of mounds over chambers are of little value. Of late indeed a new fact has been discovered by the well-known Mr. James Fergusson, D.C.L, namely that the constructors of the larger megalithic monuments built them to show future ages how clever and strong they were, and therefore could not have intended them to be covered up. But the statement is based on mere assumption of the most gratuitous kind, unsupported by fact or tradition, or even common sense. It does not therefore require any further notice than to state that it proves how pressed the upholders of the theory of free-standing cromlechs (or cromlechs never covered up or intended to be covered up) must be to bring it forward.

The most interesting feature of the Orchardleigh monument is the earthen bank which encircles it. Many instances of mounds surrounded with a low ditch are found, but the raised bank is much more rare. Originally the latter may have been more numerous, and have since been levelled and the soil

spread over the ground, if suitable for the land. The well-known example of Maybrough, near Penrith, has an encircling wall of loose stones, strong enough to form a defensive work, but within the circle is a single upright stone, one of the so-called Druidical stones. It may have been used in after times as a defensive work, but it seems to be of the same kind of monument of which Abury is the grandest example, for it is certain that its huge circular bank was not for defensive purposes. In this large circle there was probably more than one mound, covering stone chambers, each surrounded by its own circle of stones. There are of course other details in Abury, which may be considered additions or rather adjuncts, such as the lining the inner edge of the mound with pillar stones, and the diverging avenues. But these do not necessarily alter the character of the original work, which may be described simply as a large circular space containing various burial places, all surrounded with the enormous bank of chalk still perfect except in one part. On a much more humble scale, the Orchardleigh monument seems to be of a similar nature, the earthen bank enclosing two chambers, one more central—now no more—and the other on one side, both probably once being covered by the same mound. Relics of this class and time are rare in the county, which however possesses one of interest hardly inferior to that attached to Abury and Stonehenge, and which we trust is safer from the destroyer than Abury itself was a few months ago. The Orchardleigh stones are at present in safe hands, but the time may come when the improving landlord or his tenant may, for the sake of the little additional space, sweep it away. It is the more important therefore that a faithful record and illustration of it as it is, its dimensions and arrangement, should be carefully prepared and committed to the pages of the Journal of the Society, where at least it will be spared for the information of future generations.

A discussion then took place as to the geological nature of the stones. Rev. H. H. Winwood stated that the two upright ones were inferior oolite, and the third a piece of millstone grit

found in the immediate locality. Soon after leaving the Park the pretty village of

Lullington

was reached, and a long halt was made at the church. A paper on this interesting building, by Rev. D. M. Clerk, with a lithograph of the interior, will be found in the Society's Journal, Vol. II. pt. ii. p. 86. It consists of a nave without aisles, a square and rather heavy central tower with an octagonal staircase turret, a chancel, and on the south side of the nave a large transept and porch. On the north side of the nave is a Norman doorway, with twisted columns, surmounted by capitals, on which are carved the figures of animals. Within the crown of the arch are two animals on either side of a cross, and above is a figure of the Lord sitting as Judge of the World.

Mr. E. A. Freeman said that the outline of the church was most singular. The transept-like building was, he should think, bigger at one time than the nave. He remembered that there was a somewhat similar projection in St. Giles's Church, Northampton, but it was altogether different in outline from this. The church was built originally without aisle or transept, and this great projection had been added in the first half of the fourteenth century, as a chapel. The tower was Perpendicular, but it had something of the lowness and massiveness of the original Norman building. He had heard it suggested that the Norman church had an apse, but, as there was no certain rule, the question could not be decided without digging. As regards the interior, Mr. Freeman said that it would require a very minute examination to make even a guess at the different pranks which had been played with the tower arches. It was evident that, when the present tower was built, the Norman arches were tampered with, and brought into their present shape. He was glad to see the choir in its proper place under the tower between the nave and chancel.

Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., said that the church was transitional Norman, with a chantry chapel of the time of Edward II

added to it, in the form of a transept. The building had been carefully restored, but he must protest against the folly of encouraging ivy to grow over the walls, and thus for the sake of a present picturesque effect probably endangering the safety of the building in the future. The carved stone in the churchyard wall belonged to the eleventh century, and that in the vestry to the twelfth. He drew attention to the rich Norman font with its inscription—

HOC FONTIS SACRO PEREVNT DELICTA LAVACRO.

No one present was able to make out the remains of the other inscription, upon the edge. From Lullington the party drove to

Norton S. Philip,

and drew up at the famous George Inn.

Mr. PARKER said that, though the Society had visited this house before, they were doing rightly in coming again, as many who were present at their first visit had passed away, and those who now came for the second time would probably be able to understand the building better than when they had been there for the first time. He pointed out the gables and chimneys, and said that it was a remarkably fine house of the kind, and that there was no doubt but that it was built early in the fifteenth century.

Rev. W. HUNT said that in Murray's *Handbook* it was stated that the house was formerly the grange of the Prior of Hinton.

Mr. DAVIS said that he believed the house had always been an inn, and in confirmation of his view pointed out a corbel by the door, which he believed to have been placed there to support the sign. Norton was always a great place for wool, and a wool market is said to have been held in the house.

Rev. W. HUNT thought that the two stories might be connected. It was certain that Philip S. Norton belonged to the Carthusians of Hinton Priory, and that in the time of Edward I the market and wool fair of Norton belonged to the Prior, as well as the patronage of the church and other rights: that it was not unlikely that the George Inn was also the property of the Priory, and that, though used as an hostelry, the large upper

room might also have been used for the purposes of the wool trade of the Priory.

Mr. WALTERS said that it was here that the Duke of Monmouth slept on the night of June 26, 1685; that the next day the rebel troops got the better of the royalist advanced guard in a cavalry skirmish, and were able in consequence to make their entrance into Frome; that, it was said, in hopes of the reward offered for the life of the Duke, a man fired at him as he stood at a window of this house, on which, according to a ballad, the Duke

"gently turned him round
And said, "My man you've missed your mark
And lost your thousand pound."

The Church is dedicated to S. Philip and S. James.

Mr. FREEMAN described the tower as one of the most irregular he had ever seen—one that some man had devised out of his own head without reference to any other tower. It was not at all of any Somersetshire type, nor of any other type that he was used to in any part of England. The only point which it seemed to have in common with any class of towers was the staircase turret, and that it shared with the Bristol type of western towers. Let them look at the tower, from the bottom to the top, and see how different it was. If they took the best of the western towers, they would see that there was a steady growth of ornament and lightness from the base to the summit, but the ornament in this tower was scattered about, and the lower stage was much richer than the upper; there were panelling and niches down to the very bottom, while the battlements were quite plain. The arrangement of the church was eccentric from beginning to end. In the inside there was nothing that could be called a regular arcade. There were undoubtedly three arches on one side; on the north side there were two that agreed and one that did not. The two that did agree were at both ends with one of another character between them. They were mere pieces of masonry, and the walls must

have been cut through in a strange fashion. In the arcade of the nave was a panelled arch without any shafts, of a kind not uncommonly used between a chapel and a chancel. Here was a case where local records would be of use, in showing the changes which had taken place. If they could ascertain that there had been a series of chapels they might understand what had been done. The best feature of the church was the tower arch, but it appeared too tall for the remainder of the church. The building would look better if there was a clerestory. He pointed out that there were two squints. As to the roof, he said it made him sigh and groan to find the very best features of English, and the special features of West-country architecture done away with.

Mr. PARKER said it appeared to him that chapels had been added to the church, and afterwards turned into aisles. He asked whether there had been a clerestory.

Mr. FREEMAN replied that he saw no signs of it.

A visit was then made to the dovecote of the Manor House. It is a square building of the Elizabethan era, and is in fine preservation. It is entered by a low door, and has one small window. The walls are pierced inside with a great quantity of square holes, for the nests of the pigeons.

Farleigh Hungerford

was the next place visited. A full description of the Castle by Rev. Canon Jackson, with plans, will be found in the Society's Journal, Vol. III. pt. ii. p. 114. A luncheon was provided in the grounds by the kindness of some gentlemen of the neighbourhood, and afterwards

Mr. PARKER led the party over the site of the former buildings. His description did not differ in any material point from that given by Canon Jackson. He said that the chapel was remodelled in the time of Henry VIII. The walls are covered with a medley of arms and armour of different dates and nations.

Mr. KING pointed out a suit of chain mail as of Eastern make;

and a doublet of heavier links, which hung close by, was, he said, of English make of the thirteenth century.

Mr. HUTCHINGS said that the carving of the reredos was certainly not genuine, and looked suspiciously like part of an old bedstead.

The Parish Church is dedicated to S. Leonard, and was built by Sir Walter Hungerford in 1443. The only remarkable thing about it is an inscribed stone over the south porch, which was doubtless once the tympanum of a Norman doorway It bears the inscription—

"Muniat hoc templum cruce glorificans microcosmum
Quæ genuit Christum miseris prece fiat asylum."

Beckington Church

was the next halting place, and was commented on by Mr. FREEMAN. He said that before the Perpendicular people began to pull the tower about, it must have been a remarkably good specimen of Norman work. Inside the tower could be seen two Norman windows completely blocked up, one of them by a strange buttress; the belfry window was very fine. It was to be noted that this church had a clerestory, and at the same time high pitched roofs to the aisles—a most unusual thing. Inside the church, Mr. Freeman said that there the original character of the building could be easily seen. There was the lean-to of the original roof, which spoke for itself. The church was evidently at one time much smaller, and had no aisles. It had been rebuilt in Perpendicular times on a good deal larger scale. The herring-bone masonry was a bit of the old Norman church. He must make a protest against the barbarous custom of scraping off the plaster from the inside of the walls of churches, and thus leaving them as bare inside as they were outside. The church in which they stood was an example of the mischief which this senseless custom did: the effect of the inside was thoroughly spoiled by the appearance of the bare rubble walls. If the interior were finished with fine ashlar it would be reasonable enough to have it uncovered, but there was

no sort of reason for scraping off the plaster from rubble walls, and so exposing the rudeness of the material, and making the church look as if it were turned inside out. The old custom was to cover rough walls inside with plaster, and the sooner modern architects condescended to return to the old paths the better. It was said that Richard the Fearless when he built a certain church painted it inside with histories, it would be difficult to do that here. Before ending his remarks he must ask people to remember that one of the foremost of the Somersetshire worthies, Bishop Beckington, took his name from this place.

Mr. PARKER expressed his entire agreement with what Mr. Freeman had said about stripping off the plaster from the inside of churches. He asked those present to observe the roof, which he considered singularly good.

Mr. TALBOT said that from what appeared on the walls he could not but think that at one time the roof timbers sprung quite low down just above the capitals of the pillars.

Mr. PARKER said that that was probably the case before the clerestory was put in.

Rev. S. L. SAINSBURY, the rector, kindly entertained the company on the rectory lawn. Before leaving some of the party visited two of the old houses, in which the village is rich. One, occupied by Mr. Meade King, was not only well worth a longer visit from its architectural beauty, but also as containing a rich collection of objects of art, majolica ware and such like, which came from Italy, many of them having formerly belonged to religious houses, and having been sold at their suppression.

After the dinner at the George Hotel an

Evening Meeting

was again held and was well attended.

On the motion of the HON. SECRETARY, the word "shall" in Rule XVII. was altered to "may." Mr. Hunt then announced that he had that day received a telegram from his colleague,

Mr. Malet, that Mr. H. Gore Langton had most liberally given £50 to the Castle Purchase Fund; and a vote was passed that Mr. Gore Langton and Mr. H. Danby Seymour should be added to the present Trustees.

Mr. KING then gave a short and interesting account of the day's Excursion.

The PRESIDENT said that the stones at Orchardleigh had often been made the subject of discussion. He had heard it said indeed that they were placed in the Park not many years ago by Sir T. Champneys, but, though he had had this from those who were certainly likely to know, he was quite willing to believe it a myth, now that it had been contradicted by such an eminent authority. He hoped and trusted that Mr. Barnwell would convince him that the stones were Druidical remains, so that the inhabitants of those parts might no longer be in doubt.

Mr. BARNWELL hoped to convince his lordship that the stones were not Druidical, but were placed in their present position at a far earlier time than that in which Druids are said to have lived. As to their erection by Sir Thomas Champneys, he was the least likely man he knew of to do such a thing. Mr. Barnwell then repeated for the benefit of those who had not been present at Orchardleigh that morning some of the arguments on which he based his belief that the stones were the remains of a primeval monument.

The PRESIDENT then called on Mr. Mc Murtrie, who read a valuable paper on "The Physical Geology of the Carboniferous Strata of Somersetshire and Associated Formations," which will be found in Part II.

Mr. SANFORD, who remarked that they could not do less than congratulate the county on the good account given of its coalfield, said the paper was an admirable one. There was one thing in it, however, to which he took exception. Mr. Mc Murtrie made use of the words "washed away." He (Mr. Sanford) had previously spoken of ice. He believed that Professor Ramsay had expressed an opinion that the Permian period was clearly

an ice era. As he said on the preceding night, the country had been raised up in great ridges, and in such a latitude as this those mountains could not exist without forming glaciers which cut and planed down mountain ranges in a manner that must be seen to be believed. He did not think that the Permian period, long as it was, would have been long enough for the rocks to have been washed away. A greater power than water would be required, that power he believed was moving ice.

The Rev. H. H. WINWOOD referred to the paper which had just been read as the result of much patient labour. He remembered that Sir W. Guise on the previous day had stated that the Mendips were the consequence of a slow upheaval, that Mr. Moore expressed an opinion that it was a sudden movement, and that Mr. Mc Murtrie now referred to it as gradual. Had the Society gone to Mells they would have seen some of the results of this denudation in the conglomerate so well exposed there, which is nothing but the old water beach of that period.

Rev. W. HUNT said that the reason the Society did not visit Mells was the absence of Mr. Horner.

Mr. MC MURTRIE said objection had been taken to the words "washed away." They might be supplemented by another. The rock might have been "ground" first and washed away afterwards. He thought that water would not be sufficient of itself, and that if they could see evidence of the ice action it would be a proof. What they were in want of at present was proof of the ice action.

Mr. SANFORD hoped that the paper would be published in the *Proceedings* of the Society, and also the diagrams.

Dr. PARSONS then read an interesting paper on "The Flora of Eastern Somersetshire," which is printed in Part II.

The PRESIDENT thanked Dr. Parsons for his paper, and had no doubt but that it would lead some who heard it to take a new interest in their walks abroad. His Lordship then called on Mr. Elworthy to read a paper on "The Dialect of West Somerset."

Mr. ELWORTHY said that at this late hour in the evening he would not inflict a long paper on the audience, but, with his Lordship's permission, would put off the reading of it to a more convenient season.

It was then announced that Mr. Elworthy's paper should be read the next day. It is much to be regretted that time was not found for this arrangement to be carried out, but Mr. Elworthy has kindly consented to read his paper at a future meeting of the Society.

Excursion: Thursday.

The number of visitors was so largely and unexpectedly increased that considerable difficulty was experienced in providing enough carriages, and in getting the party off.

For the future all those who wish to make use of the carriages, provided by the Secretary in charge of the Excursion, should purchase their tickets before 6 p.m. on the day before, so that he may know how many will want seats. Those who kindly comply with this request will be held to have a prior claim, and although the Secretary will try to accommodate all who may want seats, yet he will not be responsible for the accommodation of those who have not given this notice of their intention.

The route lay through Blatchbridge and Woodlands to

Longleat House,

which was reached after a most lovely drive through the Park. The Marquis of Bath received the party with a kind welcome, and himself led the visitors through the corridors and lower library. The party then assembled in the hall, and Canon JACKSON read a valuable paper on

The Literary Treasures of Longleat,

of which the following is the substance :—

He said that some time ago he had been invited by the Society's Secretary to contribute something for the Frome

meeting, and that a text was given him on which to write. That text was a perplexing one, for it was "The Literary Treasures of Longleat." How could he treat it without either wearying the audience, or unduly compressing matter which ought to fill at least a volume. Those treasures are, he said, of two kinds, printed books and manuscripts. The printed treasures of Longleat fill two very large rooms: that which is called the lower or modern library on the ground floor; and the upper or old library at the top of the house. The lower library contains a very fine collection of books, all arranged and catalogued, formed chiefly by the grandfather of the present owner of the house. There are Greek and Latin classical authors of superb editions; also many of our rarest county histories, the four first folios of Shakespeare, and a great number of those little thin 4to. volumes much sought after by book-lovers of all species. For there are many species of book-lovers: some like books for the old title pages, some for the black letter, some for the illustrations, some for the bindings, and now and then a few for the contents. For every one of these book-lovers there is abundance of interesting matter in the lower library—Caxton's "Wynkyn de Worde" Chaucer, as edited by William Thynne, and so forth. After mentioning some other rare books the learned Canon said that he would pass to the old library, which, among many books of modern date placed there for convenience, also contained a vast collection which belonged to the library in the time of the first Lord Weymouth, and which were chiefly collected by him. They were on different subjects, but especially on the controversial divinity of the latter part of the seventeenth century. The first Lord Weymouth was the friend and protector of Bishop Ken, and they seem to have entered together into those religious questions which agitated the country, and to have gathered together all the publications which related to them. It is, the Canon said, not an uncommon notion among the public that all the books in the old library were Bishop Ken's; and the room is often enquired for as "Bishop Ken's

Library." This is not so. The room itself, without any manner of doubt, belonged to Lord Weymouth, and so did the books. But the Bishop by his will bequeathed to Lord Weymouth, out of his own collection, such works as his lordship might not have already, and such others as he might choose. The room was no doubt very much the daily living place of the good Bishop; but neither room nor library was his own, further than in the way I have mentioned. There is also a large collection of Civil War tracts, and a great number of old geographical works of voyages and travels descriptive of the world as then known. Also many valuable works on antiquities, coins, and the like, such as are now seldom met with in private houses; fine and costly volumes, the like of which indeed are seldom printed in our days. I must not omit to mention that the room I am speaking of, the old library upstairs, is indebted for its contents not only to Lord Weymouth and Bishop Ken. At the further end of it, occupying the entire wall, is a very wonderful collection of publications, all upon one single subject, but that a subject of never-ceasing interest—the great French Revolution of 1792. The collection embraces, I believe, almost everything that was published in France during that terrible period of the history of France; and it includes all books, pamphlets, and narratives published not only in Paris itself, but in all the provincial cities and towns; describing all the horrors that took place over the whole country. Whether quite unique or nor I cannot say, but this collection is certainly a very remarkable and valuable one, and was added to the literary treasures of the house by the present owner. Taking this old library of Longleat altogether, it is, both from its mere construction as well as its interesting contents, one of the most curious rooms to be seen in any house in England. The reader then passed to the manuscript treasures and remarked upon the special charm which attached to a treasure of this kind in comparison with the value of printed books. Of the collection of MSS. in the old library it was impossible to give anything but a mere outline. Amongst

them were named "The Bible" in English after the translation usually ascribed to Wicliff, a large folio, 398 pp., pure vellum, beautifully written and adorned with illuminated initial letters, containing the Old and New Testaments complete, and the prefatory epistle of S. Jerome. Another noble volume comprised the works of Zacharias Chrysopalos, of the twelfth century. Next is a "Liber Pontificalis" of 13th century, containing the forms of certain services used in consecrations of churches and cemeteries, in the office of matrimony, benediction of rings, appointment of abbesses, and the like. "The Life of Christ," by Bonaventure, Bishop of Albania and Cardinal, translated into English by John Morton; 15th century. "A Sermon that S. Austin made on Christmas Day." This is a very curious old document, in the quaintest English possible, and intended as the preface says, "for folk of simple understanding: children that haven nede to be fedde with mylke of light doctrine, and not with sad meat of great clergy and high contemplacion." The spelling of the words are very curious. The teaching of S. John, it says, was given as "treacle" against the venom of dyverse heretykes; and instead of being called the Redeemer our Lord is spoken of as the "Buyer-again." There is also a volume of old English religious poems of the 15th century, some of which are very simple and touching, and, so far as I know, have never been printed. There should also be mentioned Lydgate's "Life of the Virgin Mary," a MS. of the 15th century, afterwards printed by Caxton. Amongst a different class of subjects, relating to monastic establishments, may be named "Privileges of the Sanctuary of S. Peter of Westminster," an interesting MS. volume of the 15th century. Prefixed to it is a charter of King Edgar, by which he ordains that the Church of S. Peter at Westminster shall become a sanctuary for fugitives of every degree; and other charters of Edward the Confessor and William I confirming the privileges. There are many registers of various abbeys, and amongst them one of Glastonbury, of the 14th

century, a fine folio of 440 pages in vellum. Prefixed to it is a Bull of Pope John XXI, addressed to Adam, Abbot of the monastery, according permission for his confessor to forgive the sins of the said Abbot when in *articulo mortis*, like as the Roman pontiffs were accustomed to do. This is dated at Avignon. Then follow the prefatory matters appointed by Edward I to be prefixed to all monastic chartularies, having relation to his right to a feudal superiority over Scotland. There are six in number :—1. The Genealogy of the Kings of England, beginning with Adam down to Edward III. 2. Concerning the origin of Giants in the Island of Albion. 3. Of the length and breadth of England. 4. A citatory letter of Pope Boniface for the Kingdom of Scotland. 5. A Declaration of the King of England about the affairs of Scotland. 6. A letter of the barons to Pope Boniface on behalf of the rights of the Kingdom of Scotland. The date of the last charter registered appears to be about 1361. At page 427 is a brief register of the muniments at Wells. Next comes a very curious old book, commonly called "Liber Ruber Bathoniæ," or "The Red Book of Bath." Why it is called a red book is not very intelligible, because it is bound in white pigskin on thick wood, with brass bosses upon the sides. Inside of the upper cover is a square hole or socket let into the wood and nearly the size of the cover itself, secured with a door of thin iron plate covered with leather and studded with brass nails. In this were formerly kept the balances for weighing gold, as appears by the first entry in the catalogue of contents. It once belonged to the monastery at Bath, and came into the hands of Dr. Thomas Guidot, who, dying in 1703, bequeathed it to the first Lord Weymouth. I had always expected to find in this old MS. a good deal about the history of Bath and its Abbey. But it is quite a different thing. It is a collection of most miscellaneous articles, about thirty in number. Its date is 1428. There are short treatises about weights and measures, the Gospels, calendars in rime, an essay on phlebotomy, the ringing (or rather beating) of bells

—"*pulsatio campanorum*"—showing how far that enlivening recreation is founded upon ecclesiastical law, and how far upon custom. Then come treatises on the office of coroner, a charter of the forest, the names of those who came over with William I, an assize of bread and beer, measurement of land with the acre-staff, and "The Gestes of King Arthur" in rime. This is a poem of 642 lines, and is so curious that it was printed as the first issue of the publications of the Early English Text Society. At intervals of 50 or 60 verses the reader is desired by the quaint old poet to pause and say a Paternoster and Ave. At the end of the volume, in more modern writing, is an account of the placing of a pillory in the city of Bath, with a drawing of that instrument of publicity, dated 1412. There is an old rental of the bishopric of Hereford, and a book of expenses of Shaftesbury Abbey (24 Hen. VIII), of which Sir W. Uvedale, Kt., was Seneschal. In the class of historical works, the finest MS. is one of Josephus' "Wars and Antiquities of the Jews." This is a large and noble volume of the 15th century, in a clear hand in pure vellum. Another MS. is a curious volume (30 Hen. VIII) being a list of all the English residents in the town of Calais at that time, when it belonged to England; the names of the men, women, and children, strangers and inhabitants, scattered through the twelve wards of His Majesty's town; with devices for its fortification, victualling, wages of workmen, &c. Then is a MS. copy of a very celebrated book called "Leicester's Commonwealth," being a virulent attack by Parsons the Jesuit (or some one else so called), upon the character and life of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. This was secretly circulated, but only in manuscript, for many years, as Queen Elizabeth and the Privy Council had published a protest against it as a slanderous story. A greater pack of lies against a very eminent man was never whipped up together, and unluckily Scott's novel of Kenilworth, being built upon it, is not only full of the grossest historical errors, but has stamped Dudley's name with a most unjust stigma, which perhaps may never be

effaced. There are also some volumes of very valuable original letters, which came from Sheffield Castle when it was dismantled. They are addressed to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, to whom the Castle belonged, and are written by the great statesmen and others of Queen Elizabeth's time, including several from Her Majesty herself to the Earl. One begins "My dear old man." In one of these volumes are several letters from the unfortunate Lady Arabella Stuart, the first cousin of King James I. There is also in four large folio volumes a complete history of the Talbot family (Earls of Shrewsbury), compiled entirely out of the records at Sheffield Castle, the greater part of which are now deposited in the Herald's College, London. There are volumes of State Papers, ambassadors' correspondence, and the like. A great number also of curious treatises on alchymy, medicine, most curious receipts and antidotes, astronomical tables, leech-craft, and astrology; treatises on the philosopher's stone—the secret of secrets—coinage; and of ancient law treatises a very large collection, very difficult to read and still more difficult to understand; also many records of Star Chamber proceedings, which are scarce and valuable. There are several volumes of very old English and French poetry in manuscript. A treatise on chivalry, called "Le Livre des Faiz d'Armes," by Christine of Pisa, an Italian lady of the the 15th century; and another by the same authoress, called "Hector and Othea," translated into English by Stephen Scrope, of Castle Combe, in Wiltshire, son-in-law of Sir John Falstaff (not the fat knight of Shakespeare). "The Temple of Glasse," a poem commonly said to have been written by Chaucer, and included in his works. But it was not by him. It is now called "The Isle of Ladies." The Longleat copy is the only MS. of it known. Also several other MSS. of the poems of Chaucer and Lydgate. In one called "Ipomedon," by Lydgate, there is the written autograph (of great rarity) of Richard III when Duke of Gloucester, with a motto "Tant le desirée." I may just mention as a sample of the value of MSS., especially

when, as in this case, they happen to contain any rare autograph, that only a few weeks ago at an auction in London a little MS., which happened to have this very autograph signature in it, was sold for the marvellous sum of £331. Besides all the books and MSS. to which I have only very slightly referred there is a vast quantity of original documents at Longleat, which have been all arranged. They consist of what we may call personal documents and topographical documents. The personal documents relate to families, and include a great deal that refers to many of the historical houses of the country. I only name, very cursorily, a few: the Staffords Dukes of Buckingham, the Veres, the Seymours Dukes of Somerset: and of course a great deal that relates to the oldest and successive owners of Longleat. Also a simply enormous quantity of original correspondence of celebrated characters. The topographical department is very large and curious, containing documents relating to ancient estates in a great many counties in England and Wales, especially, of course, Somerset and Wilts. There are several original deeds, and quantities of court rolls and the like, relating to Glastonbury Abbey. The whole of these documents have been put in order, and a summary of them printed in the Reports of the Historical Commissioners. As those Reports present 48 folio pages of double column in small type under the heads of the Marquis of Bath's papers, I need not say that it is out of the question to attempt going into particular details. I will simply say that next to the collection of Hatfield papers belonging to the Marquis of Salisbury it is one of the most important private collections to be met with. It is thus described in the words of the Commissioners:—"The collection of the Marquis of Bath is a wonderfully complete and vivid illustration of our civil, military, naval, and ecclesiastical history, and from the earliest times." Canon Jackson then showed a curious and valuable MS. which he had lately discovered amongst some papers of a different nature belonging to the Marquis. It was a Register of the holdings of the tenants of Glastonbury in the time of

Abbot Henry de Soliaco, about 1189. This MS. is a perfect mine of knowledge, for it contains not only interesting topographical and archæological particulars, but also much which is of the highest degree important to the historian in the names of the tenants, and the position held by those who were called by them.

Sir W. MEDLYCOTT expressed the thanks of the Society to the Marquis of Bath for his kindness, and to Canon Jackson for the exceedingly interesting information which he had given to them.

Mr. PARKER made a few remarks on the architecture of Longleat House, describing it as perhaps the finest Elizabethan house in the kingdom, and almost entirely unaltered. He pointed out the difference between an Elizabethan and what he might call a mediæval house; and described the arrangements of the dining hall. It was not possible to fix the exact date of this house for it was twenty years in building.

The party then drove to

Holwell Quarries

where Mr. MOORE expounded the geological lessons to be learned there. At the first quarry he remarked that, when the British Association came there, he asked a question as to what geological section he was then standing on. A gentleman who had just prepared a geological map at once replied that he must be standing on Carboniferous Limestone. Well, that was a natural supposition, Carboniferous Limestone being incident to the district; but he (Mr. Moore) rather surprised them by pointing out within a few square yards Inferior Oolite, Lias, Carboniferous Limestone, and Rhætic beds containing teeth and other remains. He himself was standing on a mineral vein filled up with crystallised carbonate of lime. So that there were several distinct geological formations in that little patch of ground. Close by was a cavern which might contain remains of elephants, hippopotami, rhinoceri, and all the beasts of the glacial period.

In the Inferior Oolite were all the shells of that period; in the Liassic Conglomerate were all the various shells of the liassic period, and the Carboniferous Limestone had all the usual fossils.

At another quarry Mr. MOORE pointed out that there were as many as thirteen veins of younger age going down from the top to the base of the older Carboniferous Limestone rock. Here could be seen traces of iron ore, lead and calamine in the veins, and amongst the fossils had been found *microlestes*, teeth of *sargodon* and *lepidotus*, scales of *gyrolepis*, &c. *Acrodus* was also very abundant. A third quarry was also visited where the *microlestes* was found.

Rev. H. H. WINWOOD would not discuss Mr. Moore's facts which rested on too firm a basis, but would venture to differ from some of his theories. One of these theories was regarding the upheaval of the Mendips, which as they had heard yesterday, Mr. Moore considered the effect of an upthrust from below. Now if such had been the case surely the fissures, instead of widening as they descended—a fact which Mr. Moore had stated was their special peculiarity—would have lessened and become narrower below, and would have been wider above. But if they took the contrary theory, that those disturbances were caused by shrinkage of the crust of the earth and consequent subsidence, the wedge-shaped masses would descend in such a way as to narrow the fissures at the top and widen them at the bottom.

Mr. MOORE said his impression was that the Mendips had been carried bodily forward at their fullest elevation for a considerable distance to the north, that consequently there had been a tendency of the great mass of limestones to return again to their original position, and accordingly they gave way in various parts and became cracked and fissured—not all at the same time but at different geological periods. If this was the case it would be natural to expect that the fissures would widen at the bottom. In remarking that the veins widened as they

passed downwards, he only intended to apply the observation to the 40 or 50 feet seen in the face of the limestone quarries: there could be no doubt but that, like most fissures and veins found in the older rocks, they widened out in pockets, and then contracted so as occasionally to be almost lost; this might be repeated again and again as they passed downwards in a formation of such thickness as the Carboniferous Limestone.

Nunney Castle

was next visited, and occupied the attention of the party for a considerable time.

Mr. PARKER described the ruin as the remains of a strongly fortified manor house of the fourteenth century, about the time of Edward II. The corbels running round the top of the tower once upheld wooden galleries from which stones could be hurled upon invaders. It was a small building for an Edwardian Castle, but full of interest. It was once divided into four storeys. The two lower storeys contained the kitchen, the servants' rooms and domestic offices and the dining hall; the two upper were devoted to the family and state apartments. At one end of the building in one of the towers could be traced a sacrarium and a little oratory. It was probable that when necessary the room adjoining was used as a chapel, and that the sacrarium was at other times curtained off. Several windows and one of the fireplaces were of the time of Henry VII. It had a moat all round it, and Mr. Parker pointed out the holes through which the chains of the drawbridge probably once passed on the basement floor on the side facing the village.

Mr. DAVIS said that these holes did not seem to him to be at all like those which would have made for such a purpose. He did not believe the drawbridge was on that side of the building.

Mr. TALBOT upheld the view taken by Mr. Parker; and Mr. Sanford and others also agreed in thinking it most probable that the holes were used for working the drawbridge.

Nunney Church

most probably partakes of the same history as the Castle. It was no doubt built by the Delameres, and was extensively altered in the reign of Henry VII.

Mr. PARKER said that it had been suggested to him that the denudation of the neighbourhood, about which they had heard so much, had affected Nunney Church. There had evidently been a considerable denudation, which he thought must have been caused by glacial action, for he never saw a church with a more icy look about it. The chief features were the ancient squints, the piscina, the font, and the tombs of the Delameres. He could not avoid referring to the fine rood screen which at that moment was standing in the temporary museum at Frome, and which had been taken from its place in that church. He was told that one of the Churchwardens had presumed to sell this beautiful part of the church fittings to some person in the neighbourhood. He did not know if the Churchwarden who had done this thing was then present, but he begged to tell him that he had done an illegal act, and the sooner he took steps to undo the mischief, the better for himself and for all parties. The screen was a peculiarly good one, it fitted, and there was no reason to believe but that it had been made for the church. The sale of it for a mere trifle by those who should have been its most jealous guardians was a disgrace to the parish, and indeed to the county. The roof of the nave was in a wretched state. He could not approve of the attempts at restoration which had been made in the interior.

The hall of an old manor house near the church, now used as a lumber store, still preserves a fine roof, music gallery, and screen. It is called the Nunnery, but of course never had anything to do with Nuns : it is a purely secular building.

A pleasant drive through Ridgway brought the party to

Marston House,

the seat of the Earl of Cork and Orrery, the President of the

Society, who gave his numerous visitors a hearty welcome. Some time was spent in admiring the choice pictures which adorn the suite of rooms and the corridor on the ground floor. The party then gathered in the billiard room where several curious and interesting objects had been laid out.

The PRESIDENT pointed out a *fac-simile* of the original orrery, now at Cambridge. This instrument was invented by George Graham about 1700, and was presented to John, Earl of Orrery, after whom it was named at the suggestion of Steele. His Lordship also called attention to a number of original letters by distinguished men, including Pope, Swift, Dr. King, the Duke of Marlborough, with a vast amount of bad spelling, and Lord Bolingbroke; to the Prayer Book which was the constant companion of Charles I, and which contained some notes in the King's handwriting; to the original air pump of Robert Boyle, the philosopher, and to different other curiosities, among which should be mentioned a fine and most rare edition of Cæsar, with the famous illustration of the black bull. Lord Cork stated that a church formerly stood on the lawn immediately in front of the house, and a framed notice which hung in the room gave the following account of one of the many unknown or forgotten sufferers in the cause of Church and King, who was formerly connected with the little building.

Upon the ruin of the Royal Family and the death of the King, Lord Broghil, Earl of Orrery, retired to Marston House, situate in England, which his father, Richard, Earl of Cork, had bought of Sir John Hippesley, and was formerly part of Edmund, Earl of Cornwallis's estate.

Lord Broghil used to repeat a singular incident. The parish church of Marston is very near to the Mansion house. Lord Orrery never failed to go thither on a Sunday, but one Sunday having sat there some time, and being disappointed of the then qualified minister, his lordship was preparing to return home when his steward told him a person in the church offered to preach. His lordship, though he looked upon the proposal only as a piece of enthusiasm, gave permission, and was never more surprised or delighted than with the sermon, which was filled with learning, sense, and piety. His lordship would not suffer the preacher to escape unknown, but invited him to dinner, and inquiring of him his name, life, and fortune, received this answer: "My Lord, my name is Ashbery; I am a clergyman of the Church of England, and a loyal subject of the King. I have lived three years in a cottage under your warren wall, within a

few paces of your lordship's house; my son lives with me, and we dig and read by turns. I have a little money and some few books, and I submit cheerfully to the will of Providence." This worthy and learned man, for such Lord Orrery always called him, died at Marston some years after, but not until his lordship had obtained an allowance of £30 per annum for him without any obligation of taking the covenant.

Luncheon was then announced and a large party enjoyed the hospitality of the noble President. The rest of the afternoon was spent in strolling on the terrace in front of the house which commands a splendid view.

Mr. H. Danby Seymour expressed the thanks of the Society to Lord Cork for the kind and able way in which he discharged the office of President.

The thanks of the Society are also due to Mr. E. H. Dickinson, the Chairman of the Local Committee, and to the other gentlemen who served upon it, and above all to Mr. George Walters, the Local Secretary, who gave much valuable advice and assistance in the preparations which had to be made for the Meeting. The Frome Literary and Scientific Institution kindly placed their building at the disposal of the Society during its visit, and the Local Museum was held there.

contained some exceedingly interesting objects, for the loan of many of which the Society is indebted to Mr. J. W. SINGER of Frome, a name which is well known to lovers of the antique. Amongst the most noteworthy articles were—

A collection of chalices for the service of the Altar, most of them lent by Mr. Singer, amongst which was a silver one of English make with date 1570; the chalice of Beckington Church, lent by the RECTOR, 1571; the chalices of Tellisford, Nunney, and Elm.

A collection of Roman coins of different dates, lent by Mr. Singer.

A perfectly unique collection of Wedding and Betrothal Rings, mostly collected in Somersetshire by Mr. Singer, many of them having beautiful, and some with strange, mottoes.

A number of Roman coins and other articles exhibited by Mr. SHORE, and found at or near the site of the Roman villa at Whatley, discovered by and belonging to that gentleman.

A curious map of the "Mynedeep Forest, with its circumjacent villages and lands," painted on panel, exhibited by Mr. F. HORNER.

Mr. J. H. PARKER also exhibited a fine series of photographs illustrating his discoveries in Rome.

The Museum.

ADDITIONS SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE LAST VOLUME:

The Archæological Journal.

Journal of the British Archæological Association, and *Index* to the first 30 vols.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

The Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine.

Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.

Proceedings and Annual Report for 1875 *of the Geologists' Association.*

Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club.

Proceedings of the Bristol Naturalists' Society.

Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, No. 29.

Report of the Smithsonian Institution, U.S., 1874.

Bulletin of the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., vol. vi.

Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers.

A sketch of the male descendants of Joscelin de Louvain, the Second House of Percy, Earls of Northumberland; and *Life of Judge Jeffreys,* by Mr. W. E. SURTEES.

Excavations at the Cave of the Kesslerloch; and Roman Imperial Profiles; and Notes on Trappean Rocks, by the Author, Mr. J. E. LEE.

Savage's *History of Taunton,* by Mr. R. BARNICOTT.

The Historie of this Iron Age, 1659, by Mr. WM. PROSSER.

The Visitation of Yorkshire, 1584-5 *and* 1612, by the Author, Mr. JOSEPH FOSTER.

Archæologia Cambrensis, vol. iii., 3rd series, to vol. vi., 4th series, 19 vols., Rev. E. L. BARNWELL.

Notes on Croquet, by the Author, Dr. PRIOR.

The Dialect of West Somerset, by the Author, Mr. F. T. ELWORTHY.

La Gerarchia Cattolica e la Famiglia Pontificia, 1876, by the Right Rev. Dr. PARFITT.

West Somerset, by the Author, Mr. E. JEBOULT.

A classified Index to the Transactions, Proceedings, and Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London, by the Author, Mr. G. W. ORMEROD.

Address delivered at the anniversary meeting of the Geological Society of London, 1876, by Mr. J. EVANS.

The Abbey of S. Mary, in the Vale of Flowers, Cleeve, Co. Somerset, by the Author, Rev. MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOT.

Dixon's *Life of Admiral Blake* (purchased).

Return of the Owners of Land in England and Wales, 1873 (purchased).

Fac-simile of Magna Charta, by Mr. O. W. MALET.

Coloured engravings of Roman Pavements found at Wellow, by Rev. W. B. DOVETON.

Carved oak lintel, from the fish market at Axbridge, by the Rev. J. A. YATMAN.

Encaustic tiles, from Poyntington, by Miss HEALE.

An old painting of "Meyndeepe, with its Adjacent Villages and Laws," by Mr. WM. GEORGE.

A pair of jack-boots and two swords, found inside a partition in the Manor House at Burrow, by Major BARRETT.

Model of the tomb of Scipio; lamp and model of a tomb from Herculaneum; Burmese idol; and rock and mineral specimens from Italy, by Miss KEMEYS TYNTE.

Stone axe, from an ancient burial ground near Milwaukie, Wisconsin, by Mr. JOSEPH GOODLAND.

Ancient dagger, found at Staplegrove, and an old glass bottle with the Carew crest, by Mr. TURNER.

Some old newspapers and Somersetshire tokens, by Rev. G. G. BEADON.

Cannon ball, taken from the breast of a man in Westonzoyland churchyard, and a cannon ball from Sedgemoor, by Mr. TURNER, Kingston.

Polished stone axe, and an old gun, encrusted with sand and pebbles, dredged from the sea, by Mr. W. MAYNARD.

The spur-winged goose, in case, by Mr. JNO. MARSHALL.

Fossil Turtle, found near Swanage, by Mr. J. W. WARRE TYNDALL.

A collection of 52 Taunton farthings; other Somersetshire tokens, and some Roman and English coins (purchased).

Specimens of leaf anatomy; Indian spears, shield, and clubs; case containing collection of minerals; cases of birds (purchased).

141 volumes of the Publications of the Record Commission, transferred from the library of the Somerset and Taunton Institution, by order of the Master of the Rolls, and with the consent of the Committee.

THE QUEKETT COLLECTION.—The Committee have also the pleasure to report that the valuable collection formed by the late Professor and Mr. Edward Quekett, and for many years deposited in the Hanging Chapel at Langport, has been transferred to the Society's Museum. This has been the gift of Mrs. EDWD. QUEKETT.

Deposited by the Proprietors of the Somerset and Taunton Institution.

Collection of so-called Kimmeridge coal money; key found in the Castle Moat, Taunton; stone hatchet used by the Canadian Indians; bronze celt; antique bronze figure of Hercules; fragment of tesselated pavement from the Baths of Titus; stuccoes preserving colour from Pompeii; cast from a monumental tablet from ancient Rome; lamp from Pompeii; three Egyptian sepulchral stones; pair of spurs from Westminster Abbey; bundle Fiji arrows; bundle Indian arrows; six Indian axes; Indian bow; four knives and daggers; two Indian staves; drawing of tesselated pavement at Pitney; stone from the Giants' Causeway; wolf in case; osprey; snipe; stork.

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Conversazione Meeting.

Dec. 7th, 1875.

On Evolution, by Mr. W. A. SANFORD.

On Evolution in Civilization, by Mr. E. B. TYLOR, F.R.S.

Proceedings
of the
Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society,
1875, *Part II.*

PAPERS, ETC.

An inquiry concerning the real

Site of the Battle of Æthan-dune,

and of other localities mentioned by Asser in his account of the great struggle which took place in the year 878, *between King Ælfred and the Danes for the possession of Wessex.*

BY HON. AND RT. REV. WILLIAM CLIFFORD,
Bishop of Clifton.

THE battle of Æthandune, which took place in the year 878 between the English under King Ælfred and the Danish army under Gothrum, may justly be regarded as one of the most important events in our national history. The existence of the English as a nation was decided on that day. The Danes had already made themselves masters of the whole of England, with the exception of a portion of the kingdom of Wessex. If the issue of this battle had been reversed, if Gothrum had triumphed instead of Ælfred, the conquest of England would have been completed, and the English would henceforth have been reduced to the condition into which the men of Northumbria had already sunk, of harrowers and plowers to the Danes.[1] This calamity was averted by the

(1). Sax. Chron. 876.

genius and perseverance of Ælfred, but the means by which he achieved success are involved in much obscurity, and doubt exists as to the very site of Æthandune itself. It is generally supposed to be Bratton Hill, near Edington, in Wilts. My object in the present paper is to show that the true site of Æthandune is not in Wiltshire but in Somerset. I shall also bring forward evidence regarding other localities mentioned by Asser and the Chronicle, and the identification of these places will enable me to set forth a clear and connected narrative of the steps by which Ælfred prepared and achieved this the greatest of his victories.

At the close of summer of the year 877 the Danish army,[2] having been compelled by Ælfred to surrender at Exeter, swore to leave Wessex, and withdrew to Gloucester in Mercia. But on twelfth-night, the 6th of January, 878, they stole out to Chippenham which they surprised and captured. Gothrum, their leader, had hoped by this treacherous move to sieze the King, but Ælfred saved himself by flight, and the Danes having only partially succeeded in their object, did not attempt further operations at that season of the year. They rode over and subdued to their will the surrounding country, but without penetrating into the interior of Wessex they took up their winter quarters in Chippenham. Ælfred, with a small band of followers, sought for safety the fastnesses of the moors, and led a restless life amongst the peat marshes of Somerset. He also was forced patiently to bide his time. Meanwhile the winter passed by.

Presently an event occurred which is thus described by Asser :—"That same year a brother of Healfden and Inguar,

(2). This large heathen army came over to England A.D. 866, after which date the Saxon Chronicle always refers to it as "the army" se here," and Asser calls it "Paganorum exercitus; praedictus Exercitus." It was composed, writes Ingulf, of the followers of five kings, and as many dukes, but the supreme command was intrusted to Gothrum, and under his artful guidance "The army" steadily pursued the conquest of England. It was against this army that Ælfred had to contend throughout.

with three-and-twenty ships, leaving the region of Demetia where he had wintered, after having made great slaughter of the Christians of those parts, set sail for Devon, and there with twelve hundred men rashly doing, he was in the end defeated and slain by the King's officers before the castle Cynwit. For within the enclosure of this same castle many of the King's officers with their men had taken refuge together. Now when the Pagans saw that the castle was destitute of provisions, and without means of defence of any kind, save that it had walls after our fashion, they did not attempt to carry it by assault; but as the nature of the ground rendered it very safe on all sides except towards the east (as we ourselves have noticed), they began to lay siege to it, thinking that those men driven by hunger and thirst and the blockade would soon be compelled to surrender, for there was no water nigh to the castle. But it turned out contrary to what they had expected. For the Christians waited not to be reduced to such extremities, but inspired from heaven, and deeming it far preferable to earn either death or victory, in the early morning suddenly rushed down upon the Pagans, and assailing their enemies like wild boars, put to the sword the greater part of them, together with their king, a few only making good their escape to the ships, and there they took no small amount of spoil. Amongst other things they got possession of the flag called the Raven."

The brother of Healfden and Inguar here spoken of is Ubbo, as we learn from John Brompton and Gaimar.[3] It is important we should determine with accuracy the date of his landing on the English coast. Nor is it difficult to do so. It must have

(3). Ubbo is one of the ten chiefs mentioned by Ingulph, whose followers constituted the Danish army: he was therefore probably with Gothrum at Exeter in the previous summer. It seems that the army on quitting Exeter sailed round the Land's End, and returned by the Severn to Gloucester in Mercia. But on reaching the Bristol Channel Ubbo with his followers must have detached himself from the rest and landed in South Wales (Demetia. See Poste *Britannic Researches*, B. 11, c. 1; Gildas *Ep.*, c. 31), where he ravaged the coast and took up his quarters for the winter. He was now coming over to England to rejoin the army under Gothrum and complete the conquest of Wessex.

taken place in spring: for Ubbo came from Wales where he had passed the winter. (*In qua hiemaverat*). It cannot therefore have occurred much *before* the vernal equinox, the 21st of March. But neither can it have taken place *later* than that date. For it was not till after Ælfred had received the news of the death of Ubbo that he began to build a fort at Athelney, and this he did *at Easter*. (Sax. Chron.) Now Easter in that year fell on the 23rd of March; the landing therefore must have taken place about the 21st.[4]

The *date* being thus fixed, the *site* of the landing must next be determined; and in weighing the evidence attention must be paid not only to each separate statement, but even more so to the harmony between those statements which results from the adoption of the particular site which I am about to indicate, whereas on every other supposition those statements appear to be either meaningless or contradictory.

It is commonly asserted that the Danes under Ubbo landed at Apledore, near Bideford, in North Devon: now I can find no ground whatever for this opinion. Asser, the Chronicle, and all ancient writers assert that he landed in Devon, but none of them mention Apledore, and the opinion seems to have originated with an error of Spelman, who quotes Leland as his authority. But Leland in the passage referred to is speaking of an invasion which took place at Apledore in Kent full twelve years later, A.D. 893, as may be seen in the Saxon Chronicle which is quoted by Leland.

No place near Apledore in Devon answers to the description given by Asser of Cynwit Castle. Lisson in his *Magna Britannia*, refers to a paper by Mr. Studley Videt, F.S.A., who "supposes that a small fortified spot called Henniborough, or Henny Castle, about a mile north-east of Bideford, was the site

(4). The 20th of March was the feast of St. Cuthbert, to whose intercession Ælfred, as William of Malmesbury informs us, used to ascribe the change which now took place in his fortunes. Perhaps the death of Ubbo occurred on that day.

of Kynwith Castle, of which Camden and Baxter had considered every vestige to have been long ago obliterated or swallowed up by the sea. In one important point however, the want of water, it does not agree with Asser's description." This circumstance alone is fatal to its claims.

Nor is it easy to imagine what motive could have induced Ubbo to land at a spot where he would be separated by the river Taw and the forest of Exmore from the army of Gothrum. There can be little doubt that Ubbo and Gothrum were acting in concert. "It appears," says Lingard, "as if the two brothers had previously agreed to crush the King between the pressure of their respective armies." As Ælfred was in the marshes of Somerset, and Gothrum was coming from Chippenham, Ubbo, in order to attain this object, should have landed his forces at the mouth of the river Parret; and that he did so in fact will I think be made clear by the evidence I am about to produce. It will naturally be objected that the Parret is in Somerset, whereas Ubbo is expressly stated to have landed in Devonshire. But the Parret in those days was the boundary of the two shires,[5] so that Ubbo's having landed in Devon need only imply that he landed on the western bank of that river. Now on the western bank of the Parret, a few miles below Bridgwater, stands the little seaport of Combwich, and Cymwich is the name by which Roger de Hoveden designates the place where Ubbo fell.[6] At the distance of about a mile from Combwich is Cannington Park: an isolated hill of limestone, rising abruptly from the plain. On its summit is an ancient encampment, answering in every respect to Asser's description of the Castle of Cynwit. Its walls, injured by time, are built of loose stones

(5). See note at end of this paper.

(6). "Occisi sunt ante Cimwich, in qua se praedicti regis ministri refugii causa concluserant." Rog. de Hov. The Cynwit of Asser and the Cimwich of Roger are only different forms of spelling the same word. Cyn-wit or Cyn-wich, signifying King's-town, was probably the name of the port. Cyn-wit-tun, *arx Cynwit*, the castle or enclosure of King's-town, the name of the adjoining fort. May not this be the origin of *Cannington?*

like other British encampments (*more nostro*, says the Briton Asser), the escarpment of the hill is very precipitous on all sides except towards the east, and there is no water on the hill. It is also worthy of remark that Asser mentions having seen the place himself. Now Asser during his stay at the court of Ælfred had repeatedly occasion to visit his monastery in Wales, as he himself informs us. The port at the mouth of the Parret offered the most ready means of communication for that purpose.[7] Asser therefore must more than once have found himself detained in this immediate neighbourhood when waiting to embark. On any one of these occasions he would naturally visit a spot so full of interest to him. It is not easy on the other hand to see what circumstances could have led him to Bideford.

Before proceeding further I must call attention to some passages of other writers,[8] which seem at first sight to conflict with the narrative of Asser, but which in fact confirm and illustrate it if only it be admitted that the Danes landed at the mouth of the Parret. John Brompton, who flourished towards the close of the twelfth century, writes as follows :—"The Danes on hearing of Ælfred's arrival abandoned the city (Exeter) and proceeded into Wessex as far as Chippenham. There (*i.e.* in Wessex) they did much damage, pillaging the country, imprisoning the men, and so forcing the inhabitants to fly from their native land. But there (*i.e.* in Wessex) King Ælfred came upon them, and bravely fought a battle with the Danes, in which

(7). An ancient road runs along the ridge of Polden hill direct from the mouth of the Parret to Glastonbury : and another from the neighbourhood of Glastonbury through Selwood to Sarum and Winchester.

(8). These writers are late, as compared with Asser and the Chronicle, and therefore it might not be thought prudent to attach great weight to their statements. But the strength of their testimony lies in this : that whereas they appear to contradict Asser, or to be wholly unintelligible on the supposition that what Asser relates took place near Bideford, they harmonise with him and throw light on his narrative if the scene of action is placed at Combwich. It is seldom that writers invent stories for the mere purpose of deceiving their readers ; but it would be truly wonderful if facts and places harmonized with fiction better than with truth.

conflict Ubbo, the brother of Inguar, and Bruen Bocard, who first came over with them from Denmark, were slain. Many were killed on either side, but the Danes were in the end victorious, and King Ælfred who, surrounded by a few followers, had pressed too far in advance, withdrew on that occasion as best he could from the field.[9] The Danes finding the body of Ubbo amongst the slain, buried it with loud lamentations, and raised over it a mound which they named Ubbalowe; wherefore the place is so called to this day, and it is in the county of Devon."

It seems difficult at first sight to reconcile this narrative with the preceding one of Asser. Asser describes a Saxon victory, Brompton a defeat. No mention is made of Ælfred by Asser; Brompton says not only that he was present but that his daring nearly cost him his life. Lastly, Brompton has been understood to say that Ubbo was slain near Chippenham and buried in Devonshire. Whereupon Spelman remarks that he is not consistent either with other writers or with himself. But these discrepancies are not real.

1st, Asser, it is true, relates a victory gained by the Saxons *in the early morning*, but his language plainly indicates that it had been preceded by a defeat. He describes the Castle of Cynwith as an open camp without water, and wholly destitute of provisions and of every means of defence except its walls. It was not therefore a garrisoned fortress, but simply a place where some of the King's officers had taken refuge on an emergency *(in qua se concluserant refugii causa)*.[10] Brompton tells us what that emer-

(9). "Propter suam nimiam versus eos accelerationem paucis stipatus, a campo illa vice, modo meliori quo poterat, se retraxit."

(10). Several such camps in various parts of the country were used for the purpose of affording refuge to the inhabitants, or to small bodies of troops when surprised by the Danes, till succour arrived. They were called *Sheet-castles*, or castles of refuge. Thus *Sheet*-anchor, is the safety-anchor, and *sheet* in nautical language is the safety-rope—a rope fastened to the lower corner of the sail, and which may be slackened at will, so as to prevent the boat capsizing. Castle-of-Comfort (a name which also occurs in various parts of the country) has the same signification: comfort being used in the sense of support or assistance.

gency was, namely a defeat sustained on the previous day. The success of the Saxons was (as we shall see presently) only transient, and had no effect in reversing the victory gained by the Danes, wherefore Brompton, who does not profess to give more than a brief summary, treats the two events as portions of one engagement, the final result of which was favourable to the Danes, though Ubbo lost his life: Asser on the contrary relates at full the success of the Saxons, but, with something of the address of a courtier, passes over in silence the previous defeat of his patron.

2ndly, Ælfred was not with the party that took refuge in Cynwith Castle, hence no mention occurs of him in Asser's account. But if the landing took place at Combwich, then what Brompton says *must* be true, viz., that Ælfred was present at the battle on the previous day. For if he was at the time in Athelney, or anywhere in the marshes, how can we suppose that the beacons were lighted, the country roused, and a battle fought within a few miles of his place of abode without his taking part in it?

3rdly, Brompton does not say (as Spelman understands him to say) that Ubbo fell near Chippenham and was buried in Devonshire. What he says is that Ubbo fell in a battle fought in Wessex in which Ælfred was engaged with the army which had occupied Chippenham, and that he was buried in Devonshire. His words present no difficulty if we assume Ælfred to have been in the marshes of Somerset, Ubbo to have landed at Combwich, Gothrum to have marched from Chippenham to meet him, and the battle to have taken place on the banks of the Parret, that river forming the boundary of the county of Devon.

The next statement to which I must draw attention is one which has greatly puzzled historians. Æthelward gives an account of the Saxon victory before Cynwith, similar in every respect to that given by Asser, but concludes with the remark that in the end the place where the Saxons had gained the victory re-

mained in possession of the Danes. "*Postremo victoriae obtinent locum Dani.*" How this came to pass I shall show presently.

Another point to be observed is, that while Asser states that a few only of the Danes escaped to their ships, Matthew of Westminster says that the greater part of the followers of Ubbo joined Gothrum, and together with his troops ravaged the country.[11]

Lastly, it should be noticed that Asser ascribes the death of Ubbo to his having acted rashly *(perperam agens)*, though it is not easy to see anything in his narrative to justify the charge.

The explanation of these seemingly conflicting statements is to be found in the account which follows. About the 18th or 19th of March a Danish fleet of three-and-twenty ships was descried in the Bristol Channel coming from Wales. The beacons[12] on Quantock notified its approach. Forthwith the men from all the country around hastened to the appointed place of assembly. Odda, the Alderman of Devon, was ready at his post,[13] and Ælfred who was probably at Athelney, and certainly somewhere in the marshes at the time, was not long in joining

(11). "Maxima pars eorum per fugam elapsi ad Gytronem regem paganorum se contulerunt." Matth. West.

(12). Beacons in the days of Ælfred consisted of stacks of wood. They were called *dagunga*, and in later times *dawns*, from *dagian* to dawn, to spread light. King Edward III, in the eleventh year of his reign, ordered that there should be substituted high standards, with pitch-pans on the top of them. These were called Dawn trees. The family of Dauntre bore three such dawn trees on their escutcheon. (See Guillim's *Heraldry)*. Dundry tower, near Bristol, marks the site of a Dawn tree. Dunster is Dawns-tor—the beacon-tor. In connection with the Dawns or beacons, camps were established where the troops might assemble. These were termed Dawnsboroughs—a name not infrequently corrupted to Danesborough. The name of Beggars bush or Beggars huish, which is not uncommonly to be found in the neighbourhood of such places, is a corruption of Becker's-bush and Becker's huish—the hostelry or the dwelling of the beckers—the men who had charge of the beacons.

(13). His name is mentioned by Æthelward. He was probably at Taunton, that fortress guarding the entrance to Devonshire on the side whence an attack would be expected from the Danes coming from Chippenham. There is a Dawnsborough on the Quantock, and it is not at all improbable that it is the place where the troops assembled on this occasion, and marched from thence to oppose the landing of the Danes.

them. He anxiously watched the progress of the fleet, and when it became clear that they were making for the mouth of the Parret he led his men to the river to oppose the landing. Meanwhile Gothrum had left Chippenham and was marching to meet Ubbo, with the view of closing Ælfred between their two forces. The battle ensued, which is described by Brompton. Some of Gothrum's men must have arrived in time to take part in it, and it was probably the arrival of these reinforcements that turned the scale in favour of the Danes. The Saxons were defeated, and Ælfred with difficulty escaped being either killed or made prisoner. Of his followers who survived, the the greater number fled, in all probability to the Quantock, but Odda, the alderman, with some of the King's officers and men, veterans no doubt accustomed to this kind of warfare, took refuge in the Castle of Cynwit, now Cannington Park, which was close at hand. The Danes did not pursue the fugitives, but at once prepared to overrun and pillage the country. For this purpose the main body of the army crossed over to the right, or Somerset, side of the river, which offered the greatest amount of booty. But Ubbo, with a select band of followers, remained on the left bank to conduct in person the siege of the castle, thinking, no doubt that Ælfred was amongst those who had taken refuge within its enclosure, and so designing for him a martyrdom similar to that which only eight years previously he had inflicted on St. Edmund, King of the East Saxons.[14]

We shall now see how his failure was due to his having *acted rashly*. Immediately opposite the entrance on the east side of the camp on Cannington Park is a lower eminence, now worked as a quarry,[15] and near it are some springs. Here Ubbo planted

(14). The name of the leaders who slew the King were Hinguar and Hubba. Sax. Chron. 870.

(15). The men who work these quarries have found here many remains of bodies lying scattered immediately under the surface. By some they have been supposed to belong to followers of the Duke of Monmouth, who fled from the battle of Sedgmoor: possibly they are the bones of Danes, the followers of Ubbo.

his standard, and took up his position to watch the Saxons and prevent their gaining access to the water. He was in full sight of the main body of the army, which was encamped at about a mile's distance on the opposite bank of the river, so that by sounding his horn he could at any time summon reinforcements in case of need. One circumstance he failed to notice. The bed of the Parret, which at this spot is of considerable width, consists of deep alluvial mud which cannot be forded. This circumstance was well known to Odda and the men of Devon, and the sequence shows that they timed their attack so that it should take place when the tide was low. Their sudden and unexpected onslaught threw the Danes into confusion, but Ubbo thought soon to restore confidence by summoning his supports. Only then he discovered that he had rashly cut himself off from the army. The ships lay high and dry on the banks, and the mud rendered it impossible for the Danes on the opposite shore to ford the stream. They could hear the cries and witness the slaughter of their comrades, but they were powerless to render them any assistance. A panic ensued. Ubbo fell, bravely fighting and vainly endeavouring to rally his men. With him fell the greater part of the besiegers,[16] a few only, as Asser relates, escaping to the ships. Here under the protection of the archers on the opposite shore, they were safe from pursuit. But these were only a portion of the men who had followed Ubbo from Wales, the greater portion were on the opposite bank, and they, as Matthew of Westminster states, joined Gothrum.

The Alderman and his little troop did not tarry long on the spot. Long before the rising tide could float the Danish ships (within an hour, says the *Vita S. Neot*) they made good their

(16). The number of Danes slain is computed in the Chronicle at 840. This in any case must comprise not only those who were slain during the sortie from the fort, but those also who fell in the engagement which preceded it, when, as Brompton says, many were slain on either side. But the truth is that no great reliance can be placed on these numbers, for the field of battle having remained in possession of the Danes, it is not easy to see what means the Saxons could have had of counting the dead.

retreat to the Quantock. But first they stripped the bodies of Ubbo and the other chiefs of their rich armour and costly ornaments, and possessed themselves of the royal war-flag. These costly spoils they carried with them as trophies of their victory.

As soon as the tide floated their ships the Danes crossed over, and thus it came to pass, as Æthelward states, that "*in the end the Danes gained possession of the place where the victory had been won*" by the Saxons. But the victors were far away. Amongst the slain the Danes found the denuded body of their chief, and they gave him the honours of a royal funeral. With loud lamentations they bore his mangled remains to a spot on the shore near to his ships.[17] There they laid him in the ground, and raised over his remains a large pile of stones. Brompton says "They named it Ubbalowe, and it is in the county of Devon." The place, says Camden, "has ever since been known to our historians as Hubbaboro, or tumulus Hubbae," the mound of Hubba.

Does any vestige of it remain at this day? I have diligently sought for it. At the distance of about a mile from Combwich, on, what I call the Devonshire side of the river, at the corner of a field on the left hand side of the road, which leads from Stokeland Bristol to Stert, not far from the bank of the river, may be seen a large circular mound covered with turf and surrounded by a trench. Its appearance and position recalls the tombs of the Vikings lately discovered in Norway.[18] May not this be the mound of Ubbo? I have not found any evidence

(17). "Dani cadaver Uubbe, inter occisos invenientes, illud cum clamore maximo sepelierunt, cumulum apponentes, quem Hubbelowe vocaverunt: unde sic usque in hodiernum diem locus ille appellatus est, et est in comitatu Devoniae." Brompton.

(18). A very interesting account was published in 1872 at Christiana by Professor Ringwold, of the opening of one of these tombs. A ship had been dragged on shore, the body of the Viking had been laid in it, and a pile of stones raised over it, the whole was covered with turf. The ship in this instance was discovered in a very perfect condition. The question as to whether the mound near Stert is the mound of Ubbo, might perhaps be decided by exploring it: but this ought not to be attempted except under the direction of experienced archæologists.

of its ever having been known by the name of Hubbalowe or Hubbaboro, but at the distance of about a mile there is a farm called Upper Cock farm. *Cock* is a word still in use to signify a mound or hillock, when we speak of a *hay-cock*. *To cock* is *to set erect* or *raise on piles*. May not then *Upper-cock* be a corruption of *Ubba-coc*, the *mound of Ubba?*

The victory at Kenwith greatly raised the spirits of the English, but it had no immediate effect on the fortunes of the war. The Danes had lost one (perhaps more than one) of their chiefs and many of their comrades, but they retained all the advantages gained by their victory on the previous day. There was no English army to follow up Odda's success. The remainder of Ubbo's forces joined the army under Gothrum and spread themselves like locusts over the country, pillaging and burning all that came with their reach. They extended their raids as far as Glastonbury which they destroyed.[19]

Meanwhile, however, the news of Adda's victory was not long in reaching the ear of Ælfred, who having narrowly escaped death or capture in the previous engagement, had sought safety somewhere in the neighbourhood, probably on the Quantock. He lost no time in turning to account the enthusiasm to which this unexpected success had given birth amongst his officers and men. The plan of action he now formed was so bold in its conception and so successful in its execution, that his followers ever after ascribed it to a special inspiration from heaven. The Danes were encamped on the right of the Parret in the vale of Bridgwater: Ælfred conceived the idea of gaining possession of the heights of Polden hill in the rear and suddenly falling upon the enemy who would be shut up on every other side by the river and the marshes. But in order to carry out this plan he had to meet at the outset two formidable obstacles. 1st, an army had to be raised numerous, and well trained enough to cope

(19). "Splenduit locus usque ad Danorum sub Elfredo Rege adventum: tunc ut caetera desolatus, notas desideravit incolas. Porro quidquid turbo bellorum obtriverat, reparavit Dunstanus." Guil. Malms.

with the forces under Gothrum, and this had to be done without attracting the enemy's notice. 2ndly, the raising of such a force would require considerable time, and meanwhile it would be necessary to occupy the attention of the enemy, and detain him in his present position till the English army was ready for action. A matter of no small difficulty, for it was natural to suppose that in a very short time the Danes, after pillaging the country near Bridgwater, would proceed into the interior, in the direction either of Exeter or of Winchester, in order to complete the conquest of Wessex. Ælfred provided for both these difficulties. He commissioned some of his most trusted officers to call to arms all the men of Somerset, of Wilts, and of Hampshire[20] who had not fled the country from fear of the Danes, and to assemble them in groups in the towns and villages to the east of Selwood. This great forest and the marshes which lay to the west of it would screen the assembling forces from the observation of the Danes in the vale of Bridgwater. Moreover in order the better to secure secrecy, he occupied (says Wallingford) the towns in the hills and guarded the passes.[21]

The second and more difficult task of occupying the enemy's attention and detaining him in his present position till all was ready for action, Ælfred undertook to perform in person.[22] He chose for his companions a small body of men chiefly from amongst the nobles of Somerset: men acquainted with the

(20). Gaimer v. 3168, adds *Dorset*. The men of Devon are not mentioned, though many of those who had fled after the first defeat must have rejoined Odda on hearing of his success. It is probable that they were required to remain on Quantock, and at Taunton, to be ready in case Gothrum attempted to march on Exeter.

(21). "Receptis undique viribus, municipia occupavit montuosa, et loca transitu difficilia munivit, et viam hostibus interclusit." Walling. an. 878.

(22). Ælfred went to Athelney at Easter (March 23rd), only a few days after the death of Ubbo, which, as we have seen, must have taken place about March the 21st. The news could not have reached Ælfred so rapidly, nor could he have proceeded to fortify Athelney so shortly after, unless the event had taken place in the vicinity. This is a fresh proof that Ubbo landed and was slain not far from Athelney. Moreover the very choice of Athelney by Ælfred, as a place from which he could assail the Danes, shows that already at Easter the Danish army was in that neighbourhood.

country and the dangerous passes through the marshes. With them he repared to the island of Athelney, and so careful was he to guard against any chance of his secrets being betrayed to the enemy, that he would admit none into the island but nobles, or men entitled by their rank to sit as members of his household at the royal table—men on whose honour he could implicitly rely.[23] All the works which he undertook in the island were accomplished by the hands of these men. Hence it received the name of Æthelinga-igg, Clytonum insula, the island of the Æthelings or nobles.[24]

It is impossible here to do more than briefly to indicate the nature of the works undertaken by Ælfred in the island. The hillock, known at present as the island of Athelney, forms but a small portion of the island as it existed in the days of Ælfred.[25] This higher ground afforded pasture for a few cows, but the greater portion of the island, which extended as far as the conflux of the Tone and the Parret, and for a considerable distance down the right bank of the latter river, consisted of low, swampy ground, barely raised above the level of the surrounding waters, and covered by a forest of alders, giving shelter to deer and other game. Not far from the conflux of the two rivers, on the far side of the Parret, rises a steep, conical hill or *Stan*, whence the marsh derives its name of *Stan meer* (now Stanmoor). At the foot of this rock Ælfred threw a bridge across the Parret, and on the hill itself he built a fort, or entrenchment (which Asser praises for the elegance of its design[26]), whence the bridge

(23). "Nec aliae tunc ei adjutrices, excepto his qui regio pastu utebantur famulis." Æthelw. lib. iii.

(24). Æthelney has the same meaning. East-Ling, the name of the adjoining village, is a corruption of Ætheling or Æthelinga-igg.

(25). For the extent and features of the island I rely chiefly on the testimony of William of Malmesbury. The works are described by Asser as he saw them some years after their erection when he visited the monastery which Ælfred founded at Athelney. I have compared the localities as they exist at present with the descriptions of these writers.

(26). It probably consisted of three concentric rings rising one above the other and crowning the summit of the hill.

in after times derived its name of *Borough bridge*. This fort answered the double purpose of guarding the entrance to the island, and furnishing a look-out on the enemy and the surrounding country. From the foot of the *stan* a natural causeway, about a mile in length, stretched across the marsh to the high ground near Othery, whence access might be obtained to the vale of Bridgwater. It was mostly covered by water, and formed one of those dangerous passes known to the natives, which were practicable at certain seasons and at certain stages of the tide. This causeway Ælfred improved so as to render more easy the access to the main land, and at the far end of it he constructed another smaller fort as a protection. From this impregnable position Ælfred with his companions daily sallied forth to assail the Danes.[28] The object of these sorties was—1st. To abstract from the enemy and those who had submitted to their yoke, the food necessary for the support of himself and his companions. 2ndly. To draw the attention of the Danes away from Selwood, and make them believe that the English were gathering in force on the left bank of the Parret. This strategy met with complete success. Gothrum soon became aware that Ælfred was preparing for battle, though he was ignorant of the nature and extent of his preparations. "The enemy," writes Wallingford, "acted with no less caution on the other hand, and strained every nerve to meet the English successfully in the field. For this purpose Gothrum summoned from all parts the Danes who had settled in various places in England, and had occupied towns in the hills, ordering them to quit these and join the army, thus rushing headlong, and as it were advisedly into the snare. For he saw that there was danger in delay, as the King's army increased in strength every day. Wherefore he likewise drew together a large force, and prodigal of the lives of his men anxiously looked forward to the day of the conflict."

In seven weeks' time, that is to say by Whitsunday, the 11th of

(28). Both Asser and the Chronicle mention these sorties. Æthelward says they were *daily*. Lib. iii.

May, the officers were able to report to Ælfred that the English army east of Selwood was ready to take the field. "Then," writes Asser, "in the seventh week after Easter he rode to the Rock of Ægbryht (ad Petram Ægbryhta), which lies on the eastern side of the forest of Selwuda, in Latin *Sylva magna*, in British *Coitmaur*, and there all the inhabitants of Somerset and Wilton, and all those of the county of Hamtun who had not gone beyond sea through fear of the Pagans, came to meet him. And seeing the King they were duly filled with immense joy, and welcomed him as one who had come to life again after so many tribulations. Early at dawn of the following day, the King moving his camp came to a place called Æcglea and there he encamped one night. Next morning at daybreak moving thence his standard he came to the place called Ethandun, and bravely waging war against the whole Pagan army, protected by a dense covering of shields, after a long and stubborn conflict he with the Divine assistance gained the victory."

Each of the places mentioned by Asser requires our particular attention.

The forest of Selwood,[28] covered the high ground on the borders of Somerset and Wilts. Leland (circ. A.D. 1550) writes concerning it, "As it is now it is a 30 miles yn compace, and streacheth one way almost onto Warminstre, and another way onto the Quarters of Shaftesbury, by estimation a ten miles." The limits assigned to it by the royal commissioners who perambulated the boundaries in the reign of Edward I, substantially agree with those mentioned by Leland.[29] Probably in the days of Ælfred they were much wider.

Leaving Athelney, Ælfred with some of his officers traversed

(28). Simon of Durham calls it Mycel-wudu, which really means "the Great wood," like the Latin and British names given by Asser, whereas Selwudu or Seal-wudu means Willow-wood. Probably its full name was Mycel-seal-wudu, the Great-willow-wood, but it was called for brevity sake the Great wood, by the Romans and Britons—and the Willow-wood by the Saxons. And this is all in fact that Asser states.

(29.) See Collinson's *Somerset*, and Phelps.

this forest, and after a ride of over thirty miles he came early in the morning to the Rock of Ecgbryht, or Egbert. *(Ecgbryhtes-stane. Sax. Chron.)* "Brixton Deveril," writes Sir Richard Hoare, "was undoubtedly the Petra Ægbryhta of Asser." The position of this village east of Selwood, and the resemblance between Brixton and Ecgbryhtes-stane or Egbricht-stan, has led most historians to adopt this view. But though I readily admit Brixton to be a corruption of Ægbryhtes-stane, the following reasons seem to show that Brixton-Deveril does not mark the site of the Rock of Egbert. 1st, Five villages in the same valley bear the name of Deveril, and they are distinguished from each other by an adjunct taken from some neighbouring object or circumstance. (Hill-Deveril, Monkton Deveril, etc.) All therefore that we have a right to assume is, that the Rock of Egbert, from which Brixton-Deveril derives its distinctive name, was somewhere in that neighbourhood. 2ndly, From the pointed way in which Asser calls attention to the meaning of Ecgbryhtes-stane it seems natural to conclude that it stood on a rock or eminence. Brixton-Deveril lies by a stream in the valley. 3rdly, The country east of Selwood abounds in military camps: is it probable that Ælfred would have chosen in preference to any one of these for assembling his troops a retired village offering no military advantage whatever? Ecgbryhtes-stane is spoken of in the *Vita S. Neot* as of well-known celebrity.[30] 4th, Ælfred went to Ecgbryhtes-stane to raise his standard and summon to it from all the country around the men who had been assembling in the towns and villages during the past seven weeks. The scene is thus described in the *Vita S. Neot*:—"Having reached the place known to us by the famous name of Egbricht-stan, which signifies the Rock of Egbricht, they reined their horses, and sounded their warlike instruments to notify the arrival of the King. The shrill voice of the trumpets proclaimed the news far and wide, and on hearing the summons

(30). "Ad locum pervenientes quem Egbricht-stan celebri novimus designatum vocabulo." *Vita S. Neot.*

countless numbers flocked to them in the course of that day." This description implies some lofty eminence commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country, and such a place the famous Rock of Egbert must have been.

I recognise it in an ancient encampment of extraordinary strength situated on the brow of a steep and lofty promontory, at a few miles distance from Brixton-Deveril, known at this day by the name of Whit-Sheet-Castle. Two ancient roads, one British, the other the Roman road to Sarum, pass in its immediate vicinity, whilst all around it are to be seen numerous mounds and ancient remains, which clearly indicate that the place was of great importance even before the days of Ælfred. The view from its walls extends over a vast plain studded with towns and villages, and minor camps crown several of the neighbouring heights. This I believe to be the true Rock of Egbert, and I think it probable that not only Brixton-Deveril, but also Kingston-Deveril and Hill Deveril, derive their distinctive appellations from this famous stronghold.[31] From this commanding position Ælfred unfurled his standard and proclaimed his presence by sound of trumpet, and thither all the men flocked to him from the towns and villages around during the course of the day. The assembled forces slept that night on the heights round Ecgbryhtesstane, and early next morning Ælfred began his march to surprise the enemy. At evening he pitched his camp at a place called *Æcglea* or *Iglea.*

All attempts to identify this locality have hitherto failed. It is supposed that it must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Westbury. But the first step towards the identification of Iglea is to ascertain where the enemy was encamped that Ælfred was marching to attack, for Iglea lay on his line of march. Now the army over which Ælfred gained the victory at

(31). Two other points of this same hill on which the castle stands bear the names of Kingston down (Cynges-stane-dun, the hill of the King's rock) and King's hill.

Æthandune was no other than the one against which he had been fighting for the last seven weeks in the neighbourhood of Athelney. The testimony of the Chronicle is conclusive on this point. "At Easter King Ælfred raised a fort at Æthelinga-igg, from which he assailed *the army* .... then in the seventh week he went to Ecgbryhtes-stane .... thence to Iglea .... and thence to Æthandune: and there he fought with all *the army.*" Ælfred's whole efforts had been directed towards detaining this army in the neighbourhood of Athelney till his own forces were assembled, and now that they were ready for action he led them to attack it. It was the army led by Gothrum, which had been at Chippenham, but had since moved to meet Ubbo in the vale of Bridgwater, whither, as we have seen, Gothrum had now summoned the Danes from all parts of England to join him in attacking Ælfred whom he believed to be occupying Athelney in force.

This is further confirmed by Asser's account of the events which followed the battle of Æthandune. The Danes, he says, after their defeat took refuge in a neighbouring fort, and when they capitulated Gothrum and the other chiefs presented themselves to Ælfred at Alre which is near Athelney. It follows that the fort, and consequently Æthandune, as well as Alre and Athelney, were all in the same neighbourhood. Here therefore, in the vale of Bridgwater, not near Westbury in Wilts, the Danes were encamped when Ælfred came upon them: in this direction did he march from Ecgbryhtes-stane, and in this direction must Iglea be sought for. It is described in the *Vita S. Neot* as a spacious plain on the skirts of a willow wood, and covered by marshes in its front. It was at the distance of a day's march from the Rock of Egbert. It was so near the Danish camp that, by starting at dawn next day, the King was able at an early hour to gain possession of the heights commanding the enemy's position, yet so situated that the whole English army were able to encamp there without attracting the notice of the Danes.

The plain at the foot of Glastonbury Tor answers this description in every respect. In this plain is a village called in modern maps Edgar-lea,[32] but in the old map in *Dugdale's Monasticon* Egerly: the inhabitants so pronounce its name to this day. It is distant some 18 miles from the Rock of Egbert, in front of it lies Pennant moor, once a marsh, and at its rear is Pennard hill formerly no doubt covered with wood. All view of the Bridgwater valley is shut out by the ridge of Polden hill, but, from the adjoining height of the Tor, Ælfred might see Athelney and the distant fires of the Danish camp. Here Ælfred allowed his men to rest the night after their long day's march. "On the following morning at daybreak he moved his standard and came to the place called Æthandune."

At the distance of about 8 miles west from Iglea on the north side of the ridge of Polden hill, lies the village of Edington, immediately above which the hill reaches its highest elevation, and a bold promontory projects towards the south facing Athelney, and commanding an extensive view of the marshes and the vale of Bridgwater. This (not Eddington in Wilts) is the Æthandune of Asser, the site of Ælfred's most memorable victory. The possession of this promontory had formed all along the object of all his plans and wishes. He had anxiously watched it from Athelney to which it stands directly opposite, knowing what an advantage it would be to the enemy if they forestalled him in taking possession of it.[33] Having at length secured it he held the key of the position, for the Danes in the valley were now closed in on all sides by the river, the marshes, and these heights.

(32). The real name of the place I believe to be Iglea as it appears in the Chronicle, or Ægclea as in Asser, and as the country people still call it: meaning the lea or pasture of the island (*i.e.* of Glastonbury), from Ig or Aege, an island, and Leah, a pasture or field. Edgar-lea is probably a modern attempt to connect the name of the village with King Edgar, whose remains were buried at Glastonbury.

(33). "Anticipavit montem, hostibus nimis aptum si praecavissent." Walling. p. 538. "Deposita seriatim acie, proximum anticipaverunt promontorium." *Vita S. Neot.*

The question has been mooted whether Ælfred took Gothrum by surprise. The truth is that the capture of the heights in his rear was a surprise: the battle itself was not so. The Danish army was prepared for battle,[34] only they expected to meet their enemy in the opposite direction. The English from the heights watched their movements,[35] they uttered loud cries of defiance,[36] but waited in their strong position the enemy's approach. It was Gothrum, not Ælfred, that commenced the attack. Enraged, but not daunted, at seeing himself out-generalled, the Danish chief addressed his followers calling on them not to fear an enemy they had so repeatedly vanquished, and then placing them in order of battle, moved forward to carry the position of the English.[37] Many interesting incidents of the battle have been recorded by various writers. It began at noon[38] and lasted for several consecutive hours. It was not confined to one spot, but raged for a long distance along the ridge, the cries of the combatants being heard for miles around. Positions were alternately lost and won, and for a considerable length of time the issue seemed doubtful. Ælfred, who to his followers seemed more than mortal, was everywhere present restoring confidence and inspiring fresh courage in his men. At length Gothrum led in person a vigorous attack on the high promontory which formed the key of Ælfred's position. The Danes advanced in order, under a dense covering of their shields, supported by their archers. They were met by discharges from the English

(34). "Venit cum immenso exercitu ad locum qui dicitur Adderandun, quo juxta Paganorum immensas phalangas invenit ad bellum paratas." Simon Dunelm.

(35). "Hinc hostium explorabant occursum." *Vita S. Neot.*

(36). "Audacter provocabant infideles ad bellum." Simon Dunelm.

(37). "Cum adversus antea devictos crebris exhortationibus animasset ad pugnam, protinus juxta morem suum acies disposuerunt, ad locum certaminis castra moventes." *Vita S. Neot.*

(38). "E lendemain a hure de none
Donc sunt venuz a Edensdone." *Norman Rhyming Chronicle*, v. 3189.
"Animoseque et diu persistens." Asser.

"Commiserunt bellum per longa tempora diei utrique populi, quorum voces et collisiones armorum per longa spatia terrarum audita sunt." Simon Dunelm.

bowmen:[39] then, when they neared the heights, the English soldiers sprung from the ground where they had been lying[40] and charged down on them with their spears. A hand to hand fight ensued, but the Danes in the end broke and fled. Gothrum, unable to rally them, hastened to take refuge in a neighbouring fort, and the Danes all along the range seeing the flight of their chief fled also, closely pursued by the English. Gothrum, fearing lest the victors should enter with the fugitives, caused the gates of the fortress to be closed,[41] leaving many of his followers outside to the mercy of their enemies.

"Ælfred fought bravely," writes Asser, "against the whole army of the Danes, protected by a dense covering of shields, and having after a long and stubborn conflict, by the Divine assistance, gained the victory, he overthrew the Pagans with great slaughter, and striking the fugitives he pursued them to their fort, and all that he found outside the fort, men and horses and cattle, he cut off, killing the men forthwith. Then with the whole of his army he boldly pitched his camp before the gates of the Pagan fortress. And when he had remained there fourteen days, the Pagans overcome by hunger and cold and fear, driven at last to despair, sued for peace on the following terms: That the King should chose from among them by name any number of hostages he pleased, without giving any in return; on which terms they had never before made peace with any one. The King listened to their message, and moved by his innate mercy, took from them as many hostages as he chose to designate by name. This done, the Pagans further made oath that they would depart from his kingdom without delay. Moreover, Gothrum their King, promised to become a Christian and to receive baptism under King Ælfred: all which things Gothrum and his followers performed according to promise.

(39). See the account in the *Vita S. Neot.*

(40). "Surgentes a solo." Simon Dunelm.

(41). "Ad eam quam primo firmaverant arcem (Aluredus) eos ovanter insequutus est." *Vita S. Neot.* *Firmare*, in low Latin, is *to shut*, like the Italian *fermare*, and the French *fermer*.

For after seven weeks Gothrum, the Pagan King, together with thirty of the principal men of his army, came to Ælfred at the place called Alre, and King Ælfred adopting him as his son stood sponser for him at the sacred font of baptism, and his Chrysom-leasing took place on the 8th day, at the royal villa called Wedmore. After his baptism he remained with the King twelve nights, and the King with great liberality bestowed upon him and his followers many and very valuable presents."

It remains for us to inquire where the fortress stood in which Gothrum and the Danes took refuge after their defeat. Unfortunately no writer has mentioned it by name. That it was either a fortress or walled town, and not an intrenched camp like Cynwith Castle or Bratton Castle, (which latter place is commonly adopted by those who suppose the battle to have taken place near Westbury in Wilts) is evident from two circumstances. 1st, It was provided with gates,[42] which were shut against the victors. 2ndly, The Danish army consisting of several thousand men were able to stand a siege of a fortnight within its walls. This would have been impossible in an open camp without water. Like Odda, with his men at Cynwith, the Danes would have been obliged either to cut their way through their besiegers, or to surrender after a short delay. As regards the position of the fort, though it was in the neighbourhood of Æthandune, still it was at some little distance therefrom, for the Chronicle says that Ælfred *rode* after the fugitives to the fort. Moreover it was situated, not like Bratton Castle on *a hill*, but in *the plain*, for the Danes having failed to carry the heights fled to the plain. Lastly, Asser speaks of it as *the Pagan fortress* (Paganica Arx), an expression which seems to imply that it had served as head quarters to the Pagan army during the time they had been encamped in that neighbourhood, a surmise which derives further support from the

(42). "Ad *portas* paganicae arcis . . . . castramentatus est." Asser. "Ad eam quam primo *firmaverant* arcem, eos ovanter insequutus est." *Vita S. Neot.*

fact that the English found outside it large herds of cattle and horses: the booty in all probability collected by the Danes from the country round.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, I am inclined to think that Bridgwater was most probably the fort or walled town in which the Danes took refuge. It lies in the plain, and is distant about five miles from the heights above Edington, but scarcely two from the nearest point of Polden hill. There was a bridge across the Parret at this point in Ælfred's days, for it was on the high road to Ina's strong fortress at Taunton; and a bridge had most probably existed there since the days of the Romans. A bridge generally implied a station or town of some kind. In *Doomsday* we find Brydge named amongst the possessions of Walter de Douay. From him it seems to have derived the name of Bridge-Walter or Bridgwater, as it is now called. Prior to his time it was called simply Brydge, which again seems a likely translation of "Ad Pontem," a not uncommon name for a Roman station. As in later times Bridgwater possessed a castle, so it probably was a fortified place even in the days of Ælfred. The Danes having landed at Combwich, Bridgwater would have been a convenient place for them to occupy, both as a depôt for their plunder, and as the head-quarters of their army when preparing to attack Ælfred at Athelney, or to force their way by Taunton to Exeter. Hence, though it is not possible to speak with certainty, no writer having mentioned the fortress by name, I know not of any other place in the neighbourhood which seems more likely to have been the refuge of the Danish army than the town of Bridgwater.

Note on the Western Boundary of Somerset.

It will be necessary to offer here some remarks concerning the origin of the western boundary of Somerset as it exists in the present day, at some considerable distance beyond the Parret. The province of Damnonia under the Romans extended

from Land's End to the Parret. (See Poste's *Britannic Researches*, b. 11, c. 1.) Between this river and Glastonbury the country was full of marshes and lakes, the waters of which communicated with the sea, and were affected by the tides. These were called, in the language of the Saxons, Seo-meres, or sea lakes; from Seo, the sea, and Mere, a lake. The inhabitants who dwelt in the islands, and in the neighbouring country, were called Seo-mere-setas, or dwellers-by-the-sea-lakes. The country itself was called Seo-mere-set or Somerset, the district of the sea-lakes. As Somerset is a name of Saxon origin, it cannot have belonged to the country prior to the Saxon invasion; and inasmuch as Cenwealh, in the year 658, made the Parret the western boundary of his kingdom, there can be no reason for supposing that at that period any portion of the country west of the Parret bore the Saxon name of Somerset. It still remained Damnonia. As the West-Saxon kings pursued their conquests, each new portion of British territory which they occupied was annexed to the kingdom of Wessex, but it did not on that account become part of Somerset. It went to form the shire of Defnescire. Moreover, at no period that we are acquainted with, did the present boundary line of Somerset mark the limits of a Saxon occupation; hence we cannot account for it by supposing it to have formed at one time the boundary of Wessex. We are therefore forced to seek for some other explanation. The probability is that the boundary was removed from the Parret to its present position by Ælfred himself, some years later than the period we are now treating of, in connexion with those measures which he is known to have adopted for the defence of the country against the Danes. "The shires," writes Lingard, "owe their origin to different princes, who divided the country as necessity might require or policy suggest." So it happened in this instance. By the military regulations of those days, the defence of the sea coast was intrusted in each of the maritime counties to the alderman of the county. The sea-board along the Bristol Channel, from

Porlock to Clevedon, was in a special manner open to piratical incursions, and the mouth of the Parret offered convenient anchorage for a hostile fleet. It was evidently a source of great weakness for the defence of this line of seaboard to be divided between two separate commands; more especially as the line of demarcation between the two jurisdictions occurred at the very spot where unity of command and prompt action was most likely to be required. But in addition to these motives of public safety, the question was one of great personal interest to Ælfred. A large portion of his family estates was spread along this coast, on both sides of the Parret, from Carhampton to Cheddar (as we learn from his Will), and in case of invasion, these estates would be amongst the first to suffer. Thus every consideration of public policy and private interest pointed to the expediency of placing the whole of that line of coast under one command, and this necessitated such a change in the limits of the two shires as would bring the whole of the sea-board under the jurisdiction of the Alderman of Somerset. Accordingly we find that the present boundaries of Somerset extend so far west as to take in the whole of the low coast, and to include the whole of Ælfred's property beyond Carhampton. They also include the town of Taunton. In the days of Ælfred this stronghold was no longer needed to keep the Britons in check (for which purpose it had been built by Ina), but it was conveniently placed as a residence for the alderman charged with the defence of the coast along the Bristol Channel. It is therefore probable, that at the same time that the new boundaries were fixed, the head place of the shire was removed from Somerton to Taunton.

The Honor of Odcomb and Barony of Brito.

BY T. BOND.

THE extinction of manors and the minute sub-division of lands, which in recent times have resulted from the richness of the soil of Somersetshire and increasing wealth and industry, precludes the possibility of tracing the devolution of landed property in this county to the extent which has been practicable in the adjoining county of Dorset, where the work was commenced at an earlier period, and where estates have been far less broken up and sub-divided than with us. But much material has been preserved from which an early history of many of the land baronys of the county might, though with much labour, be worked out, and a series of such notices in the pages of this journal would form a valuable foundation for a general topographical history of the county. In furtherance of this idea I now offer a few particulars relating to the earliest owners of Trent, by way of addenda to Mr. Batten's interesting account of that manor (vol. xx, p. 113).

The family of Brito, Le Breton, or Bret, alluded to by Mr. Batten as possessing Trent at the Domesday Survey and for some generations afterwards, were territorial barons, and the head of their barony was Odcomb, near Montacute, in this county.

Amongst the numerous military adventurers who flocked from different parts of France to the standard of William, Duke of Normandy on the invasion of England, many came from the adjoining province of Britany, and Alain Fergant, son of Hoel, Earl of Bretagne, is said to have brought with him 5000 Bretons. Ansger, the founder of the baronial family of Brito, or Le Breton, no doubt acquired that sirname from

having come from that province, and he most probably was so called to distinguish him from other Ansgers, such as Ansger Cocus, and Ansger Fouver, who are also mentioned as landowners in Somersetshire at the Domesday Survey. Ansger Brito, however, was also sometimes known by the name of Ansgerus de Montagud, but whether he was related to Drogo de Montagud, the patriarch of the distinguished house of Montacute, or whether he originally resided at Montacute adjoining Odcomb, and was so called from his place of residence, it is now impossible to ascertain. Certain it is, however, that the name of De Montagud was not long retained.

Baronial courts were usually held at the castle or mansion at which the baron or lord of the honor generally resided, and thus such residence became the head of the barony. And though the lord or baron may afterwards have removed to some other place, or have alienated his honor or barony, yet the manors or knights' fees which were held of a chief lord were considered to be so held, not simply of him personally, but of him "as of his honor of so and so," meaning the head of the barony, or the place where the courts were originally held. There can be no doubt therefore that at one time Odcomb was the chief residence of the Le Bretons in Somerset.

Ansger obtained grants of numerous lordships in Somerset, Devon, and Dorset, the aggregate of which, or of a great part of them, constituted the land barony which in the 12th century was called the barony of Walter Brito, being held by the peculiar military tenure, called tenure by barony. By the name of Ansgerus de Montagud he is mentioned in *Domesday Book* as holding of the king in chief, Prestetune in Somersetshire; and by the simple name of Ansgerus he held of the king Staford, Toriton, Bremelcom, Cadeledone, Mochelesberie, Suetetone, Duveltone, and Gatecombe, in Devonshire. He also held many manors of the Earl of Moreton, viz., Isle (Isle Brewers), Trente, Udecome (Odcomb), Aldeforde, Hundeston, Lochestone, Aisse, Torne, and Stantune in Somerset, Bocheland, Potiford, Buches-

worde, and Smitheham in Devonshire, and two manors in Cerne, and one in Sidelince (Sydling) in Dorsetshire. In Devonshire he also held Bocheland, Ringedone, Filelei, Neutone, and Wadeston, of Baldwin the sheriff. By the name of Ansgerus Brito he was one of the attesting witnesses to the charter of William, Earl of Moreton, founding the Priory of Montacute, in the time of King Henry I.[1]

King William Rufus confirmed to the monks of Bermondsey the gift of Walter, son of Ansger, of two hides in Estanes, and King Henry I confirmed the gift of Preston by Ansger Brito, and of two hides in Stane, given by Walter his son.[2] Dugdale says Ansgerus was then a knight of Wynebald de Baalun, but we have met with no original evidence of his having held lands of a superior lord of that name.

In 4 Henry II, 1158, Odcumbe was in lease from the King, and the Sheriff of Somerset accounted for 60s. for its ferm.[3] In 7 Henry II, 1161, it had been restored to the family, and Roger Brito paid £20 to the King's Exchequer for fifteen knights' fees in Somerset. He was probably son of Walter Brito, but it is certain that Walter had another son named William, who held two knights' fees and a half in Sidling in Dorset, of the Abbey of Milton, in the time of Roger, Bishop of Sarum, viz., between 1102-3, 3 Henry I and 1139, 4 Stephen.[4]

Roger Brito was suceeeded by a second Walter, about 11 Henry II, for in that year the latter owed 300 marks for the relief of his lands, but no portion of it seems to have been then paid. He was no doubt son of either Walter or Roger. In the following year he again accounted for the same sum, viz., for £200, and paying £26 13s. 4d. he left £173 6s. 8d. still owing, which he continued to discharge by annual instalments till 24 Henry II, when he paid £9 13s. 1d., leaving £18 0s. 4d. still due on the same account.[5] On the assessment of the great aid levied by King Henry II, by virtue of his royal prerogative for marrying his eldest daughter Matilda to Henry

(1). Dugdale's *Monasticon.* (2). Ibid.
(3). Lib. Rub. (4). Lib. Nig. (5). Mag. Rot.

the Lion, Duke of Saxony, Walter Brito, amongst the barons of Somersetshire, acknowledged that he owed to the King in chief the service of fifteen knights. The names of the knights who held the fees of him were as follows, viz., Roger Fitz Milo, Robert de Valletorta, Rafe de Lega, and William Brito, one knight's fee each; Robert de Stanton, William Fossard, and Alexander Fitz Warine, two fees each. Gilbert Torna, if he could have his whole fee, would have owed the service of two knights. Roger de Bulkewrthe, Robert Bastard, and Geoffry de Cnolton, half a fee each. In addition to which Walter himself held one knight's fee in demesne. All these, or their ancestors, were enfeoffed before the death of King Henry I, and all the fees were what were termed small fees of the Earldom of Moreton, three of which were only equal to two ordinary knights' fees.[6] In 13 and 14 Henry II, Walter Brito owed 18s. 4d. scutage for the army in Wales, and in the following year, by the name of "Walter Brit," he paid £6 5s. 0d., for fifteen knights' fees of the honor of Moreton. In the 18 Henry II, he accounted for £9 7s. 6d. for fifteen fees then described as fifteen fees of Montacute. In 22 Henry II he accounted for 40 marks for an amercement, and the following year he had his quietus for the same. In 24 Henry II he was still paying off the debt of his relief as above mentioned, and he owed £18 0s. 4d. for the scutage of Ireland.[7] After this his condition and that of his family are for some years rather involved in obscurity. In 25 Henry II his debt of £17 0s. 3d. for the residue of his relief, and 18s. 9d. for the scutage of Ireland, are still entered in the sheriff's roll, but nothing seems to have been paid. The sheriff, however, accounted for £7 15s. 8d. for corn sold from the land of Walter Briton, and it is thus evident that his barony must then have been in the hands of the Crown. He may therefore either have lately died leaving a son a minor, or else he may have committed a forfeiture for which his barony had escheated to

(6). Lib. Niger. (7). Mag. Rot.

the King; or possibly he may have been found "*non compos mentis.*" Whichever was the case his lands were soon after acquired by William Torel, in whose hands they are found in 28 Henry II, and who then and in the three succeeding years accounts for the debt of Walter Brito, but nothing is entered as paid.[8] This William Torel seems to have been identical with William Torel, of Torels Hall, in Little Thurock in Essex, an estate which continued in his family from the time of Henry II to that of Henry VIII.[9] In 32 Henry II, William Torel is said to be dead, and the King again had the lands of Walter Brito in his own hands. He continued to hold them till 7 Richard I when we again find them in possession of a Walter Brito, who then owed £13 6s. 11d. for his relief. He paid £3 3s. 4d., and left £10 3s. 7d. still owing. The smallness of this sum, as compared with the £200 which was due for the relief of the same lands in 11 Henry II, and its so nearly amounting to the sum still remaining due on the payment of the last instalment in 25 Henry II, affords some ground for conjecture that it was in reality a part of the same debt, and if so Walter Brito may have forfeited his barony and been restored to it in 7 Richard I. But on the other hand it is seen by evidence referred to by Mr. Batten that Walter Croc had both a grandfather and an uncle named Walter Brito, which is consistent with a supposition that the Walter of 7 Richard I was son and heir of the Walter of 25 Henry II, and brother of the mother of Walter Croc.

During the period that the barony was in the King's hands the sheriff, in 32 Henry II, received and accounted for the issues of the lands which were William Torels, of the fee of Walter Briton, and in 33 Henry II, in his account of the scutage of the barons of Dorset and Somerset who did not accompany the King in his expedition to Galwei, he enters £9 7s. 6d. for the scutage of fifteen knights' fees of Moreton, of the honour which was Walter Brits (*qui fuit Walteri Brit*). In the same and

(8). Mag. Rot. (9). Morant's *History of Essex*, I. 227.

following years on the tallage of the King's demesnes and of the lands which were in the King's hands in Somerset, he reckons £3 9s. 1d. of Yla and of Odecumba, which were William Torel's.[10]

In 8 and 9 Richard I, Walter Brito continued to discharge his debt for the relief, but the latter is the last time he is noticed, and he therefore no doubt died about this time. After the death of the last named Walter Brito the inheritance of the barony fell to his coheirs, viz., Walter Croc his nephew and Richard de Hescecumbe or Hattecumbe, which latter was probably son of Alice Brito, sister of Annora, mother of Walter Croc. The descendants of this Richard seem to have assumed the sirname of Bret, or else their heiress married a person of that name, for Stephen le Bret was the descendant and heir of Alice, daughter of Walter Brito, and on an inquisition taken after the death of Johanna Bruere, in 49 Henry III, the jury say that she held Odecumbe, Yle, and Milverton in dower. They know of no heirs of the reversion of the manors of Odecumbe and Yle, except the Brets, who had been of Hescecumbe *(qui fuerant de Hescecumbe)* which manors were alienated by the power of Sir William Bruyere the elder *(per potestatem Domini Willielmi Bruyere veterioris)*.[11] This expression shows that the alienation was by no means voluntary on the part of the coheirs, and it is quite consistent with the accounts we read elsewhere of the rapacity and tyranny of this powerful and wealthy noble. Amongst the fees of William Briwerr of the honour of Odecumbe in Somerset, were Bocland, Putteford, Bulkeworth, Sutton, and Uppecoth in Devonshire.[12] In 12 and 13 John, Richard Briwere held fifteen fees of the land of Walter Brito, of the honor of Hattecomb (Odcomb).[13]

As regards the branch of the family of Brito which settled in Dorsetshire, it is related in the Black Book of the Exchequer that during a vacancy of the Abbey of Milton the custody of

(10). Mag. Rot. (11). Inq. p.m. 49 Henry III no. 5.
(12). Testa de Nevill. (13). Lib. Rub.

the abbey was committed by Henry I to Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, for five years. During that period the bishop converted a tenement, consisting of two hides and a half, and held by William, son of Walter, from a "feodum censuale" into a knight's fee, but it was afterwards restored to its original tenure, and it so continued in 12 Henry II, when it was held by William Brito, the heir of William, son of Walter. A "feodum censuale" differed materially in its nature from a knight's fee, for while the latter owed military service, the former was merely charged with an annual tax or quit rent to the church, or monastery, and sometimes certain other non-military services, in return for which the owner was entitled to the protection of the church. The fee just mentioned was probably at Sydling St. Nicholas,[14] but the manor in Sydelince, which was held by Ansgerus at the Domesday Survey, seems to have been in Upsidling, for on the collection of the aid granted on the marriage of Isabella, sister of King Henry III, to the Emperor Frederic II, the collectors account for 16s. 8d. for one fee of Morton, in Upsitling, of the fee of Odecumbe.[15] William Briton, of Sidlis (Sydling), died about 2 John, for in that year Brian de Insula gave to the King 120 marks, and one palfrey to have the custody and marriage of his children, with all their inheritance.[16] Thomas Brito was his son and heir, and on the partition of the knight's fees of William Briwere amongst his co-heirs, one fee in Sidelich, co. Dorset, then held by Thomas le Breton, was allotted to Margaret de Assertis.[17] Thomas le Breton married Alice, one of the co-heirs of Brian de Insula, and had for her fortune the manor of Stardeclive in the county of Derby.[18]

The Brets of Sandford Bret, co. Somerset, were probably a branch of this family. Collinson (III 543) shows them to have

(14). See further notice of this in Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, 3rd edition, vol. iv. p. 496, communicated by the writer of the present article.

(15). Testa de Nevill. (16). Rot. de oblatis.

(17). Testa de Nevill.

(18.) Fin. Conc. Devers Cos., 19 Henry III, no. 65.

been descended from Simon Bret, whom he considers to be identical with Simon Brito, who in 12 Henry II, held half a fee of William de Moun. There is no doubt that the Brets of Maperton in Dorsetshire were of the same family as this Simon, for, in 9 Richard I, Henry le Bret owed in Dorset 100s. to have right respecting one fee in Maperton against Simon le Bret.[19] Collinson says that Simon Bret had a son Richard whom he considers identical with Richard Brito, notorious as one of the murderers of Thomas a' Becket. If such is the case it is remarkable that, of the four knights who participated in that foul deed, three of them, viz., Reginald Fitz Urse, Hugh de Morevil, and Richard Brito were connected with Somersetshire. But I have met with no contemporary evidence to connect Richard Brito with this family or this county. The Pipe Rolls are silent respecting him.

Contemporary with the Britos of Somerset, other distinguished families of the same name flourished in Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

(19). Mag. Rot.

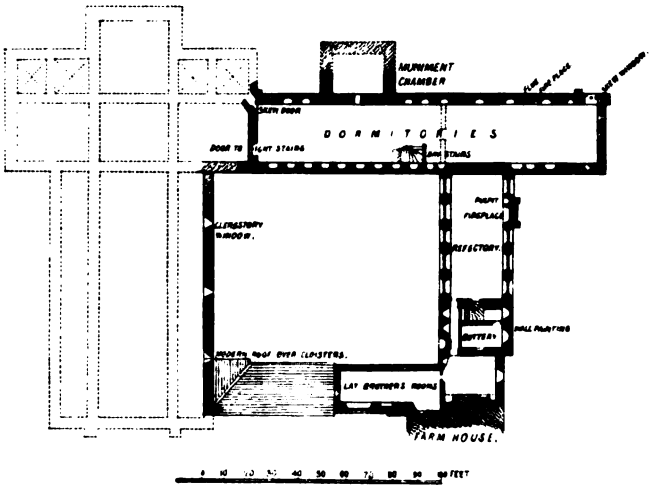
St. Mary's Abbey, Old Cleeve:

An account of some recent discoveries made at Cleeve Abbey.

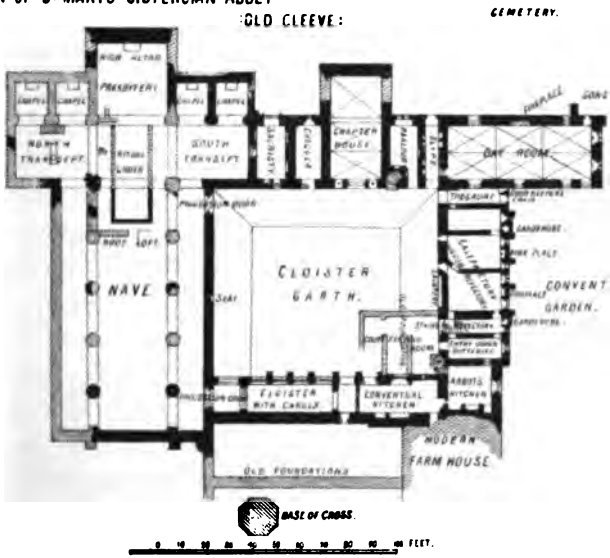
BY MR. C. H. SAMSON.

I ACCOMPANIED the Rev. Mackenzie Walcott, Precentor of Chichester, to these interesting ruins for the purpose of making a plan of what he considered to be the remains of the church, which until now has been a matter of doubt to many who have visited the spot and written upon the subject. The owner of the property, G. F. Luttrell, Esq., of Dunster Castle, who takes the keenest interest in the matter, at once placed a gang of labourers at our disposal, and in a short time the most important parts of the foundations of walls and columns were exposed to view. I send with this communication a plan of the whole of the buildings, both ecclesiastical and domestic, and the following explanation taken principally from the notes of Mr. Walcott. The church was 161 feet in length, of the purest Cistercian type, consisting of a nave of five bays, with aisles 100 feet by 58 feet 6 inches, a central tower, a transept of 95 feet by 40 feet, with two eastern chapels 13 feet 6 inches square in each wing, and a short eastern presbytery 29 feet by 17 feet without aisles. The pillars of the nave were round; a beautifully-moulded base nearly perfect was discovered in place, and, like the rest of the stonework found, there was no trace whatever to be seen on the surface of the ground of what lay beneath; here and there were indications of masonry, but on examination they only proved to be masses of fallen walls; portions of three other bases were found in their places. The aisles were 11 feet wide, and the central alley 30 feet. A portion of the foundations can be seen on which the stalls and rood

:PLAN OF S: MARY'S CISTERCIAN ABBEY:
:OLD CLEEVE:

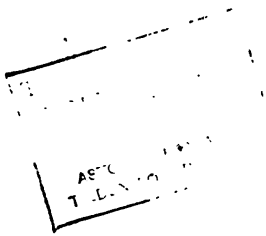


:PLAN OF S: MARY'S CISTERCIAN ABBEY
:OLD CLEEVE:



JEFFERIES, LITH BRISTOL

C. H. SAMSON. ARCHT DUNSTER.



screen stood, the space enclosed is 14 feet by 12 feet 6 inches, and is partly covered with encaustic tiles, evidently on the proper floor level, although not as they were originally laid; a portion of this space is under a huge piece of fallen wall. A large quantity of encaustic tile paving has been found, either dug up out of the earth or built into modern walls, as well as several large patches lying in their original place undisturbed, and in beautiful patterns; the tiles are richly ornamented. There seem to be as many as fifty varieties—heraldic, geometric, and fanciful designs in various colours, black and white, red and white, glazed green, and yellow. Among the heraldic tiles are the arms of Mohun, Clare, Raleigh, Poyntz, Trivet or Treble, Sydenham, Bardolf, Cary, Peverell, Fitz Nicholas, Beauchamp, Furneaux, Palton, Boteler, Montacute, Audley, Aylesford, and Brideport, besides three other arms unknown. Many of these families held lands in the county, and under the Mohuns. Some of the tiles bear capital letters, and nearly the whole alphabet has been found. Many of the same patterns were found in the old chancel of Dunster church. The walls of the south aisle of nave remain, with traces of the two processional doors, and three windows about three feet wide between the inside splays, and about fourteen feet from the floor level; they are at present walled up, and no traces of the outer faces are visible. The west and south walls of the transept also are standing, with a portion of an eastern aisle chapel, 13 feet 6 inches square, with part of a piscina, remains of a vaulting rib, and the foundations of the altar; there are remains of clerestory windows in the south wing. The western jamb of the eastern cloister door remains, with a portion of the outer arch, and the springer of the inner arch. The south wall of transept shows the central door into the sacristy. The cloistral and domestic buildings have already been the subject of an elaborate paper by the late Rev. F. Warre. I need, therefore, merely describe the subsequent discoveries made while clearing out some of the rubbish which has accumulated during the time the buildings

were used as a farm homestead, which is now, happily, no longer the case; in a short time Mr. Luttrell intends to remove the modern walling, and other unsightly innovations, now no more needed for cattle sheds. On the east side of the cloister garth, which is 78 feet square, is the dormitory on the upper storey; it is a magnificent room, 137 feet 6 inches by 24 feet 5 inches. The north wall contains the door opening on the night stairs to the transept, and a skew door probably for watching the church lights. In the eastern wall at the south end is a remarkably curious doorway; it is 6 feet wide, the jambs are reversed, and a socket hole under the point of the head shows that the doors were hung upon a centre pivot, and opened half inwards and half outwards. The substructure includes—(1) The sacristy, 22 feet 4 inches by 12 feet, with a round window, the hood or label moulding only remaining; a large double aumbry in the west wall, which had shelves and wooden doors; an aumbry and water drain on the south, and to the north another locker and the door into the transept. (2) A chamber, 22 feet by 10 feet 6 inches, lighted by a single lancet; the original large entrance arch has been filled in with one of smaller dimensions. (3) The chapter-house vaulted in two spans, on which traces of wall-painting are visible, some original tile paving remains on the floor, as well as the foundations of seats along the walls; the foundations of the eastern end are now laid bare, which shows the whole building to have been 46 feet 10 inches in length, by 21 feet 4 inches in width. (4) Day stairs to dormitory. (5) Parlour, 16 feet 11 inches by 11 feet 7 inches, lighted by a double lancet window, and having a locker on the north, and a deep recessed arch at the side of the door. (6) The slype to the cemetery, 29 feet 8 inches by 6 feet 2 inches, with two double aumbries in the north, and a pair with a door in the south wall, opening into the (7) day or common room, 60 feet by 22 feet 6 inches; it was vaulted in two spans, with a central arcade resting upon three pillars. In the east and west walls at the south end are two doorways opposite to each other, the original

floor level is several feet deeper than the present, the doorways are at least seven feet high. The south side of the garth is principally occupied by the refectory over an Early English substructure, which includes (1) the tresaunt to the conventual garden, 30 feet 8 inches by 6 feet 3 inches, with a south door and loop, and bench where the porter of the cloister sat. (2) The calefactory, divided into three chambers, the first, 22 feet 8 inches by 8 feet, contains a window with seats and a garderobe. The central compartment, 22 feet 2 inches by 15 feet 4 inches, is entered by its special door, and also by a skew door pierced in the partition wall on the west, and adjoining the entrance to the next chamber, 22 feet 2 inches by 16 feet 5 inches. Each of these two divisions has a fireplace set between two windows. At the south-west corner there is a door opening into a passage, 6 feet 6 inches wide, under the hall stairs, which contains a window and garderobe. Next is the (3) entry to abbot's kitchen, with a door opening on the lower steps of the hall stairs, and having a corresponding door opposite to it. Outside the refectory stairs are traces of a large porch, with a gabled front over the door; and a second building forming a serving-room, with a five-light window of timber work, which connected it with the conventual kitchen. The foundations of a wall about 3 feet thick were also laid bare running east and west about 10 feet from the face of main building. The western alley of the cloister shows a buttressed front, with an upper range of chambers occupied by the converts or lay brothers, much mutilated. It is pierced by a gateway porch with woodwork, retaining some carving on the south, and a panelled perpendicular arch on the north. Southward of it is the conventual kitchen, 33 feet 11 inches by 13 feet 6 inches. The arches which enclosed its window remain; they resemble the west side, which were filled with perpendicular windows of four lights, and portions of this tracery remain; these four bays formed carols for study; at the north end is a straining arch. The north alley has been entirely swept away. In the centre of the south wall of nave is

a trefoil-headed seat for the abbot or claustral prior in cloister time. The foundations of another wall 4 feet 2 inches thick were found under the surface of the ground running north and south, on the west side of cloister walls it is 22 feet 4 inches from the west wall and might have formed the "Domus Conversorum." The remains of the octagonal base of a cross are visible and it is curious to observe a huge sycamore tree growing and flourishing exactly in the centre of it.

Several small pieces of painted glass have been dug up out of the rubbish. On the east wall of buttery are traces of wall painting in distemper representing three human figures with monsters and fishes.

Notes on the

Physical Geology of the Carboniferous Strata of Somersetshire, and associated formations.

BY J. MC MURTRIE, F.G.S.

SOME ten years ago I had the honour of submitting to this Society, at the Shepton Mallet meeting, a short descriptive paper "On the Somersetshire Coal Field." I then endeavoured to lay before the Society a perpendicular section of the coal measures, and of their various subdivisions as they may probably exist in the centre of the Somersetshire basin, from the secondary rocks by which they are overlaid to the Mountain Limestone on which they rest. A longer residence in the district might now enable me to furnish similar information in a more complete form; but it is not my intention to go over old ground more than may be necessary to explain the present paper, the primary object of which is to point out certain remarkable facts in physical geology peculiar to the district in which the Society has met on the present occasion.

I. *Description of strata.*

In order at the outset to convey a general idea of the rocks with which we have to deal, I would direct your attention to a section of strata from Bath to Chewton Mendip, which, as it crosses the entire coal field from east to west, may be considered a typical section of the district generally.

You will observe it takes in a wide range geologically, from the Great Oolite in the neighbourhood of Bath, to the Old Red Sandstone, of which we find numerous outcrops in the centre of the Mendip range; and it would be difficult to select another district of country in which within so short a distance so many different formations may be closely studied. Whether

we examine the various materials of which those formations are composed, or the marvellous profusion of animal and vegetable life of which we find evidence in their fossil remains: whether we seek to investigate the conditions under which they were originally deposited, or the frequent changes to which they have since been subjected, we shall find here abundant material for scientific inquiry.

The section exhibits too what may be considered a distinctive feature in the geology of the district, viz., the number of secondary formations by which the coal measures are overlaid. The Oolite, Lias, Rhaetic, and New Red Sandstone have all been passed through frequently in the course of mining operations, and this circumstance has an important bearing on many other parts of England in which the absence of surface indications has hitherto prevented trials for coal. If we are to read one lesson more than another from the Somersetshire coal field it is this: that a covering of secondary rocks neither implies the absence of coal measures, nor their imperfect developement, nor even necessarily a very profound depth in searching for them, for beneath the Oolite, Lias, and New Red Sandstone of this neighbourhood, and within a limited depth, there exists a greater thickness of coal strata than is to be met with in most other parts of England.

The Somersetshire coal measures consist of several well marked divisions as shewn in the section. In descending order we find an upper division embracing the Radstock and Farrington groups of veins, then the Pennant, a mass of hard and comparatively unproductive sandstone; and beneath this the lower division, containing the New Rock and Vobster series of veins. The total thickness of coal strata, which cannot be less than 8,000 feet, rests upon the Millstone Grit and Mountain Limestone in the usual order.

Having given this brief sketch of the strata represented in the district I would now point out a few of their most marked physical features.

II. *The secondary rocks, conformable to each other, but not conformable with the coal measures beneath.*

On this branch of the subject probably other Members of this Society could convey more precise information than I possess, but without trespassing upon their special province, I may be permitted to say a word in passing.

There may be in the district under consideration some slight traces of unconformability in the relations of the secondary formations to each other, but an ordinary observer would probably fail to detect this for himself. When looked at in section, taking in a wide district of country, they present the appearance of being at least approximately conformable, and there is no evidence of any very marked break in the stratigraphical arrangement of any of the beds. There is perhaps most variation in the New Red Sandstone, which, in the centre of the Somersetshire coal field, consists of a considerable thickness of Keuper marl, with a thin bed of conglomerate at its base, while in proceeding southwards towards the Mendip the conglomerate greatly increases in thickness, and the rounded pebbles of which it is composed are of larger size, evidently indicating an approach to an old coast line of the Triassic sea.

Whatever may be said of the relations of the secondary rocks to each other, there is a very striking want of conformity between those beds and the older strata on which they rest. While the former are almost level, the latter, more particularly towards the edge of the basin, exhibit high and very variable angles of inclination, of which we shall presently have to speak, indicating an entire change of circumstances and probably a very wide break in point of time.

III. *The basin form of the coal measures.*

It will be seen by reference to the sections now produced that the coal measures of the district assume in all directions more or less of the basin form. In the section from east to west the strata form a perfect basin, the deepest point being in the

neighbourhood of Radford, from which the beds rise eastward towards Bath and westward towards the Mendips.

From north to south the same general outline is maintained, but the district has been divided into subordinate basins by transverse ridges which intersect the district. The most important of these is the great Kingswood anticlinal which crosses the entire coal field from east to west, forming a great natural division between the counties of Somerset and Gloucester. Another division line has been caused by the Farmborough fault which crosses the district from east to west, a little to the north of Camerton, Timsbury, High Littleton, and Clutton, separating the Somersetshire area into the basins of Pensford and Radstock.

With regard to this north and south section it is necessary to explain that while the Gloucestershire and Radstock portions are practically correct, considerable uncertainty exists as to the intermediate Pensford area which for many years has been little explored. The section shows one view which has been taken, but it is fairly open to controversy, and I am aware that Professor Prestwich entertains a different opinion. The prevailing idea locally is that the Farmborough fault to which I have referred is an upthrow north of 600 feet, throwing out the Radstock series in the district immediately to the north of the fault. This opinion has been founded on the result of a trial shaft sunk many years ago at Farmborough, which was supposed to have passed through traces of the Radstock series in the upper part of the pit, and then to have proved the Farrington group in an irregular and subdivided condition.

Professor Prestwich, however, is of opinion that the local view is inaccurate, and that more probably the Farmborough fault is a downthrow north, bringing in certain coal strata overlying the Radstock group.

Both opinions are fairly open to argument, but of this I have comparatively little doubt, that whether the Radstock series has been thrown out at Farmborough, as represented in the section,

or thrown down to a profound depth as suggested by Professor Prestwich, it reappears again in the vale of Pensford, although probably in a deteriorated form.

Having thus explained the general sectional structure of the district, I would now direct your attention to the geographical outline of the coal formation, which the diagram now shewn will explain more briefly and accurately than I could possibly do in words. You will observe that it leaves out those formations by which the coal measures have been overlaid, and that it endeavours to shew the different subdivisions of those measures together with the foundation rocks on which they rest, as they may have appeared before the earliest beds of the New Red Sandstone began to be deposited. Speaking generally the coal field extends from Cromhall on the north to the Mendips on the south, a distance of 26 miles, and from Bath on the east to Bristol on the west, a distance of 12 miles, to which we must add the outlying basin of Nailsea, the extent of which is rather uncertain. It embraces in all an area of 238 square miles, and in the report of the Royal Coal Commission it has been estimated to contain 6104 millions of tons of coal, a quantity amply sufficient to supply the wants of future generations.

IV. *The Mendip upheaval.*

It will at once be seen from the map and sections that the outline of the district we have been describing is largely due to the upheaval of the Mendip range on the south and west, and to certain other elevations of Mountain Limestone probably of similar age which form the margin of the coal basin further north.

The origin of the Mendip upheaval has given rise to much discussion. Some years ago, Mr. Moore having discovered in the neighbourhood of Stoke Lane the presence of an extensive basaltic dyke, originated the theory that the elevation of those hills was due to volcanic origin; but by other authorities the Mendip range has been attributed to the effect of contraction

of the earth's crust. Whether the dyke referred to is to be regarded as the primary cause, or only a result of the Mendip upheaval,—whether it was the motive power which elevated some 20,000 feet of stratified rock into what must then have formed an elevated mountain range, or merely rushed in to fill a chasm produced by other forces, I must leave to higher authorities to decide. But whatever may be the true theory, much interest will ever attach to Mr. Moore's discovery, and we cannot fail to be impressed with the magnitude of the force, whatever its origin, which produced such marvellous physical results over a district of country extending from Frome to the Bristol Channel, and a continuation of which may be found on the Pembrokeshire coast.

Looking at the Mendips as we see them now, rising comparatively little above the level of the surrounding country, we can hardly realise the appearance they must have presented at the close of the coal measure period. From Weston to Frome, and probably far to the eastward, they must have attained an elevation outrivalling our highest mountain ranges, an elevation reaching far into the region of perpetual snow.

V. *Effect on the adjacent coal field; folded strata of the Vobster valley.*

Excepting the great thickness of strata upheaved, there is nothing very unusual in the structure of the Mendip Hills themselves. Between Weston and Emborow, it is true, there are subordinate to the principal range certain cross ridges, undulations, and contrary dips, which make the geology of that portion of the hills rather confusing, but from Ashwick to Frome their structure is of the simplest possible kind. They take the form of a true anticlinal, consisting of a central mass of Trap and Old Red Sandstone, from which the Mountain Limestone dips southwards towards Bruton and north-east towards Bath. It may be observed, however, that there is a marked difference in the angles of elevation on the two sides of the ridge, those on the north being so steep as in places to be almost perpen-

dicular, while those on the south side do not usually exceed 35 degrees, and this gentle inclination on the southern side deserves attention in connexion with mining prospects south of the Mendip. It is evident that the higher angles on the northern side have had a very remarkable effect upon the adjoining coal field, where we find evidence of by far the most striking phenomena connected with the Mendip upheaval. The area chiefly affected lies between Nettlebridge and Mells, where it is abundantly evident that during the Mendip upheaval the coal strata have not only been raised to a vertical position, but have actually been folded back upon themselves, so that instead of dipping northwards from the Mendip hills they now dip southwards towards that range. This extraordinary inversion of strata seems to begin at Nettlebridge, near the turnpike road from Bath to Shepton Mallet, for to the westward of that road the beds dip northward in conformity with the Mountain Limestone at an angle of from 30 to 40 degrees, but in proceeding eastward the dip gradually increases until the strata become perpendicular, and then fold completely over as shewn in the sections from Vobster to Radstock.

Between Pitcot, where the strata were discovered to be upright, and Mells new colliery, a distance of four miles, the country has been well proved by pits sunk at short distances apart, and there is no exception to the inversion of strata to which I have referred. How much farther eastwards it may continue it is difficult to say, but I am of opinion that it may be found to terminate not far to the east of Mells village. I arrive at this conclusion from a consideration of the angles of inclination prevailing in the Mendip hills. Between Binegar and Nettlebridge, where the dip of the Mountain Limestone does not usually exceed 30 to 40 degrees, the coal measures adjoining have a corresponding dip in the right direction, but between Nettlebridge and Mells, where we find in the limestone angles of 60 to 85 degrees, the adjacent coal measures have been uniformly inverted as already described; and as the angles of

inclination in the limestone eastward of Mells do not exceed from 30 to 50 degrees, I am led to the conclusion that in that direction the coal measures may gradually recover their natural position.

In all probability this abnormal dip may not continue to any very great depth. The lowest point at which it has yet been proved is at the Mackintosh pit, Newbury colliery, where, at a depth of 300 fathoms, the strata have been found dipping southwards at an angle of 45 degrees. How much farther this may continue we have no menns of knowing, but there must be a point not far beneath where the strata resume the true northern inclination.

The strata in which the inversion is chiefly visible are the lower division of coal measures and the Pennant rock. It is not improbable that it may have extended to certain parts of the upper division, but so far this has not been proved. The effect of the fold is very different in the various beds. The Pennant rock and the upper part of the lower division have taken little harm from the disturbances to which they have been subjected: they are perfectly free from confusion although turned completely upside down; but the lower part of the division, which consists of very tender shales, has been twisted and contorted and broken up to an extent very difficult to realise.

Associated with these up-turned coal measures and resting upon them there occur at Luckington and Vobster certain isolated masses of Mountain Limestone which must not be overlooked. As I hope shortly to communicate elsewhere my views on this part of the subject, I will only say in passing that these limestones must in some way have come over from the Mendips, and they may possibly furnish evidence of inversion in the denuded portions of the Mendip range, although we have no proof of it in the parts which remain.

VI. *The overlap or slide fault of Radstock.*

Another remarkable feature in the geology of the district is the occurrence at Radstock and its vicinity of the great overlap

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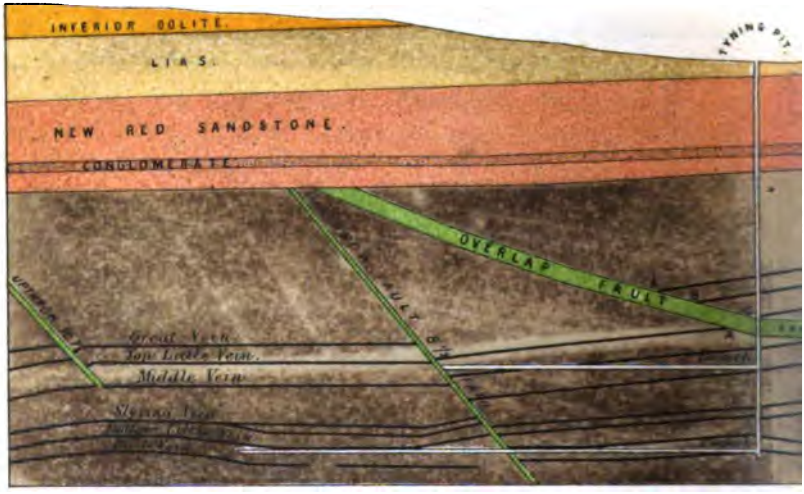
(SECTIONS

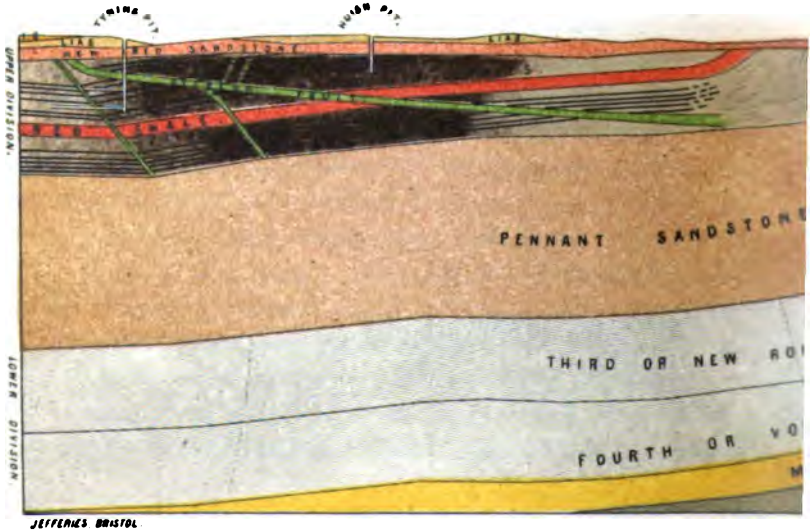
SECTION OF UPPER SERIES OF COAL

SCALE 40 FEET



SECTION OF STRATA FROM A POINT 616 YARDS

SCALE 4

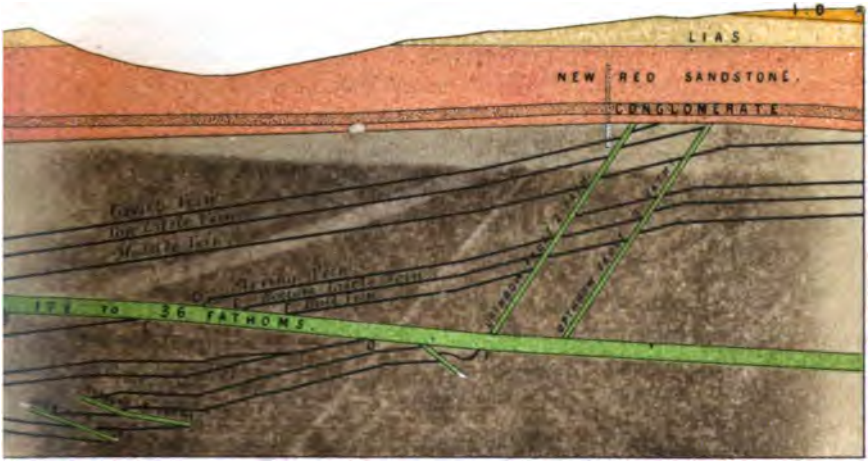


JEFFERIES BRISTOL

Nº 2.)

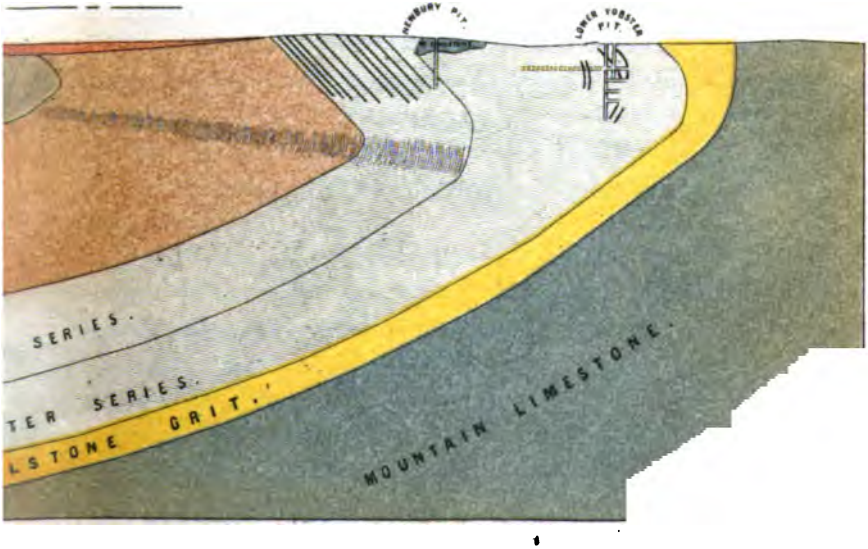
MEASURES UNDER RADSTOCK MANOR.

TO $\frac{1}{12}$ OF AN INCH.



NORTH OF TYNING PIT, RADSTOCK TO VOBSTER.

HAINS TO $\frac{1}{12}$ OF AN INCH.



THESIS

or slide fault, which was discovered many years ago in working the Radstock series of veins.

The section of strata across the manor from north to south, passing through Tyning pit, shews the effect of the fault upon the upper group of veins. The strata above the line of fracture present every appearance of having been thrust bodily forward, so that the different veins now overlap each other as shown in the section, the letters *A A*, *B B*, &c., indicating those beds which were originally joined. The greatest extent of overlap hitherto proved occurs in the lower veins of the Radstock group and measures 330 yards, but the upper seams of the same series shew a much less amount of overlap, not exceeding 120 yards, from which an important inference may possibly be drawn.

The fault, which has been traced for more than a mile, shews a well defined line of fracture, the ends of the beds above it being turned slightly downwards, and those beneath having an upward curve where they are in contact with it, the leader or line of fracture consisting of crushed and broken coal measure materials of all kinds. The range of the fault is parallel with the Mendips, and although it has not hitherto been traced nearer to those hills than a distance of four miles, yet I have ventured to attribute its origin to the effect of that upheaval.

My views on the subject will be best explained by a section I have constructed from Vobster to Tyning pit, Radstock, shewing the almost vertical limestone on the northern slope of the Mendip hills and the folded coal measures adjoining, the lateral pressure produced by them having in my opinion caused the overlap fault.

There is to say the least of it a remarkable parallellism connected with the facts I have put before you. Where the dip in the Mendips is only 30 or 40 degrees, the adjacent coal measures have not been inverted, and in the interior of the basin we have no trace of the overlap fault; but where the Mendips shew angles of from 70° to 90°, we have exactly coincident with those steep dips, the overturned coal measures at the edge of the basin

and the overlap fault in the interior. This cannot I think be regarded as a mere coincidence, and it leads to the conclusion that the various phenomena I have been describing are only separate links in one great physical disturbance.

VII. *Denudation.*

Professor Ramsay long ago pointed out, and a very cursory examination of the sections now submitted and of the ordnance maps will be sufficient to shew, that between the close of the coal measure period, and the deposition of the New Red Sandstone, an enormous amount of denudation must have taken place. In the centre of the basin, where we find the conglomerate beds of the New Red resting on the higher beds of the coal measures, we have no means of measuring the amount of this denudation, and it cannot there have been so extensive, but in proceeding southwards and westwards we find the conglomerate resting unconformably on the upturned edges of the Pennant, the lower division of coal measures, the Mountain Limestone and even upon the Old Red Sandstone itself, shewing that in the Mendip country an enormous thickness of strata must have been washed away. The extent of this denudation we cannot measure accurately, but where (as in the district between Green Oare and Priddy) the Dolomitic Conglomerate rests directly upon the Old Red, the intermediate strata removed may be estimated as follows :—

		FEET.
Coal measures	.. ..	8,000
Millstone Grit	.. ..	500
Mountain Limestone	.. .. say	4,000
		12,500
Old Red Sandstone, a portion only, say		3,500
	Total	16,000

The effect of this denudation was to plane down a previously mountainous country to a comparatively level surface, on which the coal measures were afterwards deposited.

So far we have spoken only of the denudation prior to the secondary period, but even the secondary rocks in this district shew a considerable amount of denudation, the valleys which abound being with hardly an exception due to that cause.

VIII. *Remarks on areas outside the known coal field.*

So far we have been dealing with a district which has been carefully investigated and the principal facts of which have been well established, but it is surrounded on all sides by areas of which we know comparatively little, and which have long been the subject of curious speculation.

Sir Roderick Murchison, Mr. Godwin Austin, and Professor Prestwich have all devoted a good deal of attention to the question, and meeting as we do this evening just outside the margin of the known coal field, it may form a very proper subject of inquiry as to the unknown district which lies beyond.

Without expressing an opinion on the northern part of the field to which I have not devoted much attention, I think a great deal may be said about the district south and east of Frome. If we look at the great thickness of coal strata along the northern flank of the Mendips and the number of seams they contain we are impressed with the fact that we are probably far from the margin of that more extended basin in which the coal measures were originally deposited, and this impression is strengthened when we consider the geological structure of the Mendips. The anticlinal form of those hills leads at once to the inference that just as on their northern slope we find resting on the Mountain Limestone, the Millstone Grit, and the lower division of coal measures; so on their southern slope a similar state of things may probably exist, although hidden beneath a covering of secondary rocks.

And as to the district eastward of Frome, although the Mountain Limestone probably cuts off the coal measures in a line ranging from Frome towards Bath, many circumstances lead us to hope that they may not end there. The Mendips seem to form a link in an extended mountain chain stretch-

ing from Pembrokeshire through Frome towards France and Belgium, and on the north of this range the coal measures seem to occupy not one continuous area but many subordinate basins. In this country there are those of South Wales, the Forest of Dean, and Bristol, all divided by elevations of Mountain Limestone, and there may be other similar basins stretching across the South of England. On this subject, however, there is so much uncertainty, both as to the existence of coal measures, and (supposing them to exist) as to the depth at which they may lie, that explorations will be attended with much risk.

The Flora of the Eastern Border of Somerset.

BY H. F. PARSONS, M.D.

THE eastern portion of Somerset in which we are now assembled may be briefly described as a slightly elevated inland calcareous district in the south of England, and our local flora, of which I have been asked to give you a short account, is in the main just what a botanist would expect to find in a district with these physical characters. The tract of country to which my present remarks relate is not bounded by any definite limits, except those of the county, but extends along the border of the county from Bath to Castle Cary; most of my observations have been made in the neighbourhood of Frome and Beckington. I have purposely stopped short of the sea coast and the turf moors, as well as of Bristol and Cheddar, where plants of a different and peculiar type of distribution are found. The flora of the eastern border of Somerset presents but few special characteristics; nor are very many rarities found here: our plants consist partly of such as are generally diffused throughout Great Britain and partly of species which in their distribution are confined to the south of England; but few species of an eastern, northern, or western type being found. Those who are acquainted with the works of Mr. H. C. Watson will remember that as regards their distribution the plants of Great Britain may be classed under six principal types, viz., a British type, consisting of those plants which are found throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain, *e.g.*, the daisy; an English type, plants that are more or less abundant in the south of England, but which thin out as we proceed northward, and barely reach to Scotland, *e.g.*, *Colchicum autumnale;* a Scottish type, consisting of plants which have their head quarters in Scotland, and diminish in frequency as we proceed southward;

a Highland type, comprising the most highly arctic and alpine species; a Germanic type and an Atlantic type, the former frequenting especially the eastern and the latter the western portions of our island. Of the 1370 species enumerated in the text of Watson's *Compendium*, I have observed 632, or not quite one half, in this neighbourhood. Of the 632, 449 belong to the British or British-English type, 121 to the English, 34 approach the Germanic, and 10 each the Atlantic and Scottish types, while 8 are of local or doubtful type. We are accustomed to consider Somersetshire in the west of England, and by Mr. Watson it is joined with Devon and Cornwall to form his peninsula province, yet it will be seen that the eastern plants in my catalogue considerably outnumber the western. One reason for this local preponderance of eastern species is that there are actually more plants characteristic of the east of England than there are of the west, the number of the latter being 89, and of the former 171, or nearly twice as many. But another reason is that the character of the flora of a district depends very much upon the nature of the soil, and although the eastern border of the county is politically a part of Somerset, yet geologically it forms part of the belts of oolitic and cretaceous strata which stretch across England from south to east, and a comparatively small portion of its surface rests upon the palæozoic rocks of the west. Yet the absence of the wild madder, *Rubia peregrina*, and of *Sedum anglicum*, two of the most abundant and typical western species is noteworthy, for we have in the neighbourhood many rocky limestone slopes, on which, it might be thought, they would have found a congenial home. The eastern species are as a general rule found growing either on the chalk or on the limestones and marls of the lower oolites.

Of the great variety of strata met with in this neighbourhood —a variety so great that its like is hardly to be found in any other part of England, comprising as it does most of the geological formations, from the old red sandstone and basalt to the

chalk inclusive,—almost all are more or less calcareous. The chief exceptions are the green-sand and the old red sandstone, and on these we find a flora very different, both as regards what it does and does not contain, from that on the calcareous strata. Of plants found on the limestone and marly strata the most characteristic belong to the natural orders *Leguminiferæ*, *Rosaceæ*, *Umbelliferæ*, *Gentianaceæ*, *Compositæ*, *Labiatæ*, and *Orchidaceæ*. Among them I may mention *Hippocrepis comosa;* the wild liquorice, *Astragalus glycyphyllos;* the woodwax, *Genista tinctoria*, formerly much gathered for dyeing; the lesser burnet; the wild carrot and parsnip; *Torilis infesta*, and *T. nodosa; Senecio erucifolius; Erigeron acris; Picris hieracioides; Calamintha officinalis; Gentiana Amarella; Chlora perfoliata;* and the beautiful bee orchis. The barren wet marls of the forest marble and fuller's earth in particular, bear a very characteristic calcareous flora, closely resembling that found on the chalk, more attractive however to the botanist than to the farmer, for the herbage is thin and harsh, being to a great extent made up of "carnation grass," *Carex glauca.* The flora I speak of may be well seen at the sides of the road between Beckington and Frome on Bonnyleigh and Oldford Hills. On this soil the rare grass-leaved vetch, *Lathyrus Nissolia*, grows, and a profusion of orchids may also be found. In a field called Barrow Hill, or Elm poor grounds near Buckland Dinham no less than twelve species may be found, including the uncommon *Herminium Monorchis*, and *Spiranthes autumnalis.* On the other hand many plants common on the sandy soils are either absent or very scarce on the calcareous ones, *e.g.*, *Lastræa Oreopteris*, *Blechnum boreale*, *Papaver Argemone*, *Spergula arvensis*, *Lycopsis arvensis*, *Salix repens*, *Rumex Acetosella*, the heath tribe, the fox-glove, the *Sphagna*, and others: indeed the different facies of the vegetation is often so striking as to show at a glance the nature of the soil. The heaths and whortleberry are in my experience never found on limestone; the only instance that I know of either of them growing on the oolites is at Road Common, where a few

stunted plants of ling are found, together with the harebell and one or two heath-loving mosses and lichens, to bear witness like the name and the straight roads, to the comparatively recent date at which the land was enclosed. The geological formation here is Oxford clay, the surface bed being a sandy gravel, the Kelloway rock, so that the exception proves the rule. Several plants very common on a sandy soil in many places seem to be absent in this part of Somerset. I have not found here *Senecio sylvaticus*, *Scleranthus annuus*, *Spergularia rubra*, *Jasione montana*, *Plantago Coronopus*, nor *Anthemis nobilis*, although some of them grow in neighbouring parts of Wilts. Owing to the rarity of anything like a peaty soil, we have very few bog plants in our local flora, *Pinguicula vulgaris*, *Parnassia palustris*, *Genista anglica*, *Andromeda polifolia*, *Hypericum elodes*, *Rhynchospora alba*, and *Potentilla Comarum* are not found here. The sundew, the cotton grass, the cross-leaved heath, and the bog asphodel are confined to one or two boggy places on the Mendip hills, where the old red sandstone rises to the surface. *Viola palustris*, *Veronica scutellata*, *Hydrocotyle vulgaris*, the dwarf willow, and the bog-mosses (*Sphagnum*) are found on the green sand as well. Of maritime plants we have of course next to none. *Trichostomum crispulum*, a moss which grows on exposed carboniferous limestone rocks at Mells is the only undoubtedly wild example. The sea thrift, *Armeria maritima*, grows in some plenty in a stony field at Great Elm, but may have been carried thither with garden rubbish. The celery, the fennel, *Smyrnium Olusatrum* and *Erodium moschatum*, also occur in the neighbourhood, but have probably been introduced. The ubiquitous sea-weeds, *Cladophora glomerata*, and *Enteromorpha intestinalis*, are found in some of our streams.

Alpine plants are absent, as our highest hills do not attain 1000 feet, Bradley Knoll being 948 feet and the highest point of Mendip at the eastern end 999 feet. As regards altitude, the whole of this neighbourhood, with the exception of the higher hills, lies in the infer-agrarian zone, the first of the six

zones of Watson. The characteristic plant of this zone, *Clematis Vitalba*, may be found as high up as the foot of Bradley Knoll, a height of 600 to 700 feet, but it does not climb the slopes of the knoll, so that here we seem to attain to the second or mid-agrarian zone. We have a few plants which are chiefly found in hilly countries, such as *Vicia sylvatica*, *Rubus suberectus*, *Pyrus Aria*, *Draba muralis*, *Lastræa Oreopteris*, *Polypodium Phegopteris*; the mosses, *Tetraphis pellucida*, *Hypnum loreum* and *brevirostre*; and the lichens, *Sticta pulmonaria* and *fuliginosa*, and *Peltigera horizontalis*, but the mosses and lichens so characteristic of mountainous countries, *Hedwigia ciliata*, *Lecidea geographica*, and the genera *Andreæa*, *Racomitrium Sphærophoron*, *Cetraria*, *Stereocaulon*, and *Cornicularia* are not, so far as I am aware, found anywhere near here. Considering the nature of the district, mosses, liverworts, and lichens are, nevertheless, very abundant here; and in some situations, such as the wooded hills of the green-sand about Gare Hill, and the rocky bottoms which traverse the mountain limestone near Mells, they attain a luxuriance that I have rarely seen equalled. *Sticta pulmonaria*, in Mells Park, forms great bunches a foot across, growing like mistletoe on the branches, and fruiting profusely. Many species that are rarely fertile may be found so in the stations I have named, *e.g.*, *Neckera crispa* and *pumila*, *Hypnum tamariscinum*, *squarrosum*, *splendens*, *triquetrum*, and *loreum*, and *Parmelia physodes*. Fungi are also very abundant in the woods on the green sand. Club mosses are absent. Ferns are plentiful, the larger kinds being especially so in the woods on the green-sand range of hills. Our stone walls are the favourite habitat of the smaller kinds, *Ceterach officinarum* being in particular extremely abundant. Unfortunately the rarer kinds are in danger of extermination by the selfish greed of fern fanciers—they cannot be called botanists—who root them out by the cartload from their native soil to drag out a brief and miserable existence on some cockneyfied rockery. *Cystopteris fragilis*, for instance, formerly grew in the greatest profusion on a wall at Orchardleigh,

where a single frond is now hardly to be found. *Polypodium Phegopteris* is, I am informed on good authority, new to the county.

If your patience is not exhausted, I will mention a few of the rarer and more interesting flowering plants of the neighbourhood. The monkshood, *Aconitum Napellus*, grows abundantly by the river Frome and its branches at Vallis and elsewhere, but the seeds or roots may have been washed down from some garden by the stream, as it is rarely seen growing where the floods cannot reach. It is said to be native in only 5 out of 112 counties.

Helleborus fœtidus, setterwort, found in 12 counties, grows in hedges at the Row near Laverton, also at Mells and Cole, but has not unlikely escaped from a garden.

Draba muralis grows on a wall at Finger Farm near Mells. It is found on limestone rocks in hilly countries in the north-west of England, Somerset being its southern limit. Being found in only 8 counties, its rarity gives it an interest which would not otherwise attach to so inconspicuous a little flower.

Erodium moschatum, musk cranes-bill.—This has been noticed at intervals during a period of at least 20 years on the wall of an orchard at Beckington. The wall was pulled down in 1870, and since 1871 I have not seen it. I have, however, known it disappear and reappear in past years, so that it may not be lost altogether. It affects limestone rocks on the west coast, and is a doubtful native at Beckington. Its census number is 10.

Impatiens Noli me tangere, wild balsam, or touch-me-not.—A single plant of this was found by the river at Vallis in 1863.

Lathyrus Aphaca, a curious little vetch without leaves, the place of which is supplied by broad leaflike stipules, grows sparingly in a hedge between Woolverton and Norton St. Philip.

Sedum album, white stonecrop, grows on a wall at Vallis and on limestone rocks at Great Elm and Holwell, but its claims to be considered a native are doubtful, as likewise those of its congener, *Sedum dasyphyllum*, which is plentiful at Buckland Dinham.

Trinia vulgaris, honewort.—A single plant of this inconspicuous little umbellifer was found by me on Bradley Knoll in 1868, but I have looked for it there several times since in vain. It grew on the chalk at a height of between 800 and 900 feet above the sea. It is a western plant and very rare, being only found in two other counties.

Polemoneum cæruleum, Jacob's ladder, grows at the side of the stream at Vallis, probably wafted from some garden above.

Verbascum Lychnitis, white mullein, grows on some old walls at Beckington, where it was recorded by Sole in the last century.

Herminium Monarchis, musk orchis. Barrow Hill, near Buckland Dinham. A minute green orchis with a faint smell of musk. It is an eastern plant, and attains in Somerset its extreme western limit. Watson gives it with a query as occurring in Somerset, but having found it there several years, I do not think there can be any doubt about its claim to a place in our flora.

Fritillaria Meleagris, snake's head. I have been informed that at one time this grew abundantly in a field near Norton St. Philip, but that the Bath gardeners, in the days before tender perennials and ribbon borders came into fashion, used to come and dig it up, until at the present time there is only a single plant left, which I hope that those who know of it will spare.

Ornithogalum pyrenaicum, star of Bethlehem. The local abundance of this plant is quite one of the peculiar features in our flora. It is very plentiful about Bath and southwards as far as Road, but at Beckington it begins to get scarcer, and the most southern station that I know for it is at Staplemead near Oldford. It is only found here on the lower oolites. Out of the neighbourhood of Bath it is only known for certain as a native in Bedford and Sussex. It has a long flask-shaped bulb, which sends up in March a tuft of leaves something like those of the bluebell, but of a glaucous hue, folded so as to form a channel on the upper surface, and with the end bent forward, hood-fashion. The leaves grow to a length of nearly

two feet, but are too weak to support themselves, so that they bend down to the ground: they fade before the flowers appear in June. The flowers are of a greenish white hue, like those of the garden star of Bethlehem, *O. umbellatum*, but smaller and arranged in a racemose manner on a slender scape, which grows to the height of 3–4 feet. The young flowering spikes are sometimes boiled and eaten by the poor people under the name of "wild asparagus."

Of the 632 plants I have mentioned, 540 are probably natives, 43 "denizens," *i.e.*, although wild yet found only in the neighbourhood of human dwellings and therefore probably introduced by human agency, *e.g.*, the celandine, *Chelidonium majus*; 39 "colonists," *i.e.*, weeds of cultivated ground which, like the poppies, probably owe both their introduction and perpetuation to agriculture; and 10 are "aliens," and "casuals," *i.e.*, undoubted introductions, or mere chance escapes, such as the "American weed," *Anacharis Alsinastrum*, and the canary grass. The list which I append contains in addition a number of species so notoriously exotic as not to obtain admission into *Cybele Britannica*. There are also a number of segregates, and the rest of the list is made up of cryptogamic species which I have observed in this part of Somerset. It is needless to say that I do not pretend that the list is anything like a complete one, especially as regards the lower algæ and fungi, but as faults of omission are more venial than those of commission, I have endeavoured that it shall contain nothing but what is really found here.

I have not attempted to make a compilation from published lists of Somerset plants, but only to give such as have come under my own observation. For the imperfect way in which I have fulfilled my task my excuse must be that, residing as I now do at a distance, I have, since undertaking this paper, had few opportunities of access either to my herbarium or to the localities themselves.

NOTE.

Dr. Parsons added to his paper an exhaustive list of plants found in the neighbourhood of Frome, and it was at first intended to publish this in the present volume as an appendix. It appeared however to the Committee that lists of local Flora standing alone, although locally interesting, were of but little service generally. It is proposed to compile a list for the whole county, somewhat similar to one formed by Mr. Flower, and published by the Wilts Archæological and Natural History Society. Dr. Parsons has kindly deposited his list with our Society, to be used in carrying out his scheme, and has promised his assistance in the work. The Secretary in charge of the publishing work of the Society will be most thankful if others will offer to take part in a work which seems likely to be of such permanent interest and usefulness to all lovers of the Flora of our county.

Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

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Rules.

THIS Society shall be denominated "THE SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY;" and its object shall be the cultivation of, and collecting information on, Archæology and Natural History in their various branches, but more particularly in connection with the county of Somerset, and the establishment of a Museum and Library.

II.—The Officers of the Society shall consist of a Patron and Trustees, elected for life; a President; Vice-Presidents; General and District, or Local Secretaries; and a Treasurer, elected at each Anniversary Meeting; with a Committee of twelve, six of whom shall go out annually by rotation, but may be re-elected. No person shall be elected on the Committee until he shall have been six months a Member of the Society.

III.—Anniversary General Meetings shall be held for the purpose of electing the Officers, of receiving the Report of the Committee for the past year, and of transacting all other necessary business, at such time and place as the Committee shall appoint, of which Meetings three weeks' notice shall be given to the Members.

IV.—There shall also be a General Meeting, fixed by the Committee, for the purpose of receiving Reports, reading Papers, and transacting business. All Members shall have the privilege of introducing one friend to the Anniversary and General Meetings.

V.—The Committee is empowered to call special Meetings of the Society upon receiving a requisition signed by ten Members. Three weeks' notice of such special Meetings and its object shall be given to each Member.

VI.—The affairs of the Society shall be directed by the Committee (of which the Officers of the Society shall be *ex-officio* Members), which shall hold Monthly Meetings for receiving reports from the Secretaries and sub-Committees, and for transacting other necessary business; three of the Committee shall be a quorum. Members may attend the Monthly Committee Meetings after the official business has been transacted

VII.—The Chairman, at Meetings of the Society, shall have a casting vote in addition to his vote as a Member.

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XIX.—Any person contributing books or specimens to the Museum shall be at liberty to resume possession of them in the event of a dissolution of the Society. Persons shall also have liberty to deposit Books or Specimens for a specific time only.

XX.—In case of dissolution the real property of the Society in Taunton shall be held by the Trustees for the advancement of Literature, Science, and Art, in the town of Taunton and the County of Somerset.

April, 1876.

*** *It is requested that Contributions to the Museum or Library be sent to the Curator, at the Taunton Castle.*

VIII.—One (at least) of the Secretaries shall attend each Meeting, and shall keep a record of its proceedings. The property of the Society shall be held in trust for the Members by twelve Trustees, who shall be chosen from the Members at any General Meeting. All Manuscripts and Communications and the other property of the Society shall be under the charge of the Secretaries.

IX.—Candidates for admission as Members shall be proposed by two Members at any of the General or Committee Meetings, and the election shall be determined by ballot at the next Committee or General Meeting; three-fourths of the Members present balloting shall elect. The Rules of the Society shall be subscribed by every person becoming a Member.

X.—Ladies shall be eligible as Members of the Society without ballot, being proposed by two Members and approved by the majority of the Meeting.

XI.—Each Member shall pay Ten Shillings on admission to the Society, and Ten Shillings as an Annual Subscription, which shall become due on the 1st of January in each year, and shall be paid in advance.

XII.—Donors of Ten Guineas or upwards shall be Members for life.

XIII.—At General Meetings of the Society the Committee may recommend persons to be balloted for as Honorary or Corresponding Members.

XIV.—When any office shall become vacant or any new appointment shall be requisite, the Committee shall have power to fill up the same; such appointments shall remain in force only till the next General Meeting, when they shall be either confirmed or annulled.

XV.—The Treasurer shall receive all Subscriptions and Donations made to the Society, and shall pay all accounts passed by the Committee; he shall keep a book of receipts and payments which he shall produce whenever the Committee shall require it; the accounts shall be audited previously to the Anniversary Meeting by two Members of the Committee chosen for that purpose, and an abstract of them shall be read at the Meeting.

XVI—No change shall be made in the laws of the Society except at a General or Special Meeting, at which twelve Members at least shall be present. Of the proposed change a month's notice shall be given to the Secretaries, who shall communicate the same to each Member three weeks before the Meeting.

XVII.—Papers read at Meetings of the Society shall (with the author's consent, and subject to the discretion of the Committee), be published in the *Proceedings* of the Society.

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Pinchard, W. P. *Taunton*
Pinchard, J. H. B. „
255 Pinney, W. *Somerton Erleigh*
Plowman, T. *North Curry*
Poole, G. S. *Manor House, Brent Knoll, (deceased).*
Poole, J. R. *Cannington*
Pooley, C. *Weston-super-Mare*
260 Pope, Dr. *Glastonbury*
Porch, T. P. *Edgarley*
*Portman, Viscount, *Bryanstone House, Dorset*
Portman, Rev. F. B. *Staple Fitzpaine*
Prankerd, John, *Langport*
265 Prankerd, P. D. *The Knoll, Sneyd Park, Bristol*
Pring, J. H., M.D. *Taunton*
Prior, R. C. A., M.D. *Halse*
Pulman, G. P. R. *Crewkerne*
Pyne, Rev. W. *Charlton, Somerton*

270 Raban, R. B. *Shirehampton*
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Robbins, G., 9, *Royal Crescent, Bath*
Robinson, Walter, 7, *Furnival's Inn, Holborn, London*
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Rowe, J. *Taunton*

Rowe, Rev. J. *Long Load, Langport*
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Ruel, Major Herbert
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Serel, Thomas, *Wells*
Seymour, Alfred, *Knoyle, Wilts*
295 *Seymour, H. D. „ „
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Shepherd, J. W. *Ilminster*
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Slade, Wyndham, *Montys Court, Taunton*
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Solly, Miss L. *Bath*
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Sparks, W. B. „
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Taunton, Lady, *Eaton-place, London*
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Thomas, C. J. *Drayton Lodge, Redland, Bristol*
335 Thring, Rev. Godfrey, *Alford, Castle Cary*
Thring, Theodore, „ „
Todd, Lt.-Col. *Keynston Lodge, Blandford*
Tomkins, Rev. H. G. *Weston-super-Mare*
Tomkins, Rev. W. S. *Castle Cary*
340 Trask, Charles, *Norton, Ilminster*
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Trevelyan, Sir C. E., Bart., K.C.B., 8, *Grosvenor-crescent, Belgrave-square, London, S.W.*
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Trevelyan, Miss, *Nettlecombe Court*
345 Trew, Richard, *Axbridge*
Tuckwell, Rev. W. *Taunton*
Turner, C. J. *Staplegrove*
Turner, Henry G. „
Tyack, S. C. *Taunton*
350 Tylor, Edw. Burnett, LL.D., F.R.S. *Linden, Wellington*
Tyndall, J. W. Warre, *Perridge House, Shepton Mallet*
Tyrwhitt, Capt. Philip, *Wyke, Gillingham, Dorset*

Wade, C. *Banwell*
Wade, E. F. *Axbridge*
355 Walker, W. C. *Shepton Mallet*
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Walters, R. *Stoke-sub-Hambdon*
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Ward, Rev. J. W. *Ruishton*
360 Warren, J. F. H. *Langport*
Warren, Rev. J. *Bawdrip*
Weatherley, Christopher, 39, *High-street, Wapping, London, E.*
Welman, C. N. *Norton Manor*
Welch, C. *Minehead*
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White, Rev. F. W. *Crowle, Doncaster*
Whitfield, Rev. E. *Ilminster*
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380 Woodland, Wm. *Haines' Hill, Taunton*
Woodley, W. A. *Taunton*
Wotton, E. „

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Cheetham, F. *Combe Florey*
Colby, Rev. W. *Almsford, Castle Cary*
Cork and Orrery, Earl of, *Marston, Frome*
Corner, H. *Flook-terrace, Taunton*
395 Court, A. *Taunton*
Daniel, G. A. *Secretary, Literary Institute, Frome*
Daniel, Rev. W. E. *Frome*
Denham, Geo. *Taunton*
Dobree, S. *The Priory, Wellington*
400 Dommett, Wm. *Chard*
Duckworth, Russell, *Murtrey Hill, Frome*
Dunn, William, *Frome*
Easton, Richd. *Taunton*
Edwards, Chas. *The Grove, Wrington*
405 Elwes, Rev. E. L. *Vicars Close, Wells*

Esdaile, Chas. *Staplegrove*
Esdaile, Geo., 5, *Queen's-terrace, Chester-road, Manchester*
Evans, J. *Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead*
Franklin, H. *Taunton*
410 Haddon, Chas. „
Huyshe, Wentworth, 6, *Pelham-place, London, S.W.*
Kerslake, Thos. *Bristol*
Langton, W. Stephen Gore, *Newton House, Bath*
Lethbridge, Sir W. A., Bart. *Sandhill Park, Taunton*
415 Medley, Rev. J. B. *Mells, Frome*
Messiter, Henry, *Wincanton*
Mitchell, G. W. *Taunton*
Monro, Lieut.-General, *Montys Court, Taunton*
Neale, W. *Kingsdon, Somerton*
420 O'Donoghue, Henry O'Brien, *Long Ashton*
Parsons, H. F., M.D. *Goole, Yorkshire*
Penny, T. *Taunton*
Portman, The Hon. W. H. B. *Durweston, Blandford, Dorset*
Samuelson, H. B. *Hazelgrove, Ilchester*
425 Sandford, G. W. *Springfield Villa, Lansdown, Bath*
Sayce, Rev. A. B. *Felton Common, Bristol*
Shum, F., 11, *Laura-place, Bath*
Smith, Clement, *Crescent, Taunton*
Smith, J. H. *Taunton*
430 Spiller, H. „
Stoate, Wm. *Wembdon, Bridgwater*
Tawney, E. B., *Clifton, Bristol*
Taylor, Peter, *Mountlands, Taunton*
Taylor, Thos. *Taunton*
435 Terry, Geo. *Mells, Frome*
Tinley, G. A. *Bishops Lydeard*
Trower, Miss, *Gotten House, Taunton*
Vaughan-Lee, V. H. *Dillington House, Ilminster*
Welman, C. C. *Fitzroy, Taunton*
440 Westlake, W. H. „
Whidborne, G. T. *Chester House, Weston-super-Mare*
Wood, Rev. J., 10, *Burlington-street, Bath*

Members are requested to inform either of the Secretaries of any errors or omissions in the above list; they are also requested to authorise their Bankers to pay their subscriptions annually to Stuckey's Banking Company, Taunton; or to either of their branches; or their respective London Agents, on account of the Treasurer.

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CORONATION OF KING EADGAR IN BATH ABBEY.

SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY'S

PROCEEDINGS, 1876.

VOL. XXII.

Taunton

CHESTON AND CHEASLEY, HIGH STREET

LONDON: LONGMANS, GREEN, READER, AND DYER.

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ADDITIONAL ERRATA, &c.

For Vol. XXII.

Part I.

P. 12, line 5, for *imperfections* read *imperfection*.

P. 80, line 2, and p. 83, line 14, in both these places I have spoken of the City of Bath as if it had been restored to the See during the episcopate of Bishop Joscelin. This is an error. Bath came into the possession of the Crown about 1193 by the exchange effected by Bishop Savaric, and was not restored to the See until Edward I granted it to Bishop Burnell.

Part II.

P. 2, line 18, for *Guistiniani* read *Giustiniani*.

P. 8, line 1, dele . after established.

P. 25, line 5, for *alto* read *alte*.

„ line 10, for *was* read *were*.

P. 29, line 14, for *Marborough* read *Marlborough*.

P. 61, line 14, 15, for *dipthong* read *diphthong*.

P. 69, line 13, for *affected* read *effected*.

P. 73, note 6, for *Curiæ* read *Curiæ*.

P. 76, line 14, for *Cartæ* read *Cartæ*.

„ line 3, for *Johis* read *Johes*.

„ line 16, for *Johannis* read *Johannes*.

P. 77, line 3, from foot, for *balloor'* read *ballivor'*.

P. 81, line 22, for *quæ* read *quæ*.

P. 82, line 15, for *offee* read *of fee*.

P. 84, line 6, from foot, for *Cartæ* read *Cartæ*.

„ line 5, from foot, for *antiquæ* read *antiquæ*.

P. 85, line 3, from foot, for *cantaria* read *cantarius*.

P. 87, line 10, for *ætat'* read *ætat'*.

P. 89, line 17, for *breath* read *breadth*.

P. 94, line 18, for *beseigers* read *besiegers*.

P. 98, line 16, for *Johannis* read *Johannes*.

P. 107, line 1, for *Lliber* read *Liber*.

P. 110, line 14, for *triforum* read *triforium*.

Preface.

Nearly the whole of the present volume was in type before Christmas; various circumstances, chiefly connected with the illustrations, have since delayed its publication. The frontispiece, for which we are indebted to the kindness of our President, is a reduced copy of a drawing by Mr. A. Murch—one of a series of designs made by him, commemorating royal visits to Bath. These designs adorned an escritoire presented by the inhabitants of Bath to H.R.H. the Princess of Wales, on the occasion of her marriage. The ground-plan, sketch and curious little woodcut of Nunney Castle are presented to the Society by Mr. E. Green. The fac-simile of the Charter of William II has been executed by photo-lithography, at considerable cost to the Society. If a sufficient number of subscriptions can be obtained, a collection of the more important county MSS. will be printed by the same process, and published in one volume. The intrinsic value, as well as the local interest of such a collection, would be great. Should this scheme fail, I shall hope, with the permission of the Committee, to publish some more fac-similes in future volumes, as our funds allow. A few copies of this photo-lithograph may be purchased of the Curator by Members of the Society for one shilling each.

It is pleasant to be able to record that the beautiful screen belonging to Nunney Church has been put back in its rightful place—a true restoration, effected by the kindness and energy of some of those who live in the neighbourhood, and in which our visit certainly had no small effect. To get such matters set right is one of the most important objects of our Excursions, and this instance will serve to show that our Society does some practical work in the county.

W. H.

ERRATA.

P. 50. Note. When Bishop Clifford wrote this note he had not seen the drawing executed by Mr. Bidgood, which is lithographed for this volume. He now wishes entirely to withdraw his suggestion that the staff might be a *sistrum*.

P. 58, line 29, for *minatus* read *minutus*.

P. 78, line 7, for *frater* read *fratre*.

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Proceedings

of the

Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society,

during the year 1876.

THE Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Society was opened in the Banqueting room of the Guildhall of BATH, on Tuesday, July 18th, at 12 noon. The Chair was taken by the President, the Right Honourable THE EARL OF CORK AND ORRERY.

The PRESIDENT in opening the meeting said that he had great pleasure in having to propose Mr. JEROM MURCH as his successor in office. He ventured to say that the Society could not select any one more fitted to fill the chair on the present occasion. Mr. Murch had shown himself deeply interested in everything connected with the city of Bath, and was thoroughly acquainted with all the ancient and modern associations of the place, and no movement, either for the benefit of the Society or for the advantage of the city, had been proposed without his taking a leading part. He was happy in being able to congratulate the Society on the prospect of having as fine a week as they enjoyed last year. He proposed Mr. Jerom Murch as President of the Society for the ensuing year.

The proposition was carried with acclamation. Lord Cork then left the chair which was taken by Mr. Murch, who acknowledged the great obligation of the Society and himself to Lord Cork for coming to the meeting that day at the cost of considerable personal inconvenience.

The Rev. G. WILLIAMS said that they ought not to allow Lord Cork to leave the chair without offering the thanks of the Society to him for the way in which he had fulfilled the office of President, and for the great help which he had given them at the last Annual Meeting. He proposed that the thanks of the Society be voted to Lord Cork for so admirably performing the duties of the presidency.

Col. PINNEY seconded the resolution, which was carried with acclamation.

The Earl of CORK expressed the gratification which he felt in doing what he was able to do last year for the welfare of the Society, and also in being present that day.

The PRESIDENT then called upon the Rev. W. Hunt, Honorary Secretary, to read the

Report of the Council.

"The Council of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society have the honour of presenting to you their Twenty-eighth Annual Report, and beg to congratulate you on the progress made by the Society during the past year.

"Since July, 1875, the number of subscribers has increased from 434 to 453.

"The actual receipts have been in about the same proportion. The Council regret to announce that the amount of unpaid subscriptions is still so great that they think it their duty to call especial attention to it. The amount due at the end of last year was £110. A strong reminder has been sent to each defaulter, with a printed order on a banker enclosed, and a

request that members will kindly sign it and send it to their bankers, to ensure a greater punctuality for the future.

"The Council have to report that their Museum has been largely increased during the past year. They have no doubt but that the spacious accommodation afforded by their noble old Castle begins to be appreciated by the public. Besides minor gifts by Miss Vicentia Tynte and others, they have to record the presentation by Mrs. Quekett of the Museum of Natural History and Ethnological objects, collected by Professor Quekett and Mr. Edward Quekett, of Langport. They have also to report the important acquisition of 141 vols. of the publications of the Record Commissioners. These were formerly held by the Taunton and Somerset Institution, but by consent of the Committee of the Institution and with the sanction of the Master of the Rolls, they have been transferred to the library of this Society.

"Since the last annual meeting an important addition has been made to the property of the Society. A dwelling house and garden, with a large frontage to the river, extending to the outer moat and immediately adjoining the Castle garden, were offered for sale, and the question of purchasing them for the Society was considered at a special general meeting of the members on the 17th of March last. The meeting was largely attended, and was unanimous in its determination to buy the property for the sum of £460.

"The Council desire to express their satisfaction at the purchase, and to endorse the opinion that its possession will be of great importance, both in preventing any obnoxious business being carried on so near the Museum, and also in its direct future utility to the Society.

"In making this report the Council wish particularly to convey their thanks to Mr. Sloper, by whose forethought and friendly assistance they were alone able to make the purchase. This sum of £460 will be met in part by a fund now amounting to about £120, raised as a memorial to your late Secretary,

Mr. Wm. Arthur Jones, and which the subscribers have undertaken to make over to the Society on condition that some record of the gifts be placed on the premises.

"Appended to their report the Council present a balance-sheet of the costs of the whole Castle property, and of the contributions and collections made in its behalf. It will be seen that the sum still due amounts to £1,123 12s. 1d. Some gentlemen who attended the general meeting convened to consider the question of the new purchase, generously set on foot a new subscription, which in a few days reached the sum of £71. The Council are not however confident that a second appeal to the county for further funds at the present moment would be generally acceptable. They would gladly invite the opinion of Members of the Society upon this subject, and hope, before they separate, that something definite and popular may be set on foot. The plan of yearly subscriptions for this special purpose has been strongly recommended and backed up by a promise of liberal support by Mr. Sanford, of Nynehead Court, and other gentlemen.

"It should be remembered that the one great object kept in view by the Council in their desire to pay off the debt, is that of enabling them to appropriate the Castle Hall to the purposes of the Museum, which they are now prevented from doing by want of funds.

"Nothing has been expended on the Castle itself during the past year, beyond the cost of a few necessary repairs and fittings. All restorations have been postponed until the Building Committee, appointed in 1875, shall have examined and reported upon the fabric. But the Council are of opinion that before long certain out-buildings of modern construction, which deface the appearance of the Castle court, ought to be removed.

"The yearly income, from letting the Castle Hall and the School premises amounts to about £85. The interest of the debt connected with the original purchase will be about £35. It will be seen therefore that the Society holds a yearly balance

in their current account, sufficient to allay any fears of the soundness of their finances.

"The present rental of the house just purchased is £23. The interest of the money borrowed for the purchase will be about £18.

"As it was desirable that additional Trustees should be appointed, a special general meeting of the Members of the Society was held on the 16th of September for that purpose, when the following four gentlemen were appointed :—Sir Alexander Acland Hood, Bart., Messrs. Henry Danby Seymour, William Stephen Gore Langton, and Edward J. Stanley.

"The Council are happy to be able to report the completion of an Index to the first 20 vols. of the Society's Proceedings. The Index is published as a separate volume, and offered for sale at the same price as the other volumes, viz., 6s. 6d. This volume contains in addition to the Index of the Society's Proceedings, the Indexes of the Records of the Dean and Chapter of Wells, edited by Mr. F. H. Dickinson, and the Rev. W. Hunt, with a Preface on the nature and importance of these documents by Mr. Dickinson. It will be gratifying to the Society to hear that these objects (so long desired) have been at length attained.

"The Committee report the want of an Honorary Secretary residing near the head quarters of the Society at Taunton, and beg to recommend the appointment of Mr. Turner, who has kindly conducted the business for several months.

"The Council recommend the adoption of this course.

"The following Members of the Committee go out by rotation :—Messrs. W. Meade King, T. Meyler, J. F. Norman, W. P. Pinchard, Rev. J. W. Ward, and Mr. Charles J. Turner."

The Report was duly adopted.

Mr. O. W. Malet, Honorary Secretary, said that it gave him great pleasure to be able to lay before the Society a

detailed statement of the receipts and expenditure connected with the purchase of the Castle of Taunton. He then read the following balance sheet :—

Taunton Castle Purchase Account.

Dr.

		£ s d
To Purchase Money of Taunton Castle	£ 2,850 0 0	
„ Legal expenses	52 0 0	
		2,902 0 0
„ Purchase of House and Garden adjoining the Castle, with Interest	£ 466 11 5	
„ Legal expenses	23 12 0	
		490 3 5
„ Fixtures, Furniture, &c., of Great Hall, at a valuation		87 9 0
„ Repairs to Buildings, Alterations to Museum, Great Hall, and Curator's Apartments		312 13 0
„ Painting and Decorating		62 7 2
„ Expenses attending removal of the Society's Collection		24 16 6
„ Removal of Buildings, making and repairing of Paths, &c.		30 16 0
„ Ironmonger and Gasfitter		49 18 0
„ Altering, re-fixing, and purchasing Specimen and Book Cases		103 5 9
„ Rates, Taxes, and Insurance		33 5 0
„ Great Hall Expenses :—		
Gas	£ 26 14 4	
Attendance and cleaning	9 12 0	
		36 6 4
„ Printing, Stationery, and Postages		46 3 3
„ Architect's charges		19 6 6
„ Interest on Money borrowed		125 12 4
„ Sundry disbursements		6 0 9
		£ 4,329 3 0

Cr.

	£ s d
By Donations	2,263 9 0
„ Proceeds of "Castle Week," August, 1875	665 2 6
„ Ditto of Fancy Ball, 23rd December, 1875	53 18 0
„ Ditto of Spelling Bee, 29th February, 1876	24 0 0
„ Interest on Deposits at Stuckey's Bank	5 19 8
„ Rents from Midsummer, 1874 :—	
Mr. Veysey	58 2 9
Mr. Gillett	15 0 0
Castle Hall	119 19 0
„ Balance due to Stuckey's Banking Co.	1,123 12 1
	£ 4,329 3 0

The President then called upon Mr. O. W. Malet, in the absence of the Treasurers, to read the following

Financial Statement.

The Treasurers in Account with the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

Dr.

1875. Aug. 6.	£	s	d
By Balance of former Account	24	15	2
„ Subscriptions	210	11	0
„ Entrance Fees	20	0	0
„ Excursion Tickets ...	20	5	0
„ Sale of Fixtures at old Museum	16	0	0
„ Sale of Volumes of Proceedings	1	19	0
„ Museum Admission Fees..	12	9	7
„ Transferred from Castle Purchase Fund, on account of Printing, &c. ...	5	0	0
	£ 310	19	9

Cr.

1875-6.	£	s	d
To Expenses attending Annual Meetings &c.	12	16	1
„ Stationery, Printing, &c.	18	9	3
„ Coal, Gas, Water	28	0	2
„ Repairs, Cases, &c.	4	6	1
„ Curator's Salary to June 24th, 1876	85	0	0
„ Balance of Account for Printing Vol. XX.	64	7	6
„ Illustrations	42	9	0
„ Insurance		7	6
„ Reporting	3	2	0
„ Purchase of Books, Specimens, &c....	14	17	6
„ Subscription to Harleian Society, 1876	1	1	0
„ Ditto, to Palæontographical Society, 1876	1	1	0
„ Ditto, to Ray Society, 1876 ..	1	1	0
„ Transferred to Castle Purchase Fund from Capt. Newnham, Feb. 16th, credited in error	1	1	0
„ Expenses attending removal of the Quekett collection	7	15	0
„ Postages, Carriage, &c.	7	10	4
„ Sundries		17	4
Balance	16	18	0
	£ 310	19	9

H., H. J., & D. BADCOCK, *Treasurers.*

Examined, compared with the vouchers, and found correct, July 14th, 1876.

W. M. KELLY.
W. MEADE KING.

These accounts were declared adopted.

The Vice-Presidents were re-elected, with the addition of the Earl of Cork.

The Treasurers were re-elected, and a cordial acknowledgment made of the efficient manner in which they performed the duties of the office, and the kindness with which they devoted time to the interests of the Society.

Mr. E. A. Freeman, D.C.L., proposed the election of the Honorary Secretaries. It was somewhat difficult to say anything on an annual motion which people had not heard before in some fashion or another. Now however an idea had come into his head which he believed was quite new. There was a singular likeness which he hoped to establish between their excellent Secretaries and King Harry the Eighth. He did not mean in personal appearance, nor in all their ways of going on. As the Members might remember, and it was to be hoped that they

did know and remember it, King Henry the Eighth was the last elected King of England. He was elected in a remarkable manner, for he wrote with his own hand the plan for his own election. He did not suggest the possibility of any other candidate, and ordered that at a certain stage of the proceedings the people were to shout with a loud voice, "Yea, yea, King Harry." In the same way the Secretaries had drawn a device for their re-election, which had been put into his hand, and when he came to the end of his little speech his hearers were to cry out, "Yea, yea, Hunt and Malet." The Secretaries however proposed that they should receive a colleague, a course which King Henry would scarcely have taken. The way in which Mr. Malet had conducted and carried through the purchase of the Castle had conferred a great benefit on the Society. As regarded the work of their other Secretary, he considered that great improvements had been made in the form and matter of the Annual Volume. He had been pleased to see a specimen copy of the Index to the Society's Proceedings. It was a work which had been long wanted, and he was happy to think that that want was now well supplied. He knew that there was an idea that any one could make an index; he could tell them from his own experience that it was one of the most difficult things to do well. A large number of indexes were really useless, or worse than useless; they contained references to subjects or events which everybody knew about, and left out all the special points which you wanted to look up. He had examined this index, and he was glad to find that it took notice of things which were really of interest and importance, and though there must be some slips in a work of this kind, he believed that but very few would be found. Mr. Hunt and Mr. Malet each had their own sphere of work for the Society. Neither of them lived at head quarters, and he understood that the presence of a Secretary at the Castle to look after the many little matters which arose day by day would be beneficial to the Society and was much wished at Taunton. He begged to propose the re-

election of Messrs. Hunt and Malet, and the election, as a third Secretary, of Mr. C. J. Turner, of Taunton.

Mr. J. BATTEN seconded the proposition, and it was carried unanimously.

The following gentlemen were elected Members of the Committee :—Messrs. R. Meade King, T. Meyler, J. F. Norman, W. Pinchard, Chas. Eden, and F. Smith.

The Local Secretaries were re-elected, with the addition of Mr. Fox, of Wellington.

Mr. HUNT proposed the re-appointment of Mr. W. Bidgood as Assistant Secretary and Curator. He spoke of the valuable services which Mr. Bidgood performed for the Society, and mentioned that he had been of the greatest help to him in the preparation of the Index volume, and had made the Natural History references his special care. The proposition was seconded by Mr. C. MOORE, who spoke of the talent which Mr. Bidgood displayed in the illustrations which he had done for the Society. The proposition was carried unanimously.

Mr. HUNT desired to draw forth some expression of opinion as to the place of the next Annual Meeting. It would be remembered that Dulverton had been suggested more than once; and there were many things to recommend it, but he thought that it would not be an easy matter to arrange for the entertainment and conveyance of a large party in so small a town. It was a long time since the Society had met at Glastonbury, and the record of the proceedings there left much to be desired. A meeting at Glastonbury would give them an opportunity of hearing the conclusion of Mr. Freeman's King Ine, and this would complete a most valuable part of their Journal. At the same time he would cheerfully undertake to do his best to arrange a meeting at any place which the Members might choose.

Mr. J. BATTEN considered that the place of meeting should always be left to the Council.

Mr. HUNT quite agreed with Mr. Batten, though at the same

time he believed that it would be well to follow the precedent of the last few years by making it a subject of discussion at the annual meeting, in order that the Council might be informed of the wishes of those Members of the Society who were most constant in their attendance at these meetings; and might also gain some hints which would assist them in making their selection.

Mr. FREEMAN said that he certainly hoped, before long, to finish what he had to say about King Ine at Glastonbury, for that was the most fitting spot in which they could discuss the character of his laws. This year, however, he must beg to be let off, as he had much other work on hand. He thought that the claims of Bridgwater as a place of meeting had been most strangely overlooked by the Society; he did not remember that they had ever visited that town.

The Rev. H. M. SCARTH said that the second meeting of the Society was held at Bridgwater.

Mr. HUNT said that the meeting to which Mr. Scarth referred was a quarterly meeting, and that the report of it occupied little more than a single page of their Journal. In 1856, the Members of the Society, instead of independent proceedings, joined the Congress of the British Archæological Association, which was held at that place. In 1858, a meeting was held in Bridgwater, under the presidency of Mr. P. Bouverie, but the excursions were stopped by the rain. He thought that the Society might well hold another meeting there next year, in case it proved difficult to make proper arrangements at Dulverton. The matter might now be referred to the Council. He thought that what had passed justified the course he had taken in bringing the question before the meeting, as the Council would now have before them the claims of Bridgwater in case it was necessary to abandon Dulverton. If Bridgwater was not taken this year, it ought no doubt to be chosen before long.

Eight new Members were elected.

The PRESIDENT then delivered his

Inaugural Address.

TWENTY-FOUR years have passed since the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society met in Bath. It was the fourth annual meeting—the first having been held at Taunton, in 1849, the second at Wells, and the third at Weston-super-Mare. In the interval all the principal towns of Somersetshire have been visited, three of them twice, and on two occasions the borders of the county have been crossed that meetings might be held at Bristol and Sherborne.

My first duty, a very pleasant one, is to offer the Society a most hearty welcome on its return to this ancient city. It is true that to those of us who were present in 1852 there are some shadows of painful remembrance in connection with the departure of many who then took a prominent part. The president on that occasion was the late Mr. William Gore-Langton, who was supported by Mr. Markland, Mr. Britton, Mr. Baker (of Bridgwater), the Rev. Henry Street, and the Rev. F. Warre, all of whom have passed away. But I see around me some valued associates, who have been spared from that time to this, with what signal advantage to Archæological Science our records amply testify; and who have been joined by others able and willing to carry on the work when another generation have crossed the great border.

So long a time has elapsed since the last meeting in Bath, that the Committee might have been pardoned if they had proposed to traverse, in the excursions, again exactly the same ground. Even the survivors of the party who visited our city under the guidance I have mentioned, would not have regretted to refresh their memories at Hinton Abbey, and Farleigh Castle and Wellow. Part of the old programme we do re-introduce: the journey to Keynsham and Bitton, on Thursday, will be by Englishcombe and Newton St. Loe, remembered in connection with the hospitality of Newton Park in 1852; and we begin

our visitations on this the first day, as we did before in the old city itself. Not only has the Abbey Church lost none of its interest; we hope it will be acknowledged to have gained greater glory and beauty, and that while in some minor matters there may be the imperfections which marks all earthly things, yet the great object of its munificent benefactor, the echoes of whose voice still seem to linger there, has been most worthily accomplished.[1] Nor has the Museum of the Literary and Scientific Institution remained in a dormant condition since the last meeting ; for while the Roman remains are still some of the grandest and most instructive in the kingdom, the geological collection has year by year shewn greater proofs of the industry, and realised more completely the aspirations of its eminent founder; and other collections have been formed, which may prove interesting to those who value the Natural History department of our objects.

The new ground to be visited includes Bathampton, Bradford-on-Avon, South Wraxall, and, if possible, Monckton Farleigh. Several gentlemen well qualified—some by their knowledge of the works of our pre-historic forefathers, others by their knowledge of wondrous operations in the earth, anterior to even their existence, will accompany us on these excursions, and explain what we shall see. For myself, who ought only to have been a learner through the whole of the proceedings, except, indeed, that I am delighted to offer any amount of welcome, and to join in making whatever arrangements may be necessary ; to me, however, has been allotted the honour of giving an introductory address. In all sincerity, I think my very first sentence should

(1). The Rev. Prebendary Kemble, Rector of Bath, died Nov. 18th, 1874. At his instigation the first steps for the restoration of Bath Abbey were taken at a public meeting, in April, 1864. Twelve years afterwards, in March, 1876, another meeting was held to wind up the accounts. In the interval upwards of £23,000 was contributed for the works by public subscription, and large additional sums, probably exceeding £7,000 altogether, were expended by Mr. Kemble, members of his family, and other individuals. Of the new work, the stone ceiling, the east window and other windows, and the reredos, are striking features, while one of the most interesting restorations is that of Prior Bird's chapel.

have stated with how much greater pleasure I should have accepted the presidency of the Society if I had felt that I had been in any degree worthy of it. Remembering, as I do, the learning, the industry, and the patient research manifest in the papers with which our volumes are filled; remembering, also, the high rank taken in the worlds of science and literature by not a few of our associates, I feel that the qualifications for the chair of the Society are higher than any I possess. But when I found that the Committee considered that I might be useful in rallying our members and friends, I applied myself to see whether I could not also bring together some historical facts, and fashion them into an offering suitable to the occasion. I considered that the subject of my address should, if possible, have three conditions: 1, That it should refer to something for which Bath had been remarkable; 2, that it should not have been treated previously in any of the Proceedings of the Society; and 3, that it could be compressed within reasonable limits as to time. These conditions appeared to be combined in an event in the early history of this city—the Coronation of King Edgar in Bath Abbey. To many of us, no doubt, much, if not all, that I have to say may be well known; Anglo-Saxon history and Anglo-Saxon literature ought to be especially familiar to Somersetshire archæologists; still, I am not aware that the sketch I now propose to give has been already given, and I trust it may be thought in some degree appropriate.

The two chief questions to be dealt with are—the reality of the event, and how it came to be at Bath. That King Edgar *was* crowned at Bath, on Whitsunday, in the year 973, by St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, is stated by many historians. William of Malmesbury, writing in the twelfth century, says, "From the sixteenth of his years, when he was appointed King, till the thirtieth he reigned without the insignia of royalty, but at that time the princes and men of every order assembling generally, he was crowned with great pomp at Bath."[2]

(2). Britton's *History and Antiquities of Bath Abbey*, p. 16.

Camden, four hundred years later, after speaking in his *Britannia* of the nunnery in the city, says, "King Offa built another church; both were destroyed in the Danish wars;" and adds, "From their ruins afterwards arose a new church dedicated to Saint Peter in which Eadgar the Peaceable was crowned."[3] These historians derived their information from the Saxon Chronicle, where various circumstances, including the date of the ceremony and the age of the King, are commemorated in one of those poems, or ballads, in which important historical events were often set forth at that time. The Anglo-Saxon literature of the tenth century is especially remarkable for its outburst of song. Not only the coronation of Eadgar, but his death, and the death of Eadward, were described by poets of the period.[4] There is a noble poem—"The Fall of Byrthnoth"—a hero resisting the Danes in the battle of Maldon, in Essex. But more grand than any is the song of the battle of Brunanburgh, the great northern fight, A.D. 938, between Æthelstan and Anlaf the Dane, which secured England to the English. Some of the events thus immortalised give a peculiar significance to the ceremony in the Abbey of Bath, where Eadgar the Peaceable was assured of the possession of an undivided sovereignty. I find both the original and a translation of the poem on the coronation, in Arthur Taylor's *Glory of Regality, an Historical Treatise on the Anointing and Crowning of the Kings and Queens of England.* Reduced to prose, the lines set forth that Eadgar was crowned with "mickle pomp in the old borough of Achemannescestre, named by those who dwelt in it Bath," that "there was mickle rejoicing on that happy day, inasmuch as it was to the sons of men the day of Pentecost," that "there were of Priests a heap, of monks a crowd, of wise men a great gathering." Then the year of the Christian era was specified: "seven and twenty winters more and the

(3). Britton, p. 13.

(4). See *Catalogue of Extant Relics of Anglo-Saxon Peotry* in Conybeare's *Illustrations*, p. 71.

world would have seen a thousand winters since the birth of the Lord of Light;" and, lastly, the age of Eadgar: he had seen "nine and twenty winters," or, in other words, was in his thirtieth year when he was hallowed to king.[5]

Though Dunstan is not mentioned either in the poem, or the histories from which I have quoted, there can be no doubt that he officiated at the ceremony. Not only was he Archbishop of Canterbury at the time, but from the period of Eadgar's accession he was his chief adviser in the Government. Having been unable to obtain sufficient ascendancy over the last sovereign; having been in truth banished the kingdom for his boldness, he was no sooner recalled than his influence was largely felt. It was Dunstan who initiated the great ecclesiastical changes of the time, replacing the secular clergy with Benedictine Monks and filling the nation with Benedictine institutions, a policy nowhere enforced more vigorously than in Somersetshire. May not this be some explanation, however imperfect, of what the author of the *History of the Norman Conquest* speaks of as one of the most puzzling things he had met with—the Coronation of Eadgar so long after he began to reign?[6] May not the ceremony, which had been for various reasons, important or unimportant, postponed through fourteen years, have been at length fixed upon partly as a means of celebrating the triumph and establishing the power of the new order of things? When we consider what Monastic Life was intended by Dunstan to be, and actually soon became, identified with the National Life; when we consider how closely it was to bind the church and the people of England to Rome, how largely it was to monopolise not only the government but the property of the country, the suggestion I have made may not be deemed worthless. Eadgar took so much pride in the Benedictine scheme that in 964 he boasted of having founded forty-seven monasteries, and declared his intention to increase them to fifty.[7]

(5). Taylor's *Glory of Regality*, p. 238.
(6). Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. I., p. 626.
(7). Sharon Turner, vol. II., p. 166. Paris Ed. 1840.

Undoubtedly some other reasons for the Coronation at that particular time are apparent. The King may have regained the moral status which he is said to have lost by youthful folly or crime, though the best historians doubt whether this had really anything to do with it.[8] Or he may have been anxious that his son Eadward, born before 973, should have such additional right to the Crown as would be conferred by the performance of the ceremony; and it is remarkable that after Eadgar's death Eadward was objected to because he was not the son of a crowned lord and lady. But of this class of reasons the strongest appears to be that the temporal dominions of Eadgar had become so consolidated that this formal recognition of his rule may have been deemed politic. That he himself was proud of his augmented sovereignty is shewn by stories like that of his sailing with a great fleet to Chester on the Dee, and commanding eight tributary kings from Scotland and Wales to come and do him homage—nay to take the seats of the watermen and row him down the river.[9] The author to whom I have just referred has a striking passage illustrative of the point we are considering. Speaking, not of Eadgar in particular but of the early sovereigns generally, he says, "The King's power and dignity gradually grew. They grew by the mere extension of his dominions. The larger a prince's territory becomes, the greater is the distance at which he finds himself from the mass of his subjects. He becomes more and more clothed with a sort of mysterious dignity; becomes to be more and more looked upon as something different from ordinary men, even from ordinary civil magistrates and military leaders." . . . . . "A King who reigns over all Wessex is in the nature of things more of a King than one who reigns only over the Isle of Wight, and a King who reigns over all England is more of a

(8). "I should have taken it to be, according to one story, a mere resumption of the Crown after the penance for the matter of Wulfthyrth; only the Chronicles which have hitherto freely called Eadgar King, in recording the Coronation pointedly call him Ætheling." Freeman, I. 626.

(9). Sharon Turner, II. 166.

King than one who only reigns over Wessex."[10] Looked at in this light the ceremony in Bath Abbey, after the acquisition of so much additional territory, certainly appears to have great significance.

Still we have not fully considered the question: why was Eadgar "hallowed to King" at Bath? Other towns, even at that time, were of considerable importance, and some of them had been the scenes of similar ceremonies on the accession of former sovereigns. No doubt, going a hundred and twenty years further back we find that Eadmund, King of East Anglia, was crowned at a small village—Bures, near Sudbury in Suffolk, where he happened to have a palace. But the next coronation, that of Ælfred the Great, was at Winchester, and four of his successors, Eadward the Elder, Æthelstan, Eadmund I and Eadred, all received consecration at Kingston-on-Thames.[11] Then there was Glastonbury, Dunstan's favourite place, with its noble ecclesiastical buildings and its innumerable personal associations, the town where he was born and educated, where he built his little hermitage, and caught his earliest aspirations; not far, moreover, from the royal palace of Cheddar. For preferring Bath, therefore, Eadgar must have had some special reasons, of which, if we will carry ourselves back to the circumstances of our city, of the West of England generally, and of the life of the nation nine hundred years ago, we may probably be able to form some idea.

We turn again, then, to those ecclesiastical considerations which were always foremost. I have suggested that the *time* of the coronation was chosen in reference to them; may they not also have been powerful with regard to the *place?* From an early period the hot springs which had caused the Roman settlement, and which continued to flow century after century, unaffected by political changes, attracted also religious institutions. Scarcely a hundred years had passed after the capture of Bath

(10). Freeman, I. 78.

(11). Taylor's *Glory of Regality*, p. 235.

by the English, following closely upon the battle of Deorham, in 577, when Osric, King of the Huicii, with the consent of Kentwin, King of Wessex, founded a nunnery close to the springs.[12] There is an idea, probably as true as it is pleasant, concerning the origin of this nunnery. Pious and benevolent women are supposed to have come in considerable numbers, to tend upon the sick and infirm who needed the waters, and were thus enabled not only to give a more constant attendance, but also to join in regular religious services. Very much what the Mineral Water Hospital and its interesting chapel are to patients and their nurses in the nineteenth century, were the adjuncts of the springs to the suffering Saxon poor and the "honourable women not a few," thirteen hundred years ago.

Wishing to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the exact site of the earliest monastic buildings, I have written to an authority, probably better qualified than any one to give the information, and who is always as kind as he is able—I mean Mr. Irvine, the very efficient agent of Sir Gilbert Scott in carrying out the restoration of the building. In reply, he says, "I have been led to suspect that the site of the original buildings covered no part of the present site of the Abbey Church, but may rather have been where St. John's Hospital stands, thus agreeing with the old description of being Æt Hatum Bathan, which term, when locally used down to a very recent peried referred *par excellence* to the Hot Bath Spring and its neighbourhood." But though this, as Mr. Irvine admits, is only conjecture as far as the exact site of the original buildings is concerned, it is yet certain that in Saxon as in Roman times and in these latter days, the wonderful fountain of health attracted distinguished personages, and in other ways gave celebrity to the place. Hence the nunnery became richly endowed ; hence after it was destroyed by the Danes, King Offa rebuilt the Church of St. Peter and placed secular canons therein ; hence successive sovereigns granted valuable lands to the Abbey, Eadgar himself

(12). Warner's *History of Bath*, p. 45.

following their example in the years 956, 970, and 972, and thus shewing the interest he felt in the place where he was soon afterwards to be crowned.[13] If I did not wish to confine myself to the period of which this paper treats, I might mention many events illustrative of the connection between the hot springs and the ecclesiastical history of the city. I will only remark in passing that the great rebuilder of the monastery and church in the eleventh century, John de Villula, who came to England in the train of the Conqueror, found his way hither as a physician to patients who needed the waters; that having thus acquired wealth, and being an extremely able man, he became an ecclesiastic of considerable influence; that he was first elevated to the bishopric of Wells, where his fame and usefulness increased; and that finally he removed back to Bath, bought of the King the ancient royal ferm of the city, caused it to be made the seat of the bishopric and himself to be appointed the first bishop.[14]

A very remarkable man lived and laboured near those springs

(13). Particulars of these and other gifts are stated in Earle's *Guide to the Knowledge of Bath*, p. 58. A valuable catalogue of twenty-three deeds and charters extending from the time of Osric, A.D. 676, to that of Ælfwig, 1066, is introduced with the following passage: "The city of Bath occupies not a small pigeon hole in the Rolls and Records of Saxendom. There is a manuscript volume in the Library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge filled with documents of the Saxon age, some in Saxon and some in Latin, most of them relating to Bath. Leland, in his *Itinerary*, appeals to a volume which he calls *The Book of the Antiquitie of the Abbay of Bath*, meaning, in all probability, this very manuscript. Besides this collection there are also other scattered parchments of the same period touching our city. Some of these papers were not written exactly at the date which they bear, and in this respect they may be called spurious. But this seldom destroys their value, as they represent traditions of which their custodians were proud, and of which outsiders were more or less cognizant. It is a high distinction for any locality to stand recorded in muniments of the time before the Norman Conquest."

(14). "William af Malmesbury who has written his life speaks of him as being *Medicus probatus usu non literis*. But he also speaks of him as an encourager to literature." "At his death in 1122 he was buried in the church of the monastery, where his tomb was still to be seen in the time of Leland. It was then fast going to decay. Weeds were springing about it, and the church was unroofed. It was the old church built by himself, superseded by the present structure." Hunter's *Connection of Bath with the Literature and Science of England.*

at the time of the Coronation. I allude to Ælphege, born in the neighbouring village of Weston, and known at first as the Monk of Deorhurst. Belonging to a good family, he gave up his paternal inheritance in order to devote himself to the service of God and his fellow creatures. Akin spiritually to Dunstan and living within the immediate sphere of his influence, Ælphege had a model for the entire course of his public life. Like the Glastonbury apostle, he built for himself a small house where he lived as an anchorite, and whither a large number of persons, including the nobility of Somersetshire and the adjoining counties, resorted for spiritual advice.[15] It was natural that such a man should be appointed abbot of the monastery which was to receive King Eadgar on his visit to Bath. Nay what is more probable than that to his influence in bringing together "monks and wise men," the city was to some extent indebted for the honour of the Coronation? Dunstan must have been thankful to have had as an ally one who gave all the offerings of his numerous visitors to the erection of a spacious dwelling for the brethren of his order, styled in the Golden Legend "the fayr abbacy at Bath." We can imagine also the additional pleasure Eadgar would feel in being crowned in a church presided over by a man of great ability and high character, intent on advancing all his ecclesiastical plans. What Ælphege was in after life, how he quitted the monastery he had founded near the springs to become Bishop of Wilton; how he rose to govern successively the Sees of Winchester and Canterbury, and how as primate of England he was massacred by the Danes at Greenwich,—all this is told in the records of the period. What he did for Bath besides founding its monastery we can do little more than conjecture. Probably he himself had no idea how largely in future years—even now at the end of nine centuries—mankind would be benefitted. He only saw the good that would accrue to his favourite institution by the generous benefactions placed at his disposal. For my own part I like to think that to Ælphege and men like him we owe at least in-

(15). Warner's *History of Bath*, p. 105. Osbern "De Vita S. Ælphegi."

directly the broad lands around our city now kept open for the health and enjoyment of all classes. I like to associate not merely the dissolution of monasteries but the munificence of those Saxon and Norman times, with the vast amount of happiness which light and air and exercise and the sight of beautiful country, unobstructed by buildings, give to thousands in the present day. This Society is intended to promote Natural History as well as Archæology. Its Members therefore will be pleased to know that botany may be studied on ground formerly belonging to the monastery of Bath. In our Victoria Park we have trees and shrubs labelled with their scientific names, the countries from which they came, and the date of their introduction into England. There, three years ago, the Royal Horticultural Society of Great Britain brought together its annual collection of rare and beautiful plants, and we know enough of the monks who once owned the site to be sure that they would not have considered it desecrated by that magnificent exhibition.

The size and importance of Bath at the time of Eadgar's coronation may be inferred from the statement in *Domesday Book*. Though the actual date of the survey recorded there is about a century later, it is yet sufficiently near for our purpose. From other sources we learn that Bath had been long previously constituted a burgh, possessed of privileges and immunities peculiar to towns of that class. Even so far back as the time of Æthelstan it was one of the few towns allowed to coin money, in accordance with the law made in his reign, that there should be one kind of money throughout the whole realm, and that no one should coin but in a town.[16] There are some Bath coins extant of the times, both of Æthelstan and Eadgar, and many struck in reigns immediately succeeding, preserved at Stockholm, where there is a large collection of Anglo-Saxon money, the ancient spoils of the Scandinavian Vikings.[17] With regard to

(16). "We learn that Eadgar called in the old and issued a new coinage in the year 975, because it had become so clipped as to fall short of the standard weight; and in the *Domesday* record the dues payable to the King on each change of die are noticed." Kemble's *Saxons in England*, vol. II., p. 68.

(17). Earle's *Guide*, p. 67. Warner, p. 48.

the evidence of the *Domesday Book*, the number of persons who owned houses in the year 1080 was 178, and consisted of three classes :—64 were of a superior order, having larger property, and being under the immediate protection of the monarchy ; 90 belonged to certain feudatories of the crown ; and 24 were attached to the church of St. Peter. Warner calculates that the total population at this time was about 890.[18] Writing of Bath, as it was seven hundred years afterwards, Macaulay describes it as a small, cramped, dirty town; a maze of only four or five hundred houses, crowded within an old wall, in the vicinity of the Avon.[19] No doubt the accommodation when Eadgar and Dunstan sojourned there was even better for them than it would have been in the seventeenth century, inasmuch as they had a hospitable monastery to receive them, while the neighbourhood, as well as the town, would welcome the crowd of monks and wise men.[20] Few as are the traces of the buildings of that period, scanty as are the records of its royal receptions, we have enough of both to believe that "the fayr Abbacy of Bath" was equal even then to the demands upon it; we can imagine with some accuracy how, as party after party arrived from distant places, they were all provided for according to their respective degrees, and that such a Whitsuntide had never dawned upon the favoured city as that which brightened King Eadgar's Coronation. How long the remembrance of it lingered in the Valley of the Avon is shewn by Leland, who travelled hither.

(18.) Warner's *History*, p. 164.

(19). Macaulay's *History of England*, Ed. 1858, p. 361.

(20). In the catalogue of Saxon charters before referred to, Mr. Earle says, "Another instrument by Eadwig, dated 957, is remarkable for a passing eulogy which it confers on the architecture of St. Peter's at Bath. Nay, if one may press the words to have an exact meaning, 'quod in Bathonia mira fabrica constructum cognoscitur,' it amounts to this, that our monastery was known and noted as an extraordinary specimen of architecture. The ecclesiastical buildings of that time were commonly timber, except where peculiar facilities presented themselves for building in stone. This we may be sure was the case in Bath." "In all probability the architectural celebrity of Bath Minster was due to the decay of the place after its Roman splendour, and to the ready supply of squared stone from the ruined buildings, and from the sepulchres along the Akeman Street." Earle's *Guide*, p. 56.

Writing of the gratitude of the inhabitants six hundred years afterwards, he says it was still their custom to elect a king at Whitsuntide, and treat him with a banquet, in commemoration of the pageant of 973. Leland's words are, "They pray in all the ceremonies for his soule, and at Whitsunday-tide, at the which time men say that Eadgar ther was crownid, there is a king elected at Bath every yere of the townesmen in joyfnl remembrance of King Eadgar and the privileges given to the town by him. This king is fested and his adherents by the richest man of the toune."[21] Mr. Earle adds to the quotation, "This ancient custom was pleaded in the eighteenth century in support of 'King Nash' the idol of fashionable complacency." Mr. Britton states that in commemoration of the ceremony of 973, a statue of the Saxon monarch was erected in front of the Guildhall. This statue probably vanished with the old building.[22] The only tangible memorial with which I am acquainted is a statuette of Eadgar over the north door of the Abbey, corresponding to one of Osric, the founder of the nunnery, over the south door.

There was a reason for selecting Bath as the scene of the coronation which I have thus far omitted to mention, but which doubtless had considerable weight in such an age: the Abbey possessed a very large and very precious collection of relics. In the *Corpus Christi* manuscript long lists of those relics are given, shewing that all the places in the world, most sacred in the eyes of those interested in the event, had contributed to this special enrichment of the monastery. What importance the collection had obtained at the exact period in question we are not informed, but there is no doubt that men like Eadgar and Dunstan, and Ælphege, would believe strongly in the additional sanctity conferred by even a portion of the relics which are described.[23] I am reminded, however, of another circumstance on which we may prefer to dwell on this occasion,

(21). Earle's *Guide*, p. 64. (22). Britton's *Bath Abbey*, p. 16.
(23). Britton's *Bath Abbey*, p. 17.

because it relates to secular rather than religious considerations, and was really of great practical value to the crowds who came from long distances—the convenience of Bath with regard to roads. This has been suggested to me by a pleasant narrative, for which the Bath Literary Club is indebted to its late president—the High Sheriff of Somersetshire. The narrative has been printed, it is entitled "*A sketch of the early history of Bathford and its neighbourhood,*" and is one of those useful contributions to a future history of Somersetshire which the studies of our Society have promoted. Mr. Skrine shews that the name of the village was originally Forde, derived from a very ancient road known as the Foss Way of the Romans, leading directly from Cornwall to Lincolnshire; and he remarks, "Along this road passed a great part of the clergy and nobility of England following the procession of Eadgar to his Coronation in Bath." It is worthy of remark that the Manor of Forde was granted to the Abbey of Bath, A.D. 957, sixteen years before the coronation, and that from several Saxon churches in the neighbourhood—one of them being the extremely interesting Ecclesiola at Bradford-on-Avon, which we hope to visit and have expounded to us to-morrow—men and women probably came to see the ceremony. But the road from which Forde took its name was only one of the great thoroughfares piercing the old forests of Wessex, and connecting the entire country with Bath. There was the Via Julia from South Wales, by the Aust passage to the military station of Cunetio, near Marlborough; and, more important than any, there was the Akeman Street—so called from our city itself,—the great Roman road to London through Oxfordshire.[24] Aware of these means of communication, we

(24). Mr. Earle thinks (p. 42) that the Sul or Solis, in the Roman name of the city Aquæ Solis, was dropped when Heathen deities were no longer worshipped, and that from the remaining word Aquæ came Ake, in the British designation Caer Akeman, the syllable man signifying place, and the prefix Caer a fenced city. This the Saxon conquerors amplified into Akemanneceastre, while the inhabitants, as we learn from the Coronation ode, also called the city Bathan, a name nearly resembling the German Baden, and easily reduced to Bath.

fail to be surprised, either at the troops of monks and wise men who came from distant monasteries at the time to which I refer, or at the great interest at Bath then existing far and wide, as shewn by the ancient MSS. still found at Cambridge and elsewhere. Touching convenience of access and facilities of communication, modern times are linked with ancient times by events worthy of passing notice. To these same great roads through Bath, the country, in the last century, owed in a large degree the postal reform and extension effected by two public-spirited men of the old city. It was the Foss Way, and the Via Julia, and the Akeman Street, which, under other names, enabled Ralph Allen of Bath and John Palmer of Bath to originate and carry out their beneficent schemes for quickening the intercourse of the country. Thus is the true thread of history maintained. In the life of nations, like that of individuals, as is the germ so is the development. Great deeds for the benefit of mankind in one age, bring forth richer fruit, often unexpectedly, in subsequent ages. And through all there is a plan, if we could but see it, a Divine, all-pervading plan, harmonising schemes, apparently adverse, and conducing to the general good.

Before I conclude, let me add a few words on a point which I may have failed to make sufficiently clear. My purpose in choosing the subject of this address was not merely to magnify the city which the Society honours with its visit. I endeavour to bear in mind, that in proportion to our attachment to a place should be our desire to guard against one-sided or exaggerated ideas respecting it. I confess I have very little taste for the narrower range of Archæological inquiries; I have very little sympathy with the student who would expatiate on a corbel, or a window, or a clerestory, or even an entire church, on mere grounds of local or technical interest, with no reference to large questions in science or history. Surely, if our pursuits are to have any real value, they should always lead from small to great objects. Be as accurate and pains-taking as possible; spare no time in sifting facts and establishing proofs, but always keep in

view the higher purposes of investigation. Rise as often as you can from minute things pertaining to a particular place or a particular period, to the vast comprehensive sequence, moral and material, so wonderfully developed in successive periods of the history of the world.

With feelings like these I have wished to regard the Coronation of King Eadgar in Bath Abbey. If we are only interested in the event because it occurred in this city, we have no sufficient ground for considering it here to day. But if we look at it as a central point, to which many historical lines converge, lines of permanent importance, far beyond Bath, far beyond Somersetshire, then our anniversary is well employed. We are thus enabled to see that the place chosen for the ceremony, insignificant as it may have been, compared with many places of the present day, had yet been known a thousand years; the old old borough, the far-famed Aquæ Solis, where the greatest people in the world had had grand temples, and luxurious villas, and stately monuments. We are thus enabled to see that when those temples and villas and monuments were deserted, the altars of heathen deities became replaced, through a century and half, by simple British churches, and these in their turn by Saxon monasteries; an unmistakeable proof that the highest interests of mankind were always cared for. We are not surprised that when the King and the Archbishop conferred as to the place of the solemn inauguration they should have fixed on one of the three great Roman towns,[25] which had been gained by the battle of Deorham—a battle not only making the land of the Somersætas the first English settlement, not only adding this and the adjoining county of Gloucester to the conqueror's territory, but deciding the fate of Britain for ever. Quite as ample, I think, is the field of thought opened out by the particular *time* of the Coronation. To confine ourselves to the tales about the termination of the penance for the young King's transgressions would be almost puerile. When Dunstan placed

(25). Bath, Gloucester, and Cirencester.

the crown on the head of Eadgar he celebrated the establishment of peace; he glorified the fact that, whereas there had been cruel wars and divided territory, there was now universal tranquility and a united England. When he gathered together "the monks and wise men" from so many places far and near, it was because the time had come, in his opinion at least (and he was worthy of the name of statesman as well as prelate), it was because he believed the time had come to declare with no faltering voice what should be the future ecclesiastical policy of the realm, and how the true welfare of the people could best be promoted. Whether he was right or wrong, is a question, of course, into which I have not entered; his point of view was very different from our's; and if our studies have no other tendency they ought to have this—to lead us to judge of men and things rather by the circumstances which made them what they were, than by those in which we are placed.[26]

Let me be pardoned if I have said too much on the spirit with which my own subject in particular, and Archæological

(26). There is an historical question which I was unable to discuss in my address, but yet seems to deserve some thought: May not the Coronation at Bath, while justifiable and even desirable on some accounts, have yet been a display of unusual pageantry, and an assumption of territorial power, inconsistent with the popular traditions? Mr. Kemble, *Saxons in England*, vol. I., p. 152., says, "The king is in truth essentially one with the people; from among them he springs; by them and their power he reigns; from them he receives his name; but his land is like their's, private property; one estate does not owe allegiance to another as in the feudal system, and least of all is the monstrous fiction admitted even for a moment, that the king is owner of all the land in a country." M. Thierry, *History of the Norman Conquest*, London Ed. 1851, p. 29, writes of the period of the Coronation, though he does not expressly mention the event: "These Anglo-Saxon monarchs conceived an exaggerated opinion of themselves and their power. They surrounded themselves with a pomp before unknown and they ceased to be popular like their predecessors; who taking the people for their counsellor in all things found it always ready to perform that which it had itself decreed. (A.D. 975 to 980.) Thence arose great causes of national weakness in England. Great as she thenceforth appeared under chiefs to describe whose titles of honour filled many lines, she was in reality less capable of resisting an external enemy than when reduced to a small number of provinces, but governed without either ostentation or despotism, her national laws bore no other superscription than 'I, Alfred, King of the West Saxons.'" Whatever the statesman-like qualities of Dunstan may have been, he was probably unable to foresee this.

subjects generally should be considered. At the commencement of another meeting, before we again resume our pleasant tasks, I might have wished to recommend the application of the widening principle to *both* departments of the subjects which will engage our attention. But gladly escaping from my own imperfect attempts, I call to mind the powerful words on this vital point of a former President of the Society five years ago at the meeting at Crewkerne; and I feel that I cannot possibly add anything to what was said on that occasion. I remember how Mr. Freeman pointed out to us that the labourers in the various fields of knowledge which are open to us "the political historian, the primæval antiquary, the palæontologist, and the geologist, all deal with successive acts of one great drama." I remember how he reminded us that "the revolutions of the earth which gave the land its present form did but call into being the theatre of the events of the seventh century and of the ninth, providing the fastnesses which in due time were to shelter the Briton against the English and the English against the Dane." I remember how he impressed upon us that even in our gropings into unrecorded times we were still "dealing with the history of man, the history of his earliest culture, the history of those rude strivings which grew into the useful and ornamental arts, of those rude stirrings of the mind which grew into philosophy and religion and political life." And, profiting I trust by teachings so wise, we shall now once more visit our churches and our hill sides, disposed to apply day by day the truth that "all these various objects, from the ancient rivers and the everlasting hills to the latest work of the craft of man's hand and the cunning of his heart, all come within the scope of our study, because all join to form one vast volume, in which is written in different tongues and in different characters, but in tongues and characters none of which fail to find an interpreter among us, the history of the land itself and of those who from the earliest times have dwelled within it."[27]

(27). *Somersetshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, vol xviii., p. 16.

The Earl of CORK moved a vote of thanks to the President for his interesting address. To many present the remarks of Mr. Murch must have thrown a new light upon the noble Abbey Church. He could not speak of that building without calling to mind the good work which had been done there by the skilful and patient labour of one, whom he had hoped to have seen there that day, who was well known and highly valued by that Society, Mr. J. Irvine.

Mr. FREEMAN seconded the vote of thanks to the President. The delay of the coronation of King Eadgar was a puzzle, and he considered that Mr. Murch had left this question still untouched; it was one upon which he could throw no light himself.

The vote of thanks was adopted unanimously.

The PRESIDENT, after thanking the mover and seconder of the resolution, begged, in the name of the Committee of the Literary and Scientific Institution, that all Members of the Society would consider the Institution free to them during their visit. In the name of the Mayor, Admiral Paynter, who was prevented by the duties of his office from being present, he invited the Members to lunch in an adjoining room.

The thanks of the Society were voted to the Mayor for his kind hospitality. The Members then visited

The Abbey Church.

Mr. FREEMAN called the party to a spot on the north-east of the church. From this point he said they could see its main features. It was small as compared with many cathedral churches, for after it had been nearly ruined towards the end of the fifteenth century, Bishop King rebuilt it upon the nave only of the older church. At the east end of the present building were some remains of the Romanesque church. Two things would strike the eye at once—the peculiar shape of the tower and the extraordinary height of the clerestory, and these two things always went together. They belonged to a type of church of

which there were several examples in this part of England, as S. Mary Redcliff, Sherborne Minster, and the Priory Church at Christchurch in Hampshire. Both at S. Mary Redcliff and at Bath Abbey the transepts were singularly narrow, which was done in order to get the effect of great height in that part of the church. The central tower of course should be square, but with narrow transepts they must either not have a central tower at all, as at S. Mary Redcliff, or else one which departed from the ordinary shape. The transepts being so much narrower than the nave the tower becomes oblong, being broader on the east and west, and narrower on the north and south. If he rightly remembered, the pinnacles on the tower and the east end were not there many years ago, but merely battlemented turrets, and whether these turrets were good or bad, they fell in with the general conception of the building. There was a certain love of squareness to be observed in the treatment of the windows. In the last place in the world where they would look for a square-headed window they would find one, namely in the east end. It was a strange thing to have the east window of a minster with a square head. Some persons at one time pulled it about and blocked it up—improved it perhaps—but destroyed a piece of history. People generally did so when they did these things. They destroyed one of the characteristics of the church when they destroyed the square head of the window, and also another in not leaving the turrets. When people got old buildings into their hands and thought that they could improve them, it was all up with them. He was glad to see the corners of the square head opened again.

Mr. Freeman then proceeded to the interior of the church, where he continued his remarks. He said that now they were under cover from the sun, he would say what should strictly have been his beginning. It was nothing short of saying what the building was, for he was not at all clear as to the views people generally took with regard to it. It was commonly called Bath Abbey, and in that name he said he would

comment on it for a minute or two, but it was really the secondary cathedral church of the diocese of Bath and Wells. As a Wells man he was bound to say secondary, and history bore him out in it. The *bishopstool* of this diocese was originally placed in the church of S. Andrew, at Wells, in the time of Eadward the Elder. Just before and just after the Norman conquest came the great movement for removing the seats of the Bishops from small places to larger ones, as from Crediton to Exeter, Sherborne to Salisbury, and others; all of which took place within a few years of the coming of William the Norman. It was a continental idea; not an English one. In these islands the Bishop was the Bishop of a district, or, to speak more accurately, of a tribe; but not of a city. He had not, necessarily, more to do with a city than with the rest of his diocese. In early times, in the northern part of Europe, Bishops took their titles from the tribes or district over which they had ecclesiastical control. Just as now in Scotland and Ireland we find titles taken from districts as Meath, Ossory, Argyll and the Isles, and such like; so we, too, had the Bishop of the West Saxons, East Angles, and so forth. In Italy, Gaul, and Spain, the city was everything. The Bishop was, first of all, Bishop of the city; and, in a secondary way, of the territory round about it. But when in early days an English tribe embraced Christianity, the Bishop of the tribe took his title from it, and not from the name of a city. The Bishop's seat of this part of England was set up at Wells, which was a small place. In the time of William Rufus the Bishop was one John de Villula, a Frenchman, who had the continental idea of a bishoprick. He despised Wells, and wished to move his see to the older and more important city Bath. They in Wells looked upon his name with great dislike, for he forsook them, and did them every conceivable mischief. He came and planted his seat in the existing abbey of SS. Peter and Paul. This, of course, put an end to the line of Abbots. The Bishop, however, could not exercise the needful authority over the monks, and so there

arose the distinct government of Prior and Convent. When the monasteries were dissolved the Prior and Convent of the church at Bath made surrender to Henry VIII, just as in other like cases. That did not in any way touch the rights of the cathedral Chapter of the older cathedral church at Wells. The great disputes between Bath, and Wells, and Glastonbury in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as to the title of the Bishop, were finally settled by the arrangement that the Bishop should have both churches, be called Bishop of Bath and Wells, and that he should be alternately chosen by the Dean and Chapter of Wells and by the Prior and Convent of Bath. At the dissolution the Prior and Convent of Bath ceased to sit as a corporate body, and the Dean and Chapter of Wells were constituted the sole Chapter for the election of the Bishop, but the Bishop still went on keeping the old title of Bath and Wells. For some time after the see was first joined to Bath this city seemed to be much more thought of, the Bishops were commonly spoken of as Bishops of Bath; and the church, too, was much more thought of than the one at Wells. Afterwards however from the thirteenth century onwards, the Bishops lived chiefly at Wells, and paid much more attention to the church there than to this at Bath; and so by the end of the fifteenth century the Bath church fell into great decay, and was repaired in the way he had told them outside, by building a new church on the site of the nave of the older one. Now they would see how the name abbey had gone on, though there never was an Abbot of Bath since the time of William Rufus, except so far as the Bishop was the Abbot. It had always been called Bath Abbey, and if they applied the term cathedral to it people would not know what they meant. It was remarkable that the term abbey should have been applied to two cathedral churches—Durham and Carlisle—where there never was an Abbot. There never was an Abbot at Durham, except so far as the Bishop was Abbot, yet the church used to be called Durham Abbey; but the use of the term had now gone out. And though the name of abbey had

ceased to be used at Carlisle in connexion with the church, the precincts, the close, the college or cathedral green were still called after the abbey. That was pretty well the history of the foundation of Bath Abbey. When the Prior and Convent made surrender to Henry VIII, the church was offered to the parishioners by the King, if they chose to buy it for a parish church, as was done in several other cases. At Bath—and he hoped he was not scandalizing the people—they would not buy the church of the King, and the lead and glass and everything that was worth stripping off was sold. It continued in this state until the time of James I, when Bishop Montagu set it up again as a parish church. He would now say a little—though he had not much to say—about the architecture of the building. It was manifest at the first sight of the building that it was altogether uniform, being late Perpendicular in style. At the east end there was a small portion of the Norman church of John de Villula. If they went round to the east side they would see the bases of some Norman columns, which were the only fragments remaining of the earlier church. They would see for themselves that it was an example of the later form of the Perpendicular style. Here the capitals were plain, they had no pretty foliage as in some other instances. They would also observe the great fondness for ogee moulding which was characteristic of the district. Every one who wrote about this church began to find fault with it as an example of the degradation of the mediæval architecture. Now he was not prepared to deny, so far as the details were concerned, that this was true. The capitals were of no great beauty. The ogee moulding, which works well on a small scale, was here on a large scale, and was certainly not satisfactory; and, what was a greater fault still, they had a four-centred arch for a pier arch. Now, a four-centred arch, which did for a window or a doorway or a tomb, did not do well for the main arcade of a building. They would see that it came of the fashion of the time of throwing everything into a great height, so gaining a huge clerestory. If he

remembered rightly, before the last restoration they could not see the square heads of the spandrels, and they were very rightly brought to light again, though the window would have been better without them. The square head did not suit a great window like this, and it was difficult to make it fit with the vaulting, but it was quite right to reproduce it. He could not help giving a little sigh for the old ceiling of the nave. They had made a great improvement in the church, and made it a more perfect whole by carrying the fan vault over the nave as well as the choir. Some persons thought it was impossible to vault large buildings, but here was one thoroughly well and grandly vaulted. But he was so conservative in all these things that he confessed a lingering wish to have seen the old ceiling left, for it was a part of the history of the church; it showed that at the time of the dissolution the church was not fully finished—they had not yet carried on their vault over the nave. When Bishop Montagu set the church up again he must have shrunk from so great a work as vaulting the nave, and so put a ceiling over it—a very valuable one. It was the old type of the cove roof of the district, carried out in a sort of Jacobean form; it was flat and low, still it was an old local roof, with the details of the time of James I. The old ceiling did not stand alone, for there were several in other parts of the country—there was one at Axbridge. It was one of the links in the chain; the last of the links in the chain which began with the barrel stone-vaulted roofs, went on from stone to the wooden cove roofs, and ended in the plastered ceilings of James I. It was not to be compared for grace with the grand vaulting they had now, but it was a part of the history of the building—it told how it was left unfinished, and restored in the fifteenth century; and, as a conservative antiquary, he would rather see Bishop Montagu's ceiling there than the grand stone roof of Sir Gilbert Scott. Still it was a noble work, and made the church a perfect whole, which it never was before.

Roman Bath.

On leaving the Abbey Church the Members went to the Pump Room, where the Rev. Prebendary SCARTH undertook the leadership of the party. He said that they were then standing near what was probably the centre of the Roman forum, and that if they looked across the other side of the way, they would see where Stalls Church formerly stood, that church was built out of a portion of the Roman temple—bits of it were embedded in its structure. The remains of another temple, which they would see in the Literary and Scientific Institution, were found underneath the Pump Room, when excavations were being made for vaults. During the process of excavation, when the White Hart was taken away, and the new Grand Pump Room Hotel was erected, they came first upon mediæval remains, then Norman, then Saxon, then upon a bed of alluvium—peat and other things—and then upon the Roman foundations. Here they found the remains of the platform of a temple, and also surrounding it the foundations of walls which had formed the basement of the peristyle. They were all carefully noted by Mr. Irvine, who, as each fragment was turned up, drew it, and then united them in a plan. It had been said that the abbey was built on the site of a Roman temple, which was not at all improbable, but there was no proof that such was the case. The Roman baths, of which many fragments had been discovered, were situated further back, and extended to a considerable length, exposing a very fine frontage, and forming one side of the forum. They were very elaborate in construction, and the portico had been clearly made out by Mr. Irvine from fragments and by measurements. These fragments had been deposited by the Corporation of the city in the Literary and Scientific Institution, and were to be seen in that building.

At the Mineral Waters Hospital, Mr. Scarth said that, before the party went inside, they should mark the remains of the mediæval wall, built on the Roman foundations, which were,

perhaps, twenty-five feet below the level of the pavement. The Roman walls had been destroyed to within 10 or 12 feet of their foundation, and the mediæval walls were raised upon them. The wall marked the boundary of the Roman city, and outside it traces of interments had been found. Another piece of the ancient wall was to be seen near the Institution.

The Rev. Prebendary EARLE said that he thought Mr. Scarth was forgetting East Gate.

Mr. SCARTH said that the East Gate was mediæval, but in the piece of wall running towards the Institution the older work could be perfectly traced.

The party then entered the Mineral Water Hospital, and went down into the vaults, where there were remains of a Roman pavement, from the position of which, Mr. Scarth remarked, they would observe the ancient level of the city. The pavement, which was discovered when the hospital was erected, was *in situ*, having been cleared and left in the position in which it was found. It was a very coarse portion, and formed the external part of a room. At the Royal United Hospital another pavement had since been opened, but though it had been protected the air and damp had acted very detrimentally upon it. The latter piece was formerly supported on pilæ or columns, and when it was opened it looked like a Turkey carpet, the colours were so brilliant, but now they had faded. The pavement before them did not rest on columns, but was laid on the earth itself. It gave a good idea of the way in which the level of the city had been raised. When buildings had been pulled down only a part of the rubbish had been cleared away, and other buildings had been erected upon the debris, and so the level of the city had risen almost to the top of the ancient walls.

At the Blue Coat School Mr. Scarth pointed out another piece of Roman pavement, which had been taken up and placed immediately over its original place, though several feet higher. The run of the ancient walls was about the run of the present street, and the pavements they had seen were within the walls.

The party then walked through the Saw Close and Westgate Buildings, along the course of the old walls, which enclosed a space of the shape of an irregular pentagon. In Westgate Buildings Mr. Scarth pointed out Chandos House, one of the noted houses of Bath.

At the Royal United Hospital the party went down into a vault, where Mr. Scarth said they were again on the level of the Roman city. When the new wing of the Hospital was built the pavement before them had clear and bright colours, which had now been destroyed by the damp. In this instance were to be seen the *pilæ*, or small pillars supporting the floor, which had been broken down by the various buildings that had been erected there from time to time. Yet they could see how the hot air was carried underneath the floor, and there was one of the flue tiles remaining in position. The pavement was *in situ*. When it was found the debris was cleared away, and the hospital authorities took every means to preserve it; but do what they would, when a pavement which had been covered up so many years was brought to light, it was sure to suffer greatly. Many of his hearers had, doubtless, visited the very interesting pavements at Cirencester, which were some of the most striking in England, the colours being very fresh; indeed, if they were wetted they came out as bright as they were in ancient times. The pattern before them was simply geometrical, but the pavements at Cirencester were filled with animals of various kinds. A very interesting pavement had been laid open near Newton St. Loe, bearing a representation of Orpheus playing a lyre, and various animals dancing around him. That pavement was first laid down in the railway station at Keynsham, and remained there some years, when it was taken to Bristol. They wanted to get it to Bath, but were unable to do so, and it had been kept locked up in Bristol ever since, and not laid down. He did not know whether any Bristol gentlemen were present, but if they were, he hoped they would stir up the persons concerned. They had established an

Archæological Society for Bristol and Gloucester, and a first act might be to put down that pavement as it ought to be, which would not be very difficult. Mr. Scarth then said a few words about a beautiful pavement found at Chedworth, about six miles from Cirencester. At this place several nice pavements had been found, and Lord Eldon, to whom the property belongs, had done all he could to preserve them, and had formed a local museum. It was curious that these remains were only found in the South of England, and especially in the county of Somerset. They did not find them in the North of England beyond Doncaster and Bedale, in Yorkshire. All this part of England seemed to have had elegant villas, and around Bath there were very many, the remains of which had been found and the sites made out. At Wellow there was a pavement worth opening if the Society had had time to visit it.

Mr. MOORE suggested a geological reason why these pavements were not found out of the immediate neighbourhood of the West of England. It might be that the material of which they were constructed could not be found in other parts of the kingdom. The whiter portion of the tesseræ consisted of cubes of white lias, which abounded in the West of England; the darker portion was of blue lias, or Pennant rock; and the red colours which they saw in the patterns were generally of some burnt material. He should also like to make one remark with regard to the construction of Roman houses. He thought he should be borne out by those who had seen Roman remains opened, that they never found another story above the rugged edges of the stone walls which were uniformly level with the pavements. That, he thought, might be explained in this way —that the Romans built the superstructure of wood, or raised much lighter walls, as suited their purpose. Whenever a Roman villa was discovered they often found plaster painted and coloured in various ways, but no stone materials, except the thick slabs of Pennant stone of which the roof was composed.

The Rev. Prebendary WILKINSON agreed with Mr. Moore in

his opinions as to the materials used by the Romans in building their houses above the floor level.

Prebendary EARLE said there was a word used by the Saxons for that particular low wall on which the upper structure was built—groundwall, a term which he believed still existed among some masons in the county. It was also equivalent to the *podium* of the Greeks.

Bishop CLIFFORD asked whether it was not the custom in Somersetshire to build walls to the ground-level of stone, and the upper part of "cob."

Colonel PINNEY said that it had struck him that the Romans might have built higher walls on the more massive foundations to support the stone tiling above. He asked whether the pavement they saw might not have been the floor of a bath heated by a hypocaust.

Mr. SCARTH supposed that it was the floor of an ordinary living room. At Chedworth they would find the outside stove quite perfect.

Bishop CLIFFORD said it was quite a common thing to find at Pompeii chambers with hypocausts below to warm them.

Mr. SCARTH, in reference to the colours of the cubes in the pavements, said that an inventive people like the Romans would soon produce colours that would answer their purpose.

The party were then conducted to the Literary and Scientific Institution, passing as they went Weymouth House School, at the back of which, Mr. SCARTH said, the Roman wall had run. At the Institution, he stated that the Museum contained some of the most perfect remains to be found in all the country. The date of the earliest of them might probably be fixed from the reign of the Emperor Titus. Vespasian and his son Titus were in Britain and conquered this portion as far as the Severn. Within the last two months two pigs of lead had been discovered at Charterhouse on Mendip, bearing the stamp of the Emperor Vespasian. Those hitherto found in Britain had the name of Titus associated with that of his father. These must, therefore,

have been cast immediately after Vespasian obtained the Imperial purple, and before Titus was associated with him in the empire, or about the time of the taking of Jerusalem by the Romans. Pigs of lead, also of a later date, had been found at Charterhouse. The earliest pig of lead found in Britain was discovered on Mendip, and bore the stamp of Britannicus, and showed that the mines there must have paid tribute in the reign of that Emperor. They were, therefore, worked probably at an earlier date than A.D. 49 or 50.

Mr. Scarth then went on to point out the various Roman remains in the Literary and Scientific Institution, especially the head of Medusa, and the emblems which accompanied it, and shewed that the temple of which it formed the pediment had been dedicated to the goddess Minerva. He also pointed out the emblems of the goddess Diana, which appear upon another and smaller pediment.

The Moore Museum.

The Members then adjourned to the large room, formerly the lecture hall of the Institution, in which for many years Mr. Moore's rich and varied geological collection has been placed.

In a short address, Mr. MOORE remarked that, though he did not despise the comparatively modern remains Mr. Scarth had been discoursing about, which had a great interest, especially in Bath, it was his province to pass backwards, from where the antiquarian left off, into times far more remote. In order to have as complete an illustration as possible, his collection commenced with the natural history of the Roman period, and passed downwards, through pre-historic times, to the more ancient. In this he had been assisted by the discovery of two stone coffins on Bathurst Hill, which had been filled in with a beautiful crystalline carbonate of lime, amongst which he found organic remains of the Roman period, which had found their way into the coffins. These were shewn, as well as the mammalia of the period in the gallery of the Museum. The carbonate of lime he had referred to could not have been obtained nearer than the

Mendip Hills, and as a Roman pig of lead had been previously found near the coffins, he concluded their occupants had probably to do with the minerals of that district. The pre-historic followed these in age, and in the collection were many fine remains of *Elephas primigenius*, *Bubalus moschatus*, and other extinct species from the mammal drift, and from the Somersetshire caves. So abundant were the bones and teeth of elephants just under the surface of the Bath basin, and in the gravel of the neighbouring valleys, he had no hesitation in saying that elephants were represented therein by hundreds.

Passing hurriedly over the tertiary and cretaceous beds, it was remarked that the great oolite of the Bath district was not so rich in specimens as some others. Mr. Moore then dwelt more fully upon the liassic series he had gathered together in the Museum of which he thought he had a right to be proud, as it was probably the most extensive, and had more new and typical species than any other collection. Some of the reptilia were more especially referred to as being in so perfect a state of preservation that not only were their original soft skins preserved, but their last meals had been retained undigested in their stomachs for ages. Noticing the latter fact in connexion with a beautiful example of *Teleosaurus Moorei*, Deslongchamps, Mr. Moore stated that he first exhibited this specimen at the inauguration of the Society at Taunton in 1849, and spoke of the great delight expressed by Dr. Buckland, who was present, when these facts were pointed out to him. It was the first and only time they met, and it was the last scientific meeting that veteran geologist ever attended. The bed of upper lias from whence these reptilia came also contained fish, of which he possessed many new species, cuttle fish, crustacea, many fossil insects, fruits, &c., examples of which were exhibited. The remains from the lower lias were then referred to, especially the fine series of *Ichthyosauri* and *Plesiosauri*, with which the walls of the Museum are crowded, and in the table-cases many new and typical species were found. Notable amongst these was a

series of corals. Not more than about seven species had been found in the lias until he was fortunate enough to obtain from a liassic deposit in South Wales nearly forty new species, all of which were found in an area of only a few square yards.

At the base of the lower lias were some beds about fifty feet in thickness, but more largely developed in the Rhætian Alps. By some geologists these had been classed with the lower lias, by others with the triassic beds. As these, including the bone bed, possessed a special fauna, Mr. Moore had proposed the name of "The Rhætic Beds," which had been accepted in geological nomenclature. The organic remains of this series were of great interest, as they included the oldest known mammalia, the *Microlestes Moorei*, Owen, and *Microlestes Antiquus*, Plieninger, also Thecodont and other reptilia, and remains of fish. These Mr. Moore pointed out, and especially referred to a tray containing more than 70,000 teeth of the *Acrodus*. The Members of the Society would remember that at one of the excursions of the Frome meeting he had taken them to the spot from whence they had been obtained.

Mr. Moore concluded his observations by remarking that the chief object of his work was to illustrate as fully as possible the ancient natural history and the physical conditions of the Bath district and the county of Somerset, in which he hoped he had to some extent been successful. He had not been able to notice remains from the still older deposits. Everything in the Museum was stratigraphically arranged, and as the collection was freely open to the public, he trusted it would be more and more used for the purposes of scientific study.

When referring to the new gallery, Mr. Moore expressed the obligation he was under to Mr. Cossham, who had liberally placed £500 in his hands for its erection, thereby enabling him not only to enlarge the collection, but also to make its scientific arrangements more complete.

At 6 p.m. the Members and friends of the Society dined together at the Grand Hotel. After dinner a few toasts were drunk.

Evening Meeting.

The Evening Meeting was held in the Guildhall at 7.30, and was fairly attended.

Mr. F. T. ELWORTHY read a paper on the "Grammar and Dialect of West Somerset," which is printed in Part II. He considered that a great mistake had been made in placing the boundary between the Eastern and Western dialects at the river Parret; a mistake which would be found in many places, and which ran through the interesting Introduction to the *Somersetshire Glossary*. The real boundary was, as might be expected, the Quantock range.

Mr. FREEMAN said the Society was deeply indebted to Mr. Elworthy for having brought forward a subject which in their investigations of the antiquities of the county they had overlooked, for, after all, the speech of a district was its greatest antiquity. They were wearied with the kind of glossaries which put down as characteristic of a district words not used in high polite book-English; Mr. Elworthy had given them something very different from that, he gave them the real life of the speech he was talking about. He was rather disappointed that they had not been told in what the dialect of West differed from that of East Somerset. As to the river Parret he did not know that it had ever been called a boundary of language. There was no authority for such a term in the Chronicles, and he had never called the Parret anything more than the mark of one of the waves of conquest. The boundary of dialects would have to be fixed wherever Mr. Elworthy, or anyone else who knew the details, fixed it. A river, as Arnold said long ago, was no great boundary—the mountain was the boundary. The old speech would have gone on in the hill country of the Quantocks long after the people of the plains spoke nothing but West Saxon. Mr. Elworthy spoke of the double negative being called bad grammar; if anyone ever said so he

was a very great fool for his pains. The double negative was the real old thing in every language. Mark the difference between Greek and Latin. In Greek they had the double negative, because they had it in its old natural form. They had no double negative in Latin because they had it only in an artificial form. In the early form of language everyone piled his negatives one on top of another to emphasize his expressions, and that additional strength of negation was afforded till men found out some such dogma as that two negatives made an affirmative, and so the form of our grand old speech was lost. Mr. Elworthy spoke of the double negative in French, but there was none there; it was merely that certain words had been so constantly coupled with the real negatives that they were received into every day use, and so they got the extraordinary phenomenon of a language which wants to say nobody saying somebody—*personne.* The only similar idiom in our own language—not exactly a polite expression—was when people talked about "devil a bit." He did not quite understand what Mr. Elworthy meant by the comparison of the West Somersetshire pronunciation of *come* with the modern German. He was exceedingly struck with the remark about *v* and *f*, and with the beautiful instinct by which people saw the difference between a genuine native word and a foreign word, and would not extend the old usage to the new comer. In the interchangeable character of *v* and *f*, Mr. Freeman said he saw a remarkable analogy to the Greek. Now, here came a very ugly thing, so many people were getting to say there was some strange non-Arian element here among us. Tacitus said something of the same sort long ago. Here more lately was Mr. Huxley saying so, and Mr. Dawkins had been doing the same. They had really thought that if they were not Dutchmen they were nothing worse than Welsh; but here was an undersigned coincidence of many people coming to the same conclusion by wholly different rules, and that made the thing terribly ugly—one did not like to look it in the face at all. There was one other matter he

wanted to mention and that was that Mr. Elworthy spoke of some forms of the first person pronoun not in use. Would he say what form was in use?

Mr. ELWORTHY—Simply "I."

Mr. FREEMAN said that was a pity. He had hoped that the West Somerset folk said something like *Ch*, because it ought to be *Ich*. He had seen it in so many books that he hoped it would turn up somewhere or other. In conclusion he must express his hope that Mr. Elworthy would go on with his researches, and extend them over the county border, and not pay any attention to the books of people who looked at the question from other points of view.

Mr. EARLE said he thought the paper read by Mr. Elworthy a most admirable innovation, and one which promised good fruit, if treated in the way in which it had been by him. Dialect was to be judged in the same manner as the quality of poetry—by the ear, and not by the logical faculty. Like Mr. Freeman, he expected to hear a contrast drawn between the different dialects in the east and west of the county, but he had heard something much more satisfactory. He recommended this as a sphere of great interest for young men with their ears open. They wanted the dialects illustrated, not by mere lists of words, but by observation of the way in which the words were used, the sentences in which they came, and the tone of voice and temper in which they were spoken. He thought the kindred studies of geography, politics, and history could only be bound together and clamped in one by a full understanding of the original dialects that had developed in any area, because dialects expressed the character of the races with which history and politics have to deal. There were few countries in which dialect could be really effectively studied, because the populations had from various causes suffered such great disturbances. A population was wanted that had been stationary for something like a thousand years. In Somersetshire they had a real middle term between the Devonian dialect and the language of

society at the present time. In England, perhaps more than any other country except Italy, could this intensely interesting subject be studied to the greatest advantage.

Mr. ODGERS hoped that the different dialects would be tabulated, or else within perhaps thirty years they might be lost altogether. He asked whether Mr. Elworthy had ever met with *cham* for I am, a form which was used by Mr. Hughes and others in dialect verse.

Mr. ELWORTHY said that he only could speak of facts, and if they did not fit in with theories it was so much the worse for the theories. As regards Mr. Freeman's assertion that he did not believe that any one had called the Parret a boundary of dialect, he could assure him that that opinion was advanced by Jennings.

Mr. FREEMAN said he knew nothing about Jennings. What he wished to say was that in speaking of the Parret as a boundary, he and other students of history meant that it was for a time a boundary of conquest, and therefore for so long a boundary of races also.

Mr. ELWORTHY could assure Mr. Freeman that Jennings was a widely recognised authority on matters of dialect. He had never met with the form *cham*, and did not believe that it existed.

Mr. FREEMAN : How then do you explain the fact that Mr. Hughes and others[28] thought that people did say *ch* and *cham?*

Bishop CLIFFORD read a paper on the "Roman Military Roads through Somerset," which is printed in Part II. He considered that the road made for the use of the Legion Augusta from Caerleon through Bath to Silchester, having passed through Venta Silurum (Caerwent), must then have gone

(28). Shakespeare amongst them, in the part of Edgar in King Lear, Act iv. 6. This reference is given in the *Glossary*. It does not seem to prove that this and cognate forms are in their right place in a glossary of Somersetshire dialect, but the compilers say, "This form occurs chiefly in the neighbourhood of Merriott." It is to be hoped that Mr. Elworthy will make a special point of investigating the value of this assertion.

on to Henbury, which he believed to be the Abone of the Itinerary. The next station was Trajectus, which he thought was Bitton, for it was pure assumption to say that the passage was across the Severn. Thence it was probable that the road led to Bath over the high ground by the Lansdown camps.

Mr. SCARTH said that he thought it probable that the Bishop was right in placing Abone, the landing place of the troops, at Henbury. With respect to the claim of Sudbury camp which had been considered and rejected by the Bishop, it was difficult to come to any decision, as only about half of it was left, for it was continually being carried into the Severn. They could not therefore picture to themselves what might have happened in Roman times.

Mr. SCARTH had prepared a paper on "Roman Somerset," with special reference to recent discoveries in Bath, but as it was growing late he only gave an epitome of it. The paper is printed in extenso in Part II. At the conclusion Mr. Scarth said that he was preparing a complete synopsis of all traces of the Roman occupation of Somerset, to be illustrated by a map of Roman Somerset, which might be of considerable historical value in time to come. If he gave the labour which such a work entailed, would the Society undertake the cost of printing?

The PRESIDENT thought the expense was one which might very properly be borne by the Society.

Mr. HUNT said that in the present state of the finances of the Society he could not recommend the Committee to embark in any scheme of publication besides that of the volume of *Proceedings*. He hoped that Mr. Scarth would be able to carry out his design, and had no doubt but that at some future time the Society would be better able to help it forward if he should still wish it. The smallness of the yearly subscription, which had formed a topic of discussion at the last Annual Meeting, prevented the Society from carrying out this and other like schemes, which properly belonged to its work.

The Meeting then ended.

Excursion: Wednesday.

The party left the Guildhall at 10 a.m., and the first halt was made at

Bathampton.

At the Church Mr. SCARTH said that the Manor of Bathampton was, at least after 1087, the property of the Abbey of Bath. At the dissolution the rectory and the advowson were granted to the Dean and Chapter of Bristol. In the porch were two figures of the time of Edward II and Edward III. These two figures, and the one now in the east wall of the church, once stood in the south aisle. They were moved when the building was restored by Ralph Allen of Prior Park. The church had also been again in the hands of the restorers within the last twenty-five years.

The church is dedicated to S. Nicholas. It is chiefly in the perpendicular style, though in the chancel a bit of Early English work is left. The building itself, after two restorations, is not of much architectural interest. The chief object of interest is a figure let into the outside of the east wall.

Mr. SCARTH said that Mr. Planché, the Somerset Herald, and the most eminent authority in England on matters of costume, had decided that the figure represented a bishop, and was of the 11th century. He pointed out in accordance with this decision the head of the pastoral staff, and the outline of the chasuble, the ends of the stole and the *vittæ* of the mitre. The alb was ornamented with a zigzag pattern, which gave it somewhat the appearance of a ruff. The design and execution of the sculpture were certainly rude, but it was a monument of great antiquity and interest. He had made a drawing of it, but a more exact one should be made and engraved in the Society's volume.

Mr. HUNT said that, with all respect to Mr. Planché, he felt convinced that it was a representation of a female figure, for no bishop would wear a veil, and he saw a veil hanging down from the head behind.

W. BIDGOOD

JEFFERIES BROS. SC.

Scale 1/4th

FIGURE AT BATHAMPTON CHURCH.

Mr. SCARTH replied that, the *vox populi* always said that it was the figure of a female, but those who were well informed on the subject of costume, and especially of ecclesiastical costume, agreed with Mr. Planché.

Bishop CLIFFORD said that he agreed with the *vox populi.*

Mr. HUNT called attention to the shape of the waist, which marked the figure as that of a female.

Archbishop ERRINGTON had never seen a chasuble so short as that which Mr. Scarth pointed out.

Mr. SCARTH said that he should not like to disagree with Mr. Planché, and he considered that the various parts of the episcopal habit were to be pretty clearly made out.

Rev. Prebendary WOOD thought that the figure had been recently defaced; he asked whether the pastoral staff did not necessarily mark the figure as that of a bishop or abbot.

Mr. HUNT said that he thought that was not the case by any means.

Bishop CLIFFORD thought that what went round the neck was a female's collar or ruff, and that there was not anything like the habit of an ecclesiastic to be observed. There was the appearance of a veil, and there was no mitre or anything of the kind. He had never known an alb crimped like that, which was pointed out as an alb by Mr. Scarth. The dress was cut narrow at the wrists and drawn in at the waist, which might be the case with the dress of a woman, but not with the dress of an ecclesiastic; it was also too short, not reaching below the ancles. He had never seen a chasuble so short as this dress, yet there was no sign of either chasuble or stole beneath it. The staff was in the right hand, whereas that of a bishop is always in the left.

Mr. EARLE pointed out the wimple; he did not remember any drawing which would settle the Order to which the sculptured lady belonged.

Mr. SCARTH said that he only advanced the particulars given by Mr. Planché to the Archæological Association of Great Britain. The figure gave rise to some discussion when the

Association visited Bathampton. He still thought that the dress was that of a Bishop.

Mr. EARLE suggested that the figure might be far earlier than, it appeared, anyone present supposed from the late discussion.[29] He hoped that some effectual means would be taken to preserve it from injury.

(29). This figure should be compared with the fragment of a bass-relief found in a Roman villa at Wellow near Bath, and presented to the British Museum by the Archæological Institute in 1851. It is published in Mr. Scarth's *Notices of Roman Bath*, p. 114. The fragment contains portions of three figures, one male and two females. The heads of all three have perished, but the *collar or ruff* is plainly visible round the neck of one of the females. The dresses of both are short, crimped, and tightened round the waist. A kind of scarf hangs loosely across the front of one of the females at about the height at which the supposed chasuble terminates in the Bathampton figure. The other female holds in her *right hand* a short staff, with a kind of elongated hoop at the top. Great similarity of style exists apparently between this fragment and the figure at Bathampton. This latter is not a detached block, as most medieval images are, but is carved in relief out of the same block of stone which forms the niche in which it stands. This treatment prevails in Roman tombs and altars. The arch of the niche is circular, not pointed, as we should expect to find it, if the image were a medieval work of art. Two figures of Hercules and Apollo, placed in like manner in niches with circular arches, may be observed in a Roman altar built into the north buttress at the eastern end of Compton Dando Church, about 7 miles from Bath (also published in Mr. Scarth's *Notices of Roman Bath*, p. 41). The most probable conclusion to be drawn from these remarks seems to be that, as Mr. Earle suggested might be the case, the figure at Bathampton is of much earlier date than was supposed by those who took part in the discussion. It appears to be the figure of a female, and to have formed originally part of a Roman tomb or altar erected in the neighbourhood. When discovered it was, probably with a view of preserving it, built into the wall of the church at Bathampton, like its companion at Compton Dando, and as many other fragments of Roman remains were built into the old walls of Bath. It is difficult to offer any conjecture as to whom the figure (now greatly mutilated) was originally meant to represent The following suggestion may be worth consideration. In the fragment from Wellow above referred to, the staff held by the female is short, not reaching down as far as her knee. The upper portion is shaped like a loop. As the man holds in his hand what seems to be a lustral vase for sacrificial purposes, the instrument held by the female is probably a sistrum, the instrument used by the priestesses of Isis (and probably of other divinities also), and the group represents a priest and two priestesses of that or some other divinity. The figure at Bathampton is so mutilated that it is not possible to make out with certainty what was the shape of the termination of the staff held in the right hand. But taking into consideration the general similarity of this figure to the figure in the Wellow fragment, it seems not unlikely that the supposed staff was in this case also a sistrum, and that the figure is that of a heathen priestess.—BISHOP CLIFFORD.

The party then left the church and walked to a field on the other side of the canal, and there inspected some excavations made by Mr. C. Moore on what he considered to be the site of a

Roman Smithy.

Mr. CHARLES MOORE called attention to a quantity of irony slag or cinder, Roman pottery, and other remains which he had obtained, immediately overlying a deposit of the mammal drift gravel, of which he had spoken the previous day. He remarked that at this spot Roman and pre-historic deposits came together, and that anyone who could tell them the history of the intervening period, or trace the passage from one into the other, would do a great service to science. In anticipation of a visit from the Society he had had a trench cut down to the gravel. In addition to the slag previously mentioned he found mixed up in the soil, and readily extracted by a magnet, a quantity of flakes of iron, such as are struck off by the smith of to-day, which led him to believe, although he had found no trace of a building, that a Roman smithy once stood near the spot. There were also occasional patches of soil coloured with different tints of red, yellow, &c., looking as if the materials had found their way into the earth through some drain, possibly from a pottery. Great quantities of Roman pottery were exhibited on tables close to the excavation, including specimens from the elegant Samian to the coarsest black pottery, but all more or less broken, together with a few fragments of glass, and there were many stone tiles, formed of coal measure sandstone, which had belonged to some building. In addition there were great quantities of bones chiefly belonging to the *Bos longifrons*, and it was noteworthy that the bones were always split for the extraction of the marrow.

Mr. SCARTH pointed out where, on the other side of the river, at Warley, a Roman villa had been found : another had been opened up in the other direction at Bathford, and others beyond that. There had been sarcophagi dug up in the Sydney Gardens. Altogether the neighbourhood was full of relics,

which proved the importance of Bath in the period of the Roman occupation. He hoped that Mr. Moore would be able to continue his investigations here.

From Bathampton the route lay through Freshford, and the next halt was made at

Westwood.

Rev. W. H. JONES said that the church was a chapel of ease for Bradford. The earliest part of the building was the chancel, at the east end of which was a double piscina. On the north side was a lancet window, and traces of another on the south side. The charm of the chancel consisted in its stained glass, which was of the fifteenth century, and some of the oldest in the county. The central figure was the Saviour on the cross, the cross springing from a vessel out of which grew a lily, the emblem of the Blessed Virgin. There were figures of S. John the Baptist, S. Peter, S. Paul, and Michael the Archangel. One of the Hortons, whose initials were over the spandrel of the west door, added the aisle. On the moulding of the ceiling was a pulley, by which a lamp was hung to burn before the altar. Part of the ceiling was very fine. When the aisle was built, an early lancet window was destroyed and a double squint was made. The tower arch was like the one in Bradford church, the figure at the base of the tower stairs was meant to represent a bat: it was at one time painted black and white. A portion of the pulpit formerly belonged to Norton S. Philip, some of the oak carving had been added by himself.

Mr. FREEMAN, outside the church, said that though they had passed the borders of their own county they could see by the tower that they had not got beyond the influence of Somersetshire. They might remember the tower of Norton S. Philip, it was a wildish sort of tower, and so was this too, though in a different kind of way. The parts did not seem to hang together, or to belong to the same building. He had often said a good deal about the growth and increase of ornament, which ought to be observed in these towers from the bottom stage upwards.

Two of the best examples of this were the towers of S. James, Taunton, and Bishops Lydeard. At Norton S. Philip there was no such growth: here the idea was carried out, though with too great suddenness, for there were two quite plain stages below, and then above them one richly ornamented. The corner pinnacle was finished in an odd way with a cupola, which marked its late date. The same love of squareness, which he had yesterday remarked in Bath Abbey, might be observed here. It was this which caused the butresses not to be carried up to the top, and made them set the windows and panelled stages under a square head.

The Manor House was next visited.

Mr. JONES pointed out an oriel window which he thought might have belonged to the priest's room. He thought that the house might have contained a little chapel, and some bits of coloured glass had been found in one of the windows. He pointed out some good plaster ceilings of the seventeenth century. The house was built by the Hortons, the ceilings were added by the Farewells, and had on them the shells which that family wore on their coat of arms. There were a good many branches of the Horton family. In the Manor House was a device which was evidently intended for a rebus on their name, a tun or barrel with the letters H.O.R.

Bradford-on-Avon

was next visited, and the wonderful little church of S. Laurence was filled with a goodly congregation.

Mr. Jones said that there could be little doubt but that they were in the church built by S. Ealdhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, at the beginning of the eighth century, and dedicated to S. Laurence. He compared its size to that of the original cathedral church of Llandaff, which was 28 feet long, while this church was 26 feet; both had transeptal buildings. The church, till lately, was in the hands of two people, and had been made into two tenements; when the restoration was on foot, on removing a stack of chimnies, the chancel arch and step were discovered.

Mr. FREEMAN said he could not see any reason for doubting the age and identity of the building. When he visited Bradford, some twenty years ago, with Professor Babington, his eye was caught by the arcading, and he said, "There is a cinque cento house." So they went up to it, and when they saw the round arches they saw that they were standing before a building which was, probably, at least a thousand years old. So they went and told the Members of the Archæological Institute, who were then holding their annual meeting at Bath, what they had seen; but no one paid much attention to the matter. His friend, Mr. Jones, had carried through a valuable work in recovering and restoring the building to its original form and use. Only the prejudice of ignorance could question the date of the building. It was a standing answer to the foolish and often repeated assertion, that the English, before the Conquest, could not put stones and mortar together. In defence of this nonsense people quoted Bæda, as if he was any sort of authority for the centuries which passed between his time and the Conquest. The church they were in was not Norman, it was not a building raised after 1066, it was primitive and genuine Romanesque work. William of Malmesbury, who was a singularly acute observer in architectural matters, says in the *Gesta Pontificum*, "est ad hunc diem eo loco (apud Bradeford) ecclesiola, quam ad nomen beatissimi Laurentii (Aldhelmus) fecisse predicatur." Now, William of Malmesbury, who died before 1150, saw the introduction of a new style of building, and remarked upon it; and he noted that Ealdhelm did not build as men were building in his day, that is, as Bishop Roger built, who brought in a richer form of the Norman variety of Romanesque, but that Ealdhelm built *more Romano*, and of the truth of this they had a proof before them; they could see what Romanesque work was in England before the Norman style of building was introduced by Eadward. If they used their eyes they would see that this building was far older than 1066, that it was a simple imitation of what men had seen at Rome, or elsewhere in Roman buildings. When he first set eyes on the

Gate of Honorius, or rather of Stilicho, he thought at once of Bradford. They were undoubtedly standing in the church reared by the good Bishop Ealdhelm, on the scene of the victory of his uncle Cenwealh, the same church which William of Malmesbury saw and wrote about, and nothing short of documentary proof—a proof which was never likely to be brought forward—could ever shake him in his belief. The only argument against this belief, that which was drawn from the assertion that the English could not raise stone buildings, took its root in the blackness of darkness of ignorance of the facts of English history.

Mr. J. BATTEN said that he was far from disputing anything that Mr. Freeman had said; nevertheless, in order that the other side might be fairly represented, he would venture to draw attention to the use of the word 'predicatur' by William of Malmesbury in the sentence on which Mr. Freeman relied so much. Now, to write that a thing is said to have been so-and-so, does not show a very strong belief; in fact, in the case of a man who was known to be critical and scrupulous, such an expression almost throws a doubt on the theory advanced. For, really, if in one of Mr. Freeman's books he found that the writer could only say about some story that it was said to have happened, he should at once believe that it had not happened.

Mr. FREEMAN replied that Mr. Batten used the word "predicatur" somewhat unfairly.

On leaving the "ecclesiola," Prebendary WILKINSON drew attention to a sword, a spear head, and to a stone which was held to be part of a Roman column or altar, found on the south side of the railway, near Melksham station, near the place where other Roman remains had been found in 1862.

Mr. WITTS said that a large number of swords like the one now exhibited had been found near Cirencester, and with them some carboniferous remains, indicating, possibly, that they had been sent to the camp in some wooden case or chest.

The party next visited the parish church, which is dedicated to the Holy Trinity.

Mr. JONES here explained that the building was originally Norman, but had received a long course of enlargements and additions. In the restoration of the church, which he had had the pleasure of carrying out some few years ago, he had been able to discover and preserve several interesting points, which had before been hidden by galleries and such like. There used to be a gallery even across the chancel arch, shutting out the view of the chancel from the nave; and the east window was partly boarded up, to make room for an altar-piece. The remains of the 12th century Norman church are the butresses on the chancel and on the south side of the nave, windows in the chancel now built up, though still to be seen, traces of courses on the west of the nave and the lower portion of the turret. In the 14th century the church was lengthened, and the east and north-east windows put into the chancel. On the south side of the chancel is a Perpendicular window, which replaced the 14th century Decorated work. The two recessed tombs in the chancel were put up by the Hall family; that on the north is the more ancient, and is said to be to the memory of Agnes Hall, who died 1270. In the 16th century the square tower and its low spire were built. The builders found the staircase of the Norman turret, and so they built their tower a little to the north and used it again. The curious strut, which they could see inside, was thrown out to make a landing on the top of the newel staircase to lead into the tower. The north aisle was once in two portions, and contained the chantries of the B. Virgin and S. Nicholas. A block of wall, now removed, marked the division of the two. In the north aisle may still be seen a recess, which formed the reredos of the altar of S. Nicholas. At the east end, in the chantry of the B. Virgin, is the tomb of Thomas Horton, founder, and his wife Mary; they could see from the lack of dates in the inscription that the tomb had been set up during their lives, and the blanks had not been filled in afterwards. In this chantry traces of a rood-screen were to be seen. There was a squint from this chantry, now blocked up.

Mr. EARLE said that, in reference to the word "newel," which Mr. Jones had used, he had always thought the derivation was from a word meaning steep. He had seen it stated that it was a corruption of *nucalis*, from Latin *nux*, a staircase round a core or nut. Newel from *nucalis* would be like jewel from *jocale*.

In consequence of the lateness of the hour the chapel of S. Mary on Tory, the chapel on the bridge, and the Barton Farm were left unvisited. Mr. Saunders kindly provided some welcome refreshments to the party.

South Wraxall Manor House

was next visited, where Mr. Long, the Lord of the Manor, and the representative of the ancient family of Rood Ashton, though unable himself to be present, kindly provided refreshments for the crowd of visitors to his house; and in his stead his cousin, Mr. R. Long, received the party.

Mr. JONES said that the house was built in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, and had always been part of the property of the Long family. There was some difficulty in trying to find out the origin of the family, and how its connexion with South Wraxall began. He thought that the Wiltshire Longs came from Dorsetshire. Robert Long was the builder of the house. The gateway and the entrance hall were the oldest parts. The great dining hall took up all the centre of the house, and at one end was a solar, or private retiring room. The house had been much pulled about, and, he thought, considerably spoiled in 1630. He directed attention to a fine ceiling, and to several good chimney-pieces, one of which bore the date 1598.

The Evening Meeting,

which was to have begun at 8 p.m., was not opened until nearly an hour later, in consequence of the length of the excursion.

The PRESIDENT made an urgent appeal for compression, both in the papers, and as regards any discussion which might arise.

The MAYOR read a paper on the "Ancient Charters of the City of Bath," which is printed in Part II. He illustrated his remarks by exhibiting some of the most remarkable documents, and the paper was received with considerable applause.

Mr. HUNT said that it was not often that archæologists found a Mayor, who was able to appreciate and understand the value of the charters, by which the liberties of his city or town had been granted or secured. It was the lot of few to excel at once in the affairs of war and peace: to bear the scars of wounds gained in his country's cause, and to be able to comprehend how the liberty of his country arose. It was seldom the case that a city which had so long been under a spiritual lord possessed charters of such value as Bath had. There were a few points on which he would briefly touch. He had made enquiries about the Corpus M.S. at Cambridge, to which the Mayor attached so much weight, and was sorry to say that there was every reason to believe it a forgery, and of a much later date than 676. The charter of William Rufus to John de Villula, the Bishop, granted to him not only the monastery of S. Peter, but the city of Bath itself. The city remained in the hands of the Bishop until the time of Savaric, who engaged to return it to the King, in exchange for the Abbey of Glastonbury. The Gild Merchant, spoken of in the charter of Richard I, was an association of those who possessed full citizenship, they were at first probably the possessors of some part of the land of the township; then, generally, they were the merchants or traders of the town. In England its members quickly formed a burgher aristocracy, which oppressed the other inhabitants; but at first there is no reason to suppose that the craftsmen, the *minatus populus* of later days, were shut out from them. It was by the recognition of the Gild Merchant, as by this charter, that cities often gained their freedom. The word *seld*, about the meaning of which the Mayor had made enquiry, was a traders bench, answering to the modern "standing" in the market. The church of S. Mary de Stalls stood, as Mr. Dickinson informed

him, at the junction of Stall Street, Cheap Street, and the Abbey Churchyard, and was upon the Roman Forum. The word lestage signified a custom on each last of leather or other material, paid on landing the goods. He considered that the Mayor and Corporation of Bath had acted in a most praiseworthy manner in thus exhibiting their charters. He hoped that he might some day be allowed a minute and leisurely inspection, not only of these charters, but also of any other documents of a like character in the keeping of the Corporation. When, some years ago, he applied at Bristol for this permission, it was refused him; he was glad to find that no such refusal was likely to be his fate at Bath.

Mr. SCARTH recounted the failure of an attempt which he had once made, some twenty-four years since, to obtain a sight of these documents. He thought that one use of such meetings as the present was to draw out a collection such as was then before them.

Bishop CLIFFORD said that only those who were aware of the difficulty of getting sight of historical manuscripts in most cases could appreciate the generous spirit with which the Corporation had acted.

Captain MACKAY HERIOT, R.M., read a paper on "The Chemical Composition and Origin of the Bath Mineral Waters," which is printed in Part II.

Mr. BIGGS said that the value of the statistics afforded in the paper just read could hardly be appreciated at first sight. The almost absolute constancy of the waters was of the utmost importance in connexion with their medical use. He must bear testimony to the honesty and care with which Capt. Heriot had made his analysis.

Mr. C. MOORE was commissioned by Mr. E. C. Batten to read a paper on "The Cause of the Heat of the Bath Waters." As the hour was late, he gave a verbal abstract of it. The paper will be found printed *in extenso* in Part II.

Mr. THOS. KERSLAKE had prepared a paper on "A British

Metropolis in Somersetshire;" with the consent of the author, it was taken as read, and is printed in Part II.

A paper by Mr. E. GREEN, on "Nunney Castle," visited by the Society at its last meeting, was also crowded out, and is printed in Part II.

The meeting then broke up.

Excursion: Thursday.

A large party started at 10 a.m. from the Guildhall, and drove out of the city in the direction of Barrow Hill, a round knoll, which at a distance looks like a large artificial mound, but which has been formed by natural agencies, and is an outlier of the oolite. To the west of this lies

Englishcombe,

where the first halt was made. Englishcombe was, as Dr. Guest has pointed out, "English as against the Welsh on the other side of the Wansdyke."

The Barn was the first object of inspection. It is a very large and imposing building at the top of the hill, with a fine but simple roof, and a remarkably pretty window at one end.

Mr. HUNT said that the Barn belonged to the Prior and Convent of S. Peter at Bath. The little village was full of historical interest of different kinds. First, as its name showed, it marked for a while the boundary of our forefathers' settlements. When they in their turn were conquered, Englishcombe formed part of the vast property of the Bishop of Coutances. The traces of the architectural skill of the Normans were to be clearly seen in the church. At a later date the great family of the Gournays, the same family whose seat they had visited at East Harptree, raised a castle on the mound below them. As at East Harptree, so here, their estates had fallen to the Crown, and had become part of the property of the Prince of Wales. The barn in which they then stood had belonged to the monks of Bath,

the owners of the rectory and advowson of the church. In it were stored the tithes of their many manors. Among these tithes was one which was worth mentioning, as it marked a loss which we had sustained in cultivation. Here, doubtless, were stored the tithes of the vines of Lyncomb, which were confirmed to the monastery by Archbishop Theobald.

In the courtyard of the farm house adjoining the barn are two yew trees, which have joined and grown into one another.

The parish Church was next visited. It is not known to whom this church is dedicated. It has a Norman doorway, and a fine piece of Norman arcading on the northern side of the choir space beneath the tower, which stands between the chancel and the nave. On the south side is a large chapel, which probably belonged to the Gournay family. There are five bells in the tower; one, the fourth, belongs to the time before the change in religion made in the sixteenth century, as it bears the inscription "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis." There is another, which, as the form of the letters of the inscription and their arrangement are of the same character as on the fourth bell, probably belongs to the same period, and was cast at the same foundry.

Mr. Scarth remarked that in the villages round Bath they generally found the elements of a small Norman church. Here a good deal of rich Norman work was still left. He thought that the builders took their model from the Abbey Church of Bishop John de Villula, and he had no doubt but that there was a school of architects in Bath who gave plans for these Norman churches in the neighbourhood.

Mr. Hunt spoke of the lamentable state of the building. It was a sad thing to see one of the houses of God in our land, and one which showed that once, in what people were pleased to consider a dark time, wealth and taste had been freely used upon it, thus suffering from wanton mischief and long continued and disgraceful neglect. He believed that a better time was now beginning for the Church in Englishcombe. He called attention to the chancel, with its beautiful piece of Norman

arcading still left on one side, and its Norman piers and capitals; the arches were of course of later date. There was a good piscina in the chancel, and another small one in the south chapel. On the inside of the west wall of the chancel was a curious figure of the infant Saviour, swathed in swaddling clothes, like an Italian bambino.

The castle of the Gournays is totally destroyed, traces of a mound and ditch only remain upon the site. An old manor house of the sixteenth century once stood in the village, but it is now either destroyed or completely bereft of all its former architectural interest.

The party then went to the grass field between the church and the brook, to see the Wansdyke, which is here clearly marked. Mr. Scarth explained its course as far as it could be ascertained with any certainty. He referred to an account which he had formerly given of it, and which is reported in the Society's *Proceedings*, VI, ii, 101, and VII, ii, 9. It extended from some point near the Bristol Channel, in a continuous course, interrupted at intervals, all the way across Somerset and the Wiltshire Downs, to Savernake Forest, and to beyond Great Bedwyn; it reached a length of eighty miles, between the rivers Severn and Thames, and marked a territory which had probably been acquired by the Belgæ before the coming of the Romans into Britain. The great ridge on which they stood had its ditch to the north, and this was the prevailing feature of the earthwork, thrown up by a people coming from the south, and marking the quarter from whence they expected an enemy. It was traceable through Newton Park, and near Compton Dando, also at Stanton-bury, and on the northern side of Maes-knoll. Both these last named places were fortified points, and seemed to have strengthened this boundary line. Beyond Maes-knoll it had not been very accurately marked, though there were traditions of its existence; and a gentleman who, within the last ten years, had given much attention to its course, informed him that he believed undoubted traces of it existed between Maes-

knoll and the Severn. Looking now in the direction of Bath, they would find distinct traces of it from the Burnt House Turnpike-gate to the Cross Keys public-house (noted in the ordnance map), and again at the back of Prior Park, and over Hampton Down, where were the remains of an early British settlement. It crossed the Avon at a point between Bathford and Warley Manor, and was distinctly to be recognised in Mr. Skrine's property.[30] It was lost among the quarryings as it ascended to Farley down; but here, as it passed out of Somerset, it seemed to have been adapted by the Romans to the purposes of a road. This road could be shown to be later than the dyke. It was not needful for him now to trace it further, or to say more than it was one of the most interesting features of ancient Somerset.

The next place visited was

Newton S. Loe,

where the party were most kindly received and entertained by the Rector, the Rev. G. Gore. The village is remarkably pretty, and well cared for. The Church stands upon high ground, and the churchyard, and the trees, and park below it, are most pleasing. The church has been restored—about twenty years ago—and there is proof that no expense was spared in the work.

Mr. Ferry said that the most remarkable thing in the building was the arcade on the south side, and drew attention to the odd ending at the east end. He pointed out the narrow slit or doorway between the chancel and the south aisle, which had been blocked up, but was opened at the late restoration. It served as a squint, and also, perhaps, as a passage for the priest between the high altar and altar in the south aisle. The arcade on the north side was modern, and did not exactly match the old work. The roof, as every one could see, was modern also.

Mr. Hunt observed that, as so much money had been spent, and so many handsome things put into the church, it was a great

(30). For proof of this see the *Proceedings of the Bath Field Club*, vol. ii, pp. 151 and 368.

pity that the effect should be so marred by the cumbrous roof, which was ugly in itself, and entirely out of place in a Somersetshire church.

In the schoolroom a large collection of Roman remains was exhibited. These had been gathered together by the industry and ability of Mr. Glover, the schoolmaster of the parish. Some years ago, in making the railway, the remains of a Roman villa were found in the neighbourhood, and these formed the nucleus of Mr. Glover's collection, which comprised a number of tiles, coins, pottery, &c.

The hospitality of the Rector, the extreme heat, and the many beauties of the place caused a considerable delay, and the Secretary thought it advisable to give up the halt which he had proposed to make at Saltford. The party therefore drove on at once to

Keynsham.

The Church is a large and handsome building, but has suffered much from the decay of the stone with which it is partly built.

Mr. SCARTH said that it was always the parish church. He considered that the late restorations had been conducted with care and ability. The chancel was of the Early English period. The tower was only two centuries old, but was very good. He called attention to the monuments of the Bridges, ancestors of the Dukes of Chandos.

Mr. FREEMAN considered that the old tower was on the north side of the church, and that there was then an ornamented west front which was now lost by the tower having been built at the west end.

Rev. J. H. GRAY, the Vicar, said that that was the case, as he could show by documentary evidence. The old tower was struck by lightning and destroyed in 1634, and the present tower was built in the reign of Charles II.

Mr. FREEMAN was glad to find that, what from the evidence of the building he was sure must have been, was thus confirmed by another kind of proof. He asked whether Mr. Gray had

evidence to prove that the elaborate screen which still remained on the south side had ever stretched right across the east end.

Mr. GRAY said that he could show that this had been the case.

Mr. FREEMAN said that this would entitle the screen to be numbered amongst the other seventeenth century screens of the county.

The site of Keynsham Abbey was next visited. The ruins of the building have been lately discovered and excavated by Mr. Irvine. Unfortunately business engagements prevented this gentleman from attending the meeting, and no one present was able to give any satisfactory explanation of the remains. The bases of several columns and a large quantity of interesting and beautiful tile pavement are exposed to view, and many more tiles and pieces of carved stone are to be seen in the garden of Mr. Cox, the owner. It is much to be regretted that there is no kind of protection raised against the effects of the weather and the pilferings of visitors. Before it is too late, something should be done to guard these beautiful and precious relics.

Mr. SCARTH showed some diagrams made by Mr. Irvine of the ground plan and bits of the stone work.

Mr. HUNT said that the Abbey was founded by William, Earl of Gloucester, and was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, S.S. Peter and Paul. It was an Abbey of Canons Regular. Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, half brother to King Henry VI, was buried here. At the time of the dissolution, Thomas Bridges got the Abbey granted to him by Edward VI. There was another religious house in Keynsham, the remains of which could be seen in the street of the village. It was called the House of S. John the Baptist; it was perhaps used to receive strangers in, and probably belonged to the Abbey.

From Keynsham the party went on to

Bitton,

a prettily situated village, with a large paper mill belonging to Mr. Somerville, which has lately suffered from a disastrous fire.

At the vicarage, the Rev. H. Ellacombe showed a collection of Roman tiles, and other relics found in the garden and neighbourhood. The house contains many curious and beautiful works of art, and especially some fine pieces of old Venetian glass. The garden is a perfect school of botany, and is a triumph of science and skill.

At the Church, Mr. Ellacombe read a carefully prepared and interesting paper on the building, by his father, the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, of Clyst S. George, the great authority on matters of campanology. The paper itself could not be obtained by the Secretary, but the Vicar of Bitton has kindly made the following abstract of it.

"The Church of S. Mary, Bitton, is a handsome building of somewhat remarkable construction. It consists of a chancel, nave, north aisle, and western tower. The measurements of the present church are—chancel, 27 ft.; nave, 93 ft. 6 in.; and tower, 17 ft. 2 in.; the whole length being 137 ft. 8 in. The nave is the oldest part; it was originally longer than at present, and consisted of a single aisle. Of the most ancient parts there remain the abaci of the chancel arch, originally of a wider span than the present arch; the remains of an arch in the north wall which led either into a transept or into a tower, this arch is formed of very large stones and is without any sort of moulding; and the square string course above the chancel arch, on which rest the remains of what is supposed to be the rood. Of the same date probably are also the three square-headed windows of which traces remain in the north wall, and which have been long blocked up. What the exact date of this early work is, it is not easy to say, but it is certainly what is commonly called Saxon or more correctly pre-Norman. Of distinct Norman work, of a later date, there are the north and south doors, the corbel-table on the north and south of the nave, and the chancel arch. This arch, as now seen, is not ancient, but occupies the exact place of the Norman arch.

The Chantry of S. Catharine on the north side is the next in

date. It was built by Thomas de Button,[31] Bishop of Exeter, over the bodies of his father and mother, and was consecrated in 1299. The deed of consecration still remains in Worcester. It is an elegant building with three very rich sedilia, a piscina, an east window of three simple lights without cusps, two six single light windows with trefoil heads and good internal mouldings. There is a western doorway with a small window on either side, but it is doubtful whether there was ever an outside door.

The only Decorated work is a two-light window on the north side of the church.

There are good examples of Perpendicular work in the chancel, the tower and the windows of the nave. The chancel and tower were probably built at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century. The chancel is small compared with the extraordinary length of the nave. It has a large east window of five lights, somewhat like the east window of S. Mary, Redcliff, three sedilia of good proportions, but not so highly ornamented as those of the north chantry, and a groined roof of two bays of peculiar construction. The whole work in the chancel has been very carefully done, even to the external roofing, which is of stone, but this was found not to be weather-proof, and it therefore had an external roof of slate. North of the chancel is a vestry of the same date, also with a stone roof. The tower is in three stages, with a staircase turret on the north, capped with a small spire. The whole of the tower is of good workmanship, and the proportions are excellent. The buttresses are diagonal, with crocketed pinnacles springing from the set-offs of the buttresses in each stage, and the upper stage is battlemented, with smaller pinnacles springing out of the battlements. The west door has the heads of King Edward III

(31). The family of Button took their name from this place. Thomas Button, or de Button, was chosen Dean of Wells, 1284, and was promoted to the see of Exeter, 1292. Mr. Irvine considers that the figure on the right side of the north porch of the Cathedral Church of Wells represents him as Bishop. Vol. of *Proceedings*, xix. ii. 31. His uncle, William Button, was Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1248-1264, and so was his brother, another William Button, the Saint, 1267-1275.

and Queen Philippa at the termination of the hood moulding. There are some fine monuments in the church of ancient date. One, half raised and half incised, represents a knight, cross-legged, with shield bearing the arms of De Button. Another similar stone, with a floriated cross, is to the memory of Emmote de Hastings. In the north aisle are two small effigies, supposed to be of Canons of the Church of Wells. There are also many fragments of other monuments.

Of late years the nave has been entirely re-roofed with a hammer-beam roof of oak with cedar panelling, and has been re-seated with open seats of solid oak and richly carved bench ends, each end having a different design. Several painted windows have also been put in."

The Norman nave of the church is of twelfth century work, and is of unusual length. A corbel-table is carried the whole way along it. There are indications that the present nave has taken the place of something considerably earlier. On the north side, the corbel-table has evidently been carried along regardless of an earlier arch, of which the remains can be seen. On this side the masonry is of large square stones, and is most distinctly primitive in character. The nave is longer than would have been built by the Normans, had they not been following old lines. Bits of Roman brick and tile have been found round the church. Inside the building, the perfectly square string-course, above the present elaborate chancel arch, is pre-Norman. All these features point to an earlier church which must have been very narrow, and together with the smallness of the chancel and the vast length of the nave, they mark the remains of a true Roman basilica. Underneath the walls may yet be stumps of Roman columns. The Roman building may have been turned into a church, or a church may have been built upon its foundations and out of its materials; this was built again by the Normans in the twelfth century and recast in later times.

The date of the chantry, 1299, agrees well with the building itself. There is evidence that part of the tower was built in

the reign of Edward III, and this confirms the opinion of Professor Willis, that the Perpendicular style came in earlier than many people are inclined to think. Mr. Ellacombe considers that the carving which rests on the square string-course above the chancel arch is meant for the feet of the Lord upon the Cross, it may however be a symbolical representation of the Ascension. The church owes much to the liberality and good taste of the present Vicar and his father. The carving of the bench ends and the foliage work of the corbels, which uphold the roof, are very beautiful. Some fault may be found with the structure of the roof, as the large hammer-beams are out of place and are quite contrary to the characteristics of the west-country roofs. There is much to admire and even more to study in this remarkable building.

From the church some of the party went to the camp spoken of by Bishop Clifford in his paper on Roman Roads, which will be found in Part II of the present volume. This brought the Proceedings to an end. The weather during the visit to Bath was exceedingly hot, and perhaps for this reason the attendance was not so good as usual, especially at the Evening Meetings. The President, Mr. Jerom Murch, and Admiral Paynter, the Mayor of the city, did all in their power to forward the objects of the Society. But with these and some few other exceptions, the Bath people seemed to take little interest in the Meeting. The thanks of the Society are due to the Rev. H. H. Winwood, the Secretary of the Bath Field Club, and to Mr. C. Moore, who both acted as Local Secretaries of the Society, and who much helped the Secretary in charge of the Excursion. The absence of Mr. Winwood, who was on the Continent at the time of the Meeting, was a great loss, especially as he had done much in fixing and arranging the Excursions.

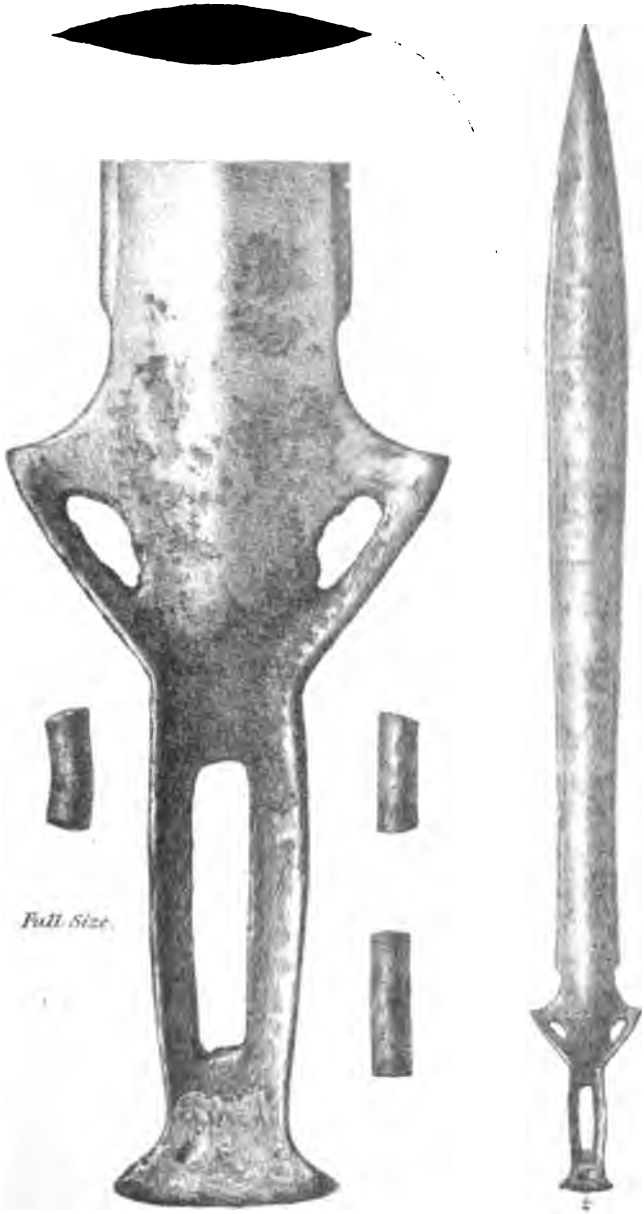
The Committee of the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution kindly threw open their building for the use of the Members of the Society.

The Local Museum

contained few objects worthy of record, with two great exceptions. The first of these was the remarkable series of charters and other municipal documents belonging to the city, shown by the liberal-minded kindness of the Mayor and Corporation. These documents are illustrated by a paper read by the then Mayor of the city. It may perhaps here be allowed the Secretary to record the regret with which every one, who attended our Meeting at Bath, must have heard of the unexpected death of the Mayor, Vice-Admiral Paynter, who took such a lively and intelligent interest in our work, and who added much to our pleasure by his help and genial manners. Some further remarks on the charters will be found at the end of Part I. The other object of special interest was a Bronze Sword, exhibited by the Bishop of Clifton. The Rev. E. L. Barnwell has kindly supplied us with the following note, which will serve to illustrate the importance of this remarkably perfect specimen, of which a lithograph is given.

The Bronze Sword

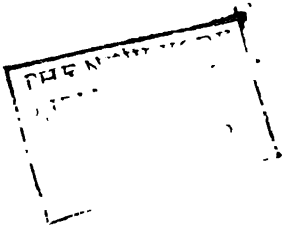
here represented was exhibited at the Society's temporary Museum at Bath on July, 1876. It is simply described as having been found near Midsummer Norton, but whether it was found under peculiar circumstances or not, was not stated on the ticket attached to it. There is nothing remarkable about its form, which is that called by the late Sir W. R. Wilde the narrow leaf-shaped, and a very pure example of that class it is. It is singularly perfect and bears no signs of usage, as if it had been turned fresh out of the maker's hands—a circumstance which may induce one to suspect that other weapons of the same kind may been once in company with it, as more than



BRONZE SWORD FOUND NEAR MIDSOMER NORTON. 1873.

W. BIDGOOD.

JEFFERIES BRISTOL



one instance is known of such finds which were in all probability the stock of some peripatetic dealer in, and repairer of, such articles. In some cases lumps of fused metal have been found, with perfect and broken weapons, which may either have been entrusted for repair to the tinker, if he may be called so, or taken in exchange for new weapons.

It is however the arrangement by which the wooden or bone handle was secured that gives additional interest to this weapon, for though the longer aperture frequently occurs in swords of this kind, yet the two small oblique ones are extremely rare. The nearest approach to it is to be seen in Fig. 332, p. 452 of the *Catalogue of Animal Materials and Bronze Implements* in the Royal Irish Academy. In that instance, however, two small circular rivet holes have been added, while the shape of the apertures is different, as far as can be judged from the illustration given on so small a scale. As a rule, however, sword handles having these oblong apertures are much more uncommon than those which are secured by pins of metal, varying from two to eight in number.

Swords of this shape are of two kinds—the broad and narrow leaf-shaped, to which latter division, as stated above, the Midsummer Norton sword is to be referred. Its length is very nearly twenty-four inches, which seems to be a medium size of such swords. One or two are about thirty inches long, but the normal length seems to be twenty-two or twenty-three inches.

There is a marked difference between the modes of forming the handles of these early weapons. Originally the blade only was cast, and the handle, probably a solid one of bone or wood, was fixed to it by pins. The next stage seems to have been the terminating the shoulder of the blade with a straight T-like tang. This was subsequently fitted with plates of some material, secured originally by pins riveted through the holes formed either in the casting or by the drill. The next alteration was that of the oblong apertures in addition to the riveted pins, as in the handle referred to above in the Dublin

collection. Subsequently it would seem these pins were done away with, as if sufficient security could be obtained by the more simple arrangements of the Somersetshire sword. In the Museum at Copenhagen is an immense number of Scandinavian swords, but among them there are very few examples of leaf-shape blades with flat handle-plates, and these according to Wilde are in all probability Irish. Instead of this flat handle-plate the blade ended in a long narrow stem or tang, to which the handle proper was fitted in more than one manner.

The handle of this and other swords of the same type and period are remarkable for their smallness, as if the men who used them were a smaller and a lighter-built race than that which at present inhabits this part of Europe. But this is not the correct explanation of these small handles, the fact being that the swords were not intended or adapted for cutting, but simply for thrusting, and were not grasped as the ordinary sabre of our cavalry. The bevelled edges of such swords are almost always so fine and thin that a heavy blow on a hard substance would shiver or destroy them, while the finer and sharper the edge the more easy and effectual would be the thrust. The early Saxon and Scandinavian swords on the other hand were more for cutting, are longer and heavier and furnished with handles which admitted of being used with the closed hand.

As the Somersetshire sword is decidedly Irish in character, if it is permitted to offer a very bold conjecture, one might suggest not that it found its way into Somersetshire from Ireland, although we have no traditions of the Irish Gael invading that county, however frequent their descents on the Welsh coast.

May our sword then be a relic of the same Gaelic race before they were swept northward and westward by Belgic or other invaders, until they found a resting place in Ireland and the western Highlands. But however it may have found its way into Somersetshire, there will probably be little difference of opinion that it should not leave the county, but by the generosity of its owner secure its final resting place in the Taunton Museum.

The Early Royal Charters of Bath.

BY W. HUNT, *Hon. Sec.*

When the Society visited Bath in July, the Mayor and Corporation kindly exhibited their charters and deeds. The Mayor, the late Admiral Paynter, made this collection of documents the subject of a paper, which is printed in the present Volume of Proceedings. The manuscripts generally, and especially the charters drew to themselves general and well deserved attention, and the paper of the Mayor was heard with more than ordinary interest. My duties during the Meeting did not allow me to give to these documents the time and thought, which I would otherwise have willingly devoted to them. I was forced to leave them with almost a cursory glance. The kindness of the Mayor Mr. Jerom Murch, our President, and of the Town Clerk, Mr. Stone, has enabled me to have another sight of some of these. As it is, other engagements have only allowed me to make a flying visit to the treasures contained in the Guildhall. When I was there this year, some of the documents were in London under the care of Mr. Riley and for his examination. Under the circumstances I thought that the best thing which could be done was to copy the exact words of two or three of the early royal charters, filling up the many contractions which, if printed, would only perplex and annoy the reader, and at the the same time would fail to bring before the mind any idea of what the originals are really like. I have ventured to add a few notes on the early history of Bath, so far as it is connected with these charters.

The chief documents which treat of the early history of Bath are to be found in the Library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, in the Record Office, in the office of the Chapter Clerk at Wells, and in the Guildhall of the city itself. The C.C.C. manuscripts were accepted as genuine by Dugdale and by Warner. Many of them are to be found in the Monasticon, where a list of them is given, and a number are also printed

in Warner's History of Bath. Though these documents are undoubtedly very ancient, yet their genuineness is, to say the least, open to suspicion, and there are few who would like to affirm that the writing is of the same period as any of the matters treated. They form in fact what is generally called a Cartulary of the Abbey, and their authority is neither more nor less than is to be given to such collections. Each entry must stand or fall by itself. Some of the Wells Chapter documents and the Tower MSS. are to be found in the Monasticon and in Warner. The charters and deeds kept at the Guildhall are for the most part unpublished. In old days the corporations of cities kept such things jealously guarded from all eyes. The unenlightened spirit which dictated such a course has passed away as far as Bath is concerned, greatly to the honour of her present civic rulers, and to the pleasure and profit of the student of municipal history.

In speaking of the early history of an English city all the old doctrines of Roman origin should be put out of the mind —the institutions, the customs, the very character and being of such a city are English, and nothing else. If likenesses to them are to be sought across the water, they are to be found rather in the cities of our Low Dutch kinsfolk, than in those of Italy or Gaul. In the case of most cities this warning might perhaps be considered impertinent; it can scarcely be so regarded when Bath is spoken of, where the traces of Roman occupation are so many and so noteworthy. The invasion of Ceawlin probably ended the municipal history of Aquæ Solis. The imitations of the mother city on the Tiber, which must have been seen in every street, in every institution of this far off daughter on the Avon, came to a sudden end. The city of Bath grew up on the ruins of Aquæ Solis. Like many another English town it grew up around a religious house. At the same time it is not to be classed along with such towns as Glastonbury. They probably would never have been at all, had it not been for the monastery in their midst. The extent

and splendour of the ruins of Aquæ Solis, and above all the hot mineral springs would have made Bath, even without the presence of its Abbey. The municipal history of Bath is therefore quite distinct from that of towns like Glastonbury or Wells. The city was affected by the presence of the Abbey, still it was not swamped by it. The Abbot had his tenants, but these did not include the whole of the freeholders, and when a Prior, instead of an Abbot, ruled the Church of S. Peter and S. Paul, the influence of the Religious House grew less within the city.

Whatever may be the truth about the story which tells how Osric, King of the Hwiccas, founded a nunnery in Bath, the assertion that Eadgar turned out secular Canons and filled their places with Benedictine Monks, if it cannot exactly be proved, is at least what one might look for. The city which was so favoured by Eadgar as to be made the scene of his coronation, formed part of the royal demesne of later times. A mint was established there by King Eadward, and many coins have been discovered which were struck there. We have one of these, of the time of Æthelred II, in our Museum at Taunton. In the time of the Confessor the city was held by Queen Eadygth. The larger part of the freeholders held of the Crown, though the Church of S. Peter had twenty-four burgesses, a mill and 12 acres of meadow land. When the see of the Somersetshire Bishoprick was changed, William II gave Bishop John all that had belonged to the Abbot; in fact the Bishop became Abbot and succeeded to all the rights of his predecessors. Besides these, the King gave him the whole of the city, with its mint and all things there. Thus Bath ceased to be a Kings town and became a Bishops town. All the profit and revenues of the city were devoted by Bishop John "to carry out the work which he had begun." This work was the rebuilding of the Church of S. Peter, for the old Abbey Church had been burned. All the burgesses of Bath now held of the Bishop and Abbot of the Church. This change did not probably make much

difference to the freeholders of the city. They simply paid their service to the Bishop, instead of to the Kings reeve, and the profits of their courts, and all other revenues were brought into the episcopal, instead of into the royal treasury. Meanwhile a change was taking place in their position. The citizens were no longer merely so many tenants of the King or the Bishop. They began to combine together for the common good; to form, it may be, different voluntary associations among themselves, to belong, we know, to one great union, which from the character of its members or of its objects, was called the Gild Merchant. It was in this way that the liberties and privileges of the city first arose; and the recognition of this Gild by royal charter may be fairly considered as the beginning of the modern municipal history of Bath. This charter was granted by King Richard in 1089, the first year of his reign. It seems worthy of notice that, though Bath was part of the possessions of the Bishop, yet all the early charters of the city were granted by the Crown. This is by no means the case with Wells. There the liberties and rights of the city depended chiefly on the charters of Bishops Robert, Reginald, and Savaric. This difference may point to the fact that the Bishop was by no means so great a man at Bath as he was at Wells. In order to combine the double characters of Bishop and Abbot, it was needful to appoint a Prior to rule the monastery. As long as Bishop John lived, this new appointment could not have made much difference. It became of importance when, first Bishop Godfrey, and next, and in a more marked degree, Bishop Robert began to undo some of the injustice from which Wells had suffered. Then the Prior became a great man, and, as his influence grew greater, the influence of the Bishop grew less. On the death of Robert, the see was kept vacant for nine years, and during this time all the revenues of the city, as well as of the rest of the possessions of the Bishoprick, were paid into the royal exchequer. Meanwhile, during this vacancy, the succession of the Priors was uninterrupted. Then Reginald Fitz

Joscelin was made Bishop, and it was in his time that Richard gave this charter to Bath. Now this Bishop Reginald confirmed the municipal rights which Bishop Robert gave to Wells, and, as we know that he was with King at least within a day or two of this charter being granted and almost certainly at the very time it was given, he no doubt approved it and perhaps asked for it. The charter is one which could only have been given by the King, because it grants privileges of trading within the Kings demesne. It seems strange that these privileges should be addressed to the members of the Gild Merchant, for this recognition of the Gild must have been the right of the lord of the city rather than of the King. It would have seemed more natural for the Bishop to have been the one to acknowledge this association of his own tenants, for this recognition of the Gild had the effect of giving it a legal existence. It made its members the ackowledged governing body in the city, the only men who enjoyed the full rights of citizenship. The Gild Brethren, the representatives of the older freehold tenants, had now become Merchant princes. They were collectively responsible for the civil burthens and enjoyed the honours and profits of ruling over their poorer neighbours. This charter is marked 1 in the collection at the Guildhall, and is doubtless the first charter granted to the citizens of Bath, as distinct from the monks of S. Peter. It was one of the many charters granted by this King, in return for the money which he greedily collected together for the expenses of the Crusade. It is as follows :—

> Ricardus dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dux Normanniæ Aquitaniæ, Comes Andagaviæ, Justiciariis Vicecomitibus Baronibus Præpositis Ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis totius Angliæ et Portuum maris, salutem. Praecipimus quod cives de Bathonia, qui sunt de Gilda eorum Mercatoria, habeant in omnibus eandem quietacionem et Libertatem de omnibus mercatis suis quocumque venerint, per terram vel aquam, de theoloneo de passagio de lestagio et de

omnibus aliis consuetudinibus et occasionibus et rebus, quam plenius et liberius habent cives nostri Wintonenses de Gilda eorum Mercatoria. Et prohibemus ne super hoc aliquis eos disturbet vel infestet ipsos vel res ipsorum super decem librarum forisfacturam. Testibus, Hugone Dunelmensi et Hugone Cestrensi et Huberto Saresberiensi Episcopis. Willelmo Marescallo, Johanne frater suo, Galfrido filio Petri. Datum apud Doveram per mandatum Willelmi Eliensis Electi Cancellarii nostri, vii die Decembris, Regni nostri anno primo.

The seal is of light green wax and is much broken. The writing is fine, and the document in splendid preservation.

This charter then grants to the men of Bath the quiet enjoyment of their Gild Merchant. The burgesses or tenants, who held by a free holding of the lord of the borough, formed societies or brotherhoods amongst themselves, not only for religious or social purposes, but also to manitain their rights and forward the ministration of justice. The most important of these Gilds, either from age or wealth, naturally included as its members the principal burgesses, and was perhaps strengthened by the union with it of like associations of less importance in the borough. Its members were merchants, and the objects of its being were mercantile as well as political. From these associations arose the practice of granting a corporate existence to a borough by the recognition of its Gild Merchant, which thus became the governing body. It is then from this charter of Richard that the corporate existence of the borough is to be dated. It grants to the members of this Gild Merchant freedom from the many vexatious imposts which shackled trade in those days; they were to be free to buy or sell by land or by water, that is of course within the King's demesne, without payment of tolls due to him on bringing goods into one of his fairs or markets, or on conveying them along his roads or over his bridges, or on the last of leather exported. The Gild Merchant of Bath was in fine to enjoy the same privileges, as

far as such exemptions were concerned, as that of Winchester. The charter of Winchester, to which reference is here made, was also granted by Richard in the first year of his reign, and among the witnesses appears the name of Reginald, Bishop of Bath. The likeness however of these two charters to each other is only so far as concerns tolls, for in other respects the charter of Winchester grants privileges, which do not seem to have been enjoyed by Bath until 40 Hen. III. The actual date and place and witnesses of the charter are all illustrated by reference to the compilation made by Walter of Coventry. The first few days of December, 1189, were passed by King Richard at Canterbury, where he was engaged in settling affairs both of church and state, before he left on the crusade. In attendance on his court on 5th December was Reginald of Bath, though his name does not appear in the charter before us. On the 6th December the King and his court moved to Dover, whence he embarked on the 11th for Calais. The names of Hugh Pudsey, Hubert Walter, William the Marshal and his brother John, Geoffrey Fitz Peter, and William Longchamp are sufficiently famous. The Bishop of Chester was Hugh Novant. The see of Lichfield, first moved to Chester, was soon after moved to Coventry, and the Bishop became Abbot of the Benedictine Abbey there, just as our Somersetshire Bishop held the Abbey of Bath, yet the old title of Chester was still used. This Bishop was chiefly remarkable for the warfare he carried on against his monks at Coventry. William Longchamp, who seems to have been appointed Chancellor while the King was at Dover, was consecrated 31st December.

The second charter in the keeping of the Corporation is that granted 31 Hen. III. It is printed in Warners History of Bath from the duplicate which he found in the Tower. The copy in the Guildhall is on a very thin skin, with a fine seal attached.

For a short time it seemed that the city of Bath would return to the Crown. Bishop Savaric engaged to restore it, in exchange for the Abbey of Glastonbury. His successor, Bishop

Joscelin, in 1218, agreed to give up his claim on Glastonbury; and Bath, with a momentary exception, remained in the hands of the Church until the Dissolution. The liberties of the city were however gained not by grant of the Abbot-Bishop, but from the Crown. The next royal charter was also granted by Henry the Third, in the 40th year of his reign. It is as follows:—

Henricus dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ dux Normanniæ Aquitaniæ Comes Andagaviæ Archiepiscopis &c. Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse omnibus nostris Bathoniæ quod ipsi et eorum heredes per totam terram et potestatem nostram in perpetuum habeant hanc libertatem, videlicet quod ipsi et eorum bona quocumque locorum in potestate nostra inventa non arestentur pro aliquo debito de quo fidejussores aut principales debitores non exstiterint, nisi forte ipsi debitores de eorum sint communa et potestate habentes unde de debitis suis in toto vel in parte satisfacere possint et dicti cives creditoribus eorundem debitorum in justicia defuerint et hoc rationabiliter constare possit. Quare volumus et firmiter praecipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod predicti cives et eorum heredes cives Bathoniæ per totam terram et potestatem nostram in perpetuum habeant libertatem, et ea de cetero libere et sine impedimento alicujus utantur, et prohibemus super forisfacturam nostram viginti librarum ne quis eos contra hanc libertatem et concessionem nostram molestare vel inquietare presumat. Hujus testibus, Guidone de Lezingan, Galfrido de Lezingan, Willelmo de Valentia, fratribus nostris, Johanne de Plessetis Comiti Warwik, Rogero de Thurkilby, Roberto Walerando, Walkelin de Arderen, Nicholo de S^to^ Mauro, Radulfo de Bakepitz (?), Bartholomeo le Bigot, Willelmo de S^to^ Ermino, Willelmo Gernum, et aliis. Data per manum nostram apud Gloucestram, vicesimo quarto die Julii, anno regni nostri quadragesimo.

This charter refers to the seizure of persons and goods by process of law. The citizen of any borough, who had been wronged by having to pay toll unjustly in another borough, might recover the amount of the damage from any member of the borough which had wronged him. It seems as though in like manner the creditor of a citizen of another borough claimed the right to attach the person and goods of any fellow-citizen of his debtor. This wide interpretation of what was in itself originally a valuable privilege must often have worked cruel injustice. This charter directs that the citizens of Bath should be exempt from such seizure, though if a debtor had no goods which could be seized within the city, and there was within the city some one who owed a debt to him, then that debt could be seized for payment. This freedom from arrest for the debts of others was granted to the city of Bristol by John, when he was as yet only Earl. This charter was perhaps granted by King Henry while on the march to Chester to meet the Welsh, who had risen in arms. His great need of money was no doubt the cause of its grant.

It is a curious and rather puzzling fact that, there is another charter purporting to have been granted to Bath on the same day, at the same place, and before the same witnesses, as the charter conferring this freedom from arrest. This second charter of the 24th July, 40 Hen. III, is to be found in an Inspeximus charter of 6 Edward I. Two copies of this Inspeximus are to be seen in the Guildhall; they are exactly like each other, and are numbered 6 and 7 of the series of early charters. This charter recites one granted by Henry III, at Gloucester, before the same witnesses as the charter copied above. The contents of the two charters of 40 Hen. III are totally different. As this second charter is printed by Warner as part of an Inspeximus charter of 2 Henry V, it is not worth while to give it at length or in Latin. It provides that all exchequer summonses should be heard within the walls; that no royal officers should interfere in causes, except in case of default of the citizens or their bailiffs;

that no one should be impleaded outside the city in respect of any lands or tenements within the city, except in crown cases; that coroners should be chosen to hear pleas of the crown; that if any one die, testate or intestate, their goods should be to their heirs in full; that the men of Bath should enjoy the like liberties as the citizens of London. On the same day, at the same place, and before the same witnesses, King Henry also granted a charter to Bristol, empowering the burgesses to choose a coroner, &c.; promising that the rights of heirs should be protected as in the Bath charter, and also providing that the liberties of London should be the model of those at Bristol. It is strange that these three charters should be all so exactly contemporaneous that all three must, as I may say, have lain on the same table together. There is not, as far as I know, to be found any where the original of this second Bath charter of 24th July. Can it possibly be a forgery? The rights which are granted by this charter are large and important. Most of them were secured to London by the great charter of Henry the First. They were all of them such as might well have been granted to Bristol in the latter part of the reign of Henry the Third; indeed, there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the Bristol charter. It is less to be expected that such rights should have been granted to Bath, for it was by no means so important a city. The strange point is, that on the same day, and in the same council, there should be granted two charters to Bath; one so much wider and more important than the other. Yet it does not seem likely that a forgery would be made the subject of an Inspeximus so soon after its date. There must have been many of the councillors of Henry the Third, who were alive in the sixth year of his son Edward. The amount of freedom enjoyed by a city must have been accurately known to the King's officers; it must above all have been known to the lords of the city, whose names, now at the ending of the thirteenth century, again appear in the Bath charters. In spite, then, of this strange fact that the two Bath charters and the Bristol charter, which is so

like in some of its provisions to the more suspicious of two, were all given at the same time; in spite also of the tenor of other charters of the time of Edward the First, which make it seem as though the position of Bath was by no means so high as this second charter of 40 Hen. III would lead us to expect; I am constrained to allow that it is almost impossible that larger charter should be a forgery.

The next two charters preserved at the Guildhall which I shall have to notice, mark a considerable difference in the position of the Bishop towards Bath. For this difference it seems to me possible to find a sufficient reason in the esteem in which the King held the Bishop. Edward, like his predecessor, the Confessor, assigned Bath to his Queen Eleanor. This must have been an invasion of the rights of the see. In 1275, Robert Burnell was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells. The new Bishop stood high in the favour of the King. He was learned and magnificent. He had been the Secretary and friend of Edward before he came to the throne, and on the death of Archbishop Boniface, Edward tried in vain to make the monks of Canterbury choose Robert to succeed him. When Edward became King he made Robert Chancellor and Treasurer. He was, after his royal master, the greatest statesman and the wisest man of his age, and throughout his life he enjoyed the confidence and esteem of the King. When he was consecrated Bishop, Edward restored Bath to the see; only keeping the manor of Barton in exchange for the patronage of Glastonbury. This grant was made in his third year, and is to be found printed in Dugdale. Later in the same year he granted the charter marked 4 in the Guildhall series, not to the men of Bath, but to the Bishop as their lord. As I cannot find out that it has ever been printed before, I give it here :—

> Edwardus dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ et dux Aquitaniæ Archiepiscopis, &c. Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse pro nobis et heredibus nostris venerabili patri Roberto Bathon. et Wellen. Epis-

copo quod omnes cives et omnes homines sui et successorum suorum de civitate sua Bathoniæ et ipsorum civium et hominum heredes quieti sint per totum regnum nostrum de theolonio et praestatione ejusdem theolonii in perpetuum. Quare volumus et firmiter praecipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod omnes cives et omnes homines predicti Episcopi et successorum suorum de predicta civitate sua Bathoniæ et ipsorum civium et hominum heredes quieti sint per totum regnum nostrum de theolonio et praestatione theolonii in perpetuum sicut predictum est. Hujus testibus, Venerabilibus patribus Waltero Roffensi et Thoma Herefordensi Episcopis. Willelmo de Valencia avunculo nostro, Thoma de Clare, Rogero de Mortuo mari, Mauricio de Crediton (?) Ottone de Grandisono, Magistro Roberto de Mardeburg Archidiacono Estriding, Hugone filio Ottonis, Johanne de Seyton et aliis. Data per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium, duo decimo die Nov., anno regni nostri tertio.

The grant gives nothing but freedom from toll, which had already been granted by the charter of Richard. Though at first sight it may seem to have been of little value, it was probably needful for two reasons. The short time during which the city was taken from the see might have been held to have wiped out former privileges conferred by the Crown. The city was restored, but was it restored with all the rights as against the King which it formerly had, or had the time during it was in the hands of the Crown caused it to lose anything? Freedom from toll was the point on which such a question as this was most likely to arise. This charter then set this matter at rest. Besides this, the charter of Richard granted freedom from toll to the citizens who were of the Gild Merchant, while this charter of Edward is in favour of all the citizens and all the men of the Bishop. The citizens here spoken of no doubt all belonged to the Gild Merchant of King Richard's time. The great movement which ended in the admission of craftsmen to a

share in the full rights of citizenship, would scarcely yet have spread so far. The citizens of Bath were those freehold tenants who in ancient times formed themselves into one Gild, and who as Gild Brethren received the charter of Richard. They formed a burgher oligarchy. They kept all the government to themselves, and ruled supreme in all municipal and mercantile matters, to the exclusion of the unprivileged craftsmen, who were in their eyes as lewd fellows of the baser sort, the "*minutus populus*," "*filii diversarum matrum.*" Besides these citizens, the men of the Bishop are also mentioned. These tenants of the see may, or may not have been of the Gild Merchant. The heirs of the twenty-four tenants of the Abbey, mentioned in Domesday, no doubt belonged to the dominant party in the city. There were, doubtless, many other tenants of the Bishop, who did not hold so good a position, yet, inasmuch as they held of the Bishop, they had equally with the ruling faction the rights secured by this charter. The Bishop of Rochester, whose name stands first among the witnesses to this document, was Walter of Merton, the founder of Merton College, Oxford. The Bishop of Hereford was Thomas Cantilupe, a famous theologian, who received canonization on account of his learning and holiness.

The next charter, marked 5 in the Guildhall collection, calls for little remark. It was given on the first day of September, in the twelfth year of King Edward's reign, and was, like the one before, directed to Bishop Robert. It granted a fair to be held each year. The charter is dated at Aberconway. In this year Edward moved the Monastery of Conway to Maynan in Denbighshire, and made a castle on the old site to restrain the Welsh. He spent the greater part of that year in the northern part of Wales, and was engaged in enforcing the English law throughout the country. Among the witnesses appears the name of Robert de Brus. This Robert was the Lord of Annandale, who afterwards claimed the crown of Scotland. He was the father of the Earl of Carrick, and grandfather of Robert, who became king. The charters marked 6 and 7 are, as we have seen,

duplicates of the Inspeximus charter of 6 Edward I. I have not had time to examine more of the charters of this ancient city. These notes will serve to show the importance and interest of the series of documents exhibited at our Meeting. I have only tried to touch on points in the charters, which seemed to me to require comment. This has made these remarks somewhat unconnected. Still I shall have been successful in my attempt if any reader is led to see how worthy these and such like documents are of our most laborious attention, and if the Mayor and Corporation of Bath will accept these notes, as a proof that our Society appreciates the liberal-minded kindness which they showed by exhibiting their splendid civic muniments to us during our late visit to their city.

The Museum.

ADDITIONS SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE LAST VOLUME:

The Archæological Journal.

Journal of the British Archæological Association.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.

Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.

Sussex Archæological Collections, vols. vii. to xii. and xxi. to xxvi.

Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, 18 vols.

Archæologia Cantiana, vols. ii. to x.

Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club, vol. iii., no. 3.

Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine, 12 nos.

Proceedings, vol. xv., *Memoirs*, vol. xxv., *and Catalogue of Library, of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society.*

Transactions of the Plymouth Institution and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society, vol. v., part 3.

Proceedings, and Annual Report for 1876, *of the Geologists' Association.*

Nine vols., various publications, from the Royal Norwegian University, Christiana.

Proceedings of the Bristol Naturalists' Society.

On a Roman Villa near Maidstone, by Mr. C. ROACH SMITH.

Stonehenge and its Barrows, by the author, Mr. LONG.

Oldmixon's History of England; Gliddon's Ancient Egypt; Life of William Baker; A Remedy for the Warres, by John Tarlton, preacher of God's word and minister of Ileminster, Somerset; *A contract answer to a correct copy of letters, written by Mr. Matthew Hole, vicar of Stoke-Gursey, in Sommersetshire, concerning the Gift and Forms of Prayer*, by J. M., minister of the Gospel in Bridgwater; by Miss JONES.

Observationes et conjecturæ in Numismata quædam Antiqua, 1691, by Mr. SURTEES.

History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor, Cornwall, parts 1 to 11; *Out of the World, or life in St. Kilda*, by Sir W. C. TREVELYAN, Bart.

Catalogue of the Library and Museum of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire; Catalogue of the Mayer Free Library, by Mr. JOSEPH MAYER.

The Parish of Ashburton—extracts from the Registers, by Mr. O. W. MALET.

Bell's British Quadrupeds; Lindley's Synopsis of the British Flora, by Dr. PRIOR.

A Primæval British Metropolis, with some notes on the Ancient Topography of the South-western Peninsula of Britain, by the author, Mr. THOMAS KERSLAKE.

Monograph of the British Aphides—Ray Society, 1875 (purchased).

Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (purchased).

The Church Rambler, a series of articles on the churches in the neighbourhood of Bath (purchased).

Transactions of the Society of Arts, vols. i. to xlvii., by Mr. ALFRED MAYNARD.

Water-colour drawing of two erratic boulders near Petaurah, Gurh-Kemaon, Himalayah, by Capt. R. D. GIBNEY.

Portrait of Judge Jeffreys (engraving) by Mr. SURTEES.

Nine views of Taunton and neighbourhood, in frames, by Mr. ALFRED MAYNARD.

View of Taunton Castle, by C. W. Bampfylde, 1789, by Rev. J. WARRE.

Portrait of John Havilland, by General DE HAVILLAND.

Drawing of Huish's Old Almshouses, Taunton, by Mr. JEBOULT.

Twenty-five parchment documents of the 14th and 15th centuries, by Mr. HUGH NORRIS.

A lot of prints of Somersetshire subjects, by Mr. JNO. BATTEN.

Skeletons of animals, birds, &c., by Miss HARRIES.

Old brass spoon, found in Hammet Street, Taunton, by Mr. HANDEL.

Four stone spear-heads and a stone-hammer, used also as a pipe, found near the sea coast, Kaffir Land, by Genl. Sir PERCY DOUGLAS, Bart.

Piece of gold quartz, from Australia, by Mr. T. M. DAVEY.

Encaustic tiles, keys, horse shoes, from Keynsham Abbey, by Mr. COX.

Two delft dishes and Bristol delft plate; coins of Germanicus, Nero, and Livia, Mary, William and Mary, George III, and some tokens, by Rev. I. S. GALE.

Trowel, found in the old tower of St. Mary Magdalene, Taunton, and used in laying the foundation stone of the new tower; photographs of the old tower and sections showing fractures of the walls; papers relating to the rebuilding of the tower, by Mr. F. MAY.

Twenty-four silver Greek and Roman coins, by Mr. SURTEES.

Cabinet of 17 drawers, containing a fine collection of British Lepidoptera, by Mr. W. G. RAWLINSON.

Three flint implements, found at Cissbury, April, 1876, by Mr. T. R. R. STEBBING.

Section of a spruce fir, showing remarkable eccentricity of growth, by Sir W. C. TREVELYAN, Bart.

Bristol delft plate, salt-glaze teapot, Leeds plate, and butter-boat, Liverpool plate, English maiolica dish (purchased).

Spode tile, by Mr. PARSONS.

A piece of Worcester ware, by Mr. G. WILLS.

Skins of birds, by Mr. MARSHALL.

Piece of British pottery, dug up at Brenley, Kent, by Mr. W. A. JONES.

Nine pieces of pottery, porcelain, and glass, by Mr. ALFRED MAYNARD.

Venetian glass vase, by Mr. WELMAN.

Two pieces delft ware, by Mr. BUTLAND.

A cross-bow and a collection of various Roman and other remains, found at Stanchester, Curry Rivel, by Mr. W. W. MUNCKTON.

Thirty-six pieces of pottery and porcelain, by Mr. WALTER MAYNARD.

Bellarmine or Grey Beard, by Mr. TURNER.

Thirteen bronze celts, two spear heads, two knives, and various portions of ornaments, &c., found in the grounds of the Union Workhouse, Taunton, by the BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

Henry VIII groat, by Mr. FRANKLIN.

Some engravings of Glastonbury Abbey and Wells Cathedral, and a lot of coins, by Mrs. J. H. PAYNE.

Conversazione Meetings.

1877.

Feb. 22nd.

On Classic Life in Athens, by Mr. C. H. Fox.

March 14th.

On Fungi, by Mr. C. E. Broome.

March 22nd.

On Language in its Lower Forms, by Mr. E. B. Tylor, LL.D., F.R.S.

April 17th.

On Bamboos and other Tropical Plants, by General Munro, C.B.

On the English Names of Wild Flowers and Plants, by the Rev. W. Tuckwell.

Proceedings

of the

Somersetshire Archæological and

Natural History Society,

1876, *Part II.*

PAPERS, ETC.

Ancient Bath Charters.

BY VICE-ADMIRAL PAYNTER,

Mayor of Bath.

THE early history of this kingdom has been enveloped in such a complicated maze of tradition, fable, romance, and speculative thought, from the days of the Venerable Bede to Geoffrey of Monmouth, that our most eminent historians, writing at various periods since on its origin, development, and progress, were obliged to trust to the miscellaneous literature of chroniclers whose credited legends, miscalled "British History," although at the time implicitly believed, have by a more searching system of methodical investigation been completely disproved by the palæographists of this country; and as these numerous, interesting, but romancing documents are subjected to the careful analysis of modern research we are obliged, in the cause of truth, to throw aside as worthless many of the cherished stories and traditions of the past as uncorroborated or prejudiced statements, purporting to be true records of transactions and

motives at the time they were written, but which in the hands of our modern archivists are proved to contain such erroneous and untrustworthy accounts of past events that no confidence can be placed in them until they have been sifted and winnowed by the intelligent research of modern scholarship. Year by year some hallowed story or cherished fallacy, some acts or deeds that exercised a strange fascination on our youth, are ruthlessly uprooted and abandoned in our schools, to make way for the plain, and often by no means exalted facts which are brought to light by the facilities afforded to investigators to examine manuscripts and memorials hitherto buried in the dust of ages. How little we knew of English, Spanish, or Italian political and religious life and history until the priceless libraries of the Escorial, Salamanca, Venice, Florence, and other great historical cities of the middle ages were, by permission of their respective governments, examined and published by modern archivists. Have not Grote, Prescott, Motley, Macaulay, and Froude, Niebuhr, Ranke, and Ewald, the Guistiniani and the French Encyclopædists, completely changed our educational course of history, both ancient and modern? How many dark pages of national life have been unfolded to us through the hitherto secret and confidential communications between ambassadors and their respective courts! and, on the other hand, many a noble reputation has been cleared from unmerited obloquy thrown on it by the malice hatred and jealousy of contemporary rivals and writers. To secure to this country the advantage of a critical and exhaustive investigation of historical and other documents bearing on the social and political life of this country, which for centuries past have been deposited in the muniment chests of ancient boroughs, parishes, chapter houses, and private collections, Mr. Gladstone's Government obtained a warrant, under the Royal Sign Manual, the 2nd April, 1869, appointing commissioners to make inquiries as to the places in which documents illustrative of history or of general public interest, belonging to public bodies or private persons are deposited, and to consider

whether, with the consent of the owners, means may not be taken to render such documents available for public reference. In consequence of the painstaking and indefatigable exertions of experts in deciphering ancient deeds and charters in the abbreviated Latin and French of those times, acting as inspectors under the authority of this commission, a mass of evidence illustrative of the laws, customs and usages of our forefathers, has been brought to light and made easily accessible. This commission has made five reports to Parliament since the commencement of its labours, 460 collections of manuscripts have been examined, and the utmost willingness has been displayed on the part of the municipalities, chapters, noblemen and gentlemen, to assist the service and forward the objects of the commissioners. Last year 70 collections were examined, and 50 reports prepared. The greatest interest naturally centres in the historical manuscripts in cathedrals, in the libraries of the Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and in the chests of old Corporations, especially when they belong to newly-discovered memoranda. Several of these old deeds date back to the twelfth century. The journals of the House of Lords have been brought down to 1643. The Corporation of Rye possesses a deed dated 1390, and a list of its mayors has been restored to light from 1300 to 1380 in almost unbroken succession. In the Weymouth and Melcomb Regis documents the names of the mayors of the fourteenth century have been brought to light, and in a memoir, dated 1610, the *Mayflower* that carried the pilgrim fathers to the shores of Massachusetts is mentioned. The Corporation of Sandwich has a much mutilated certificate in Latin of the collectors of customs of 1367, a forest charter of Edward I, and a confirmation of Magna Charta, both dated 1300, by the same Sovereign, but without seal. The archives of the Chapter of Canterbury contain at least 5,000 original manuscripts, exclusive of the registers and charters, many of which have furnished materials for ancient chroniclers and Church historians. Very few private collections date back earlier than the 16th century.

The Trentham collection ranges from the 16th to the 18th century. The manuscripts in possession of Sir Alexander Malet are of great historical value, amongst them a volume of letters written in the 12th century from Pope Paschal to King Henry, Matilda, Queen of England, and Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury; also a copy of the sentence of Pope Clement against the marriage of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, dated 1534. Amongst Mr. Majendie's collection is a Bede Roll, dated the end of the twelfth century, of the answers of 120 churches in various parts of the kingdom to the request of the Prioress of Bellingham to pray for the soul of her predecessor, Lucy, Countess of Oxford. The specimens of writing in the roll are very valuable for palæographic studies. Mr. Strickland's papers contain charters of the 12th century relating to estates held by his ancestors. In fact all the voluminous papers collected, indexed and published under the authority of this Historical Commission are full of information ranging from the highest regions of politics—from the dethronement, the accession, the execution of kings and nobles, down to the commonest occurrences of every-day life, and especially in the letters and correspondence in connexion with the Civil Wars of the Roses, of the Stuarts, and of the final overthrow of the Stuart dynasty by William of Orange. One of the inspectors under this commission, Mr. Henry Riley, has lately visited Bath for the purpose of obtaining access to our municipal documents, and a resolution was passed by the Town Council last month granting permission to Mr. Riley to examine at his leisure the records in the Guildhall. In May I had the pleasure of an interview with this gentleman, and at my request he translated several of the oldest manuscripts, dating from 1187 to 1336, most beautifully written in the Latin and French of that period. Several of the deeds and charters, with the seals of English Sovereigns and other notables attached to them by strings of cotton and silk, and which are kept in the municipal chest of this ancient city, were on Tuesday exposed for the first time to public view, and

are now on the table before you, arranged by the Town Clerk and his able assistant, Mr. Watts, for your inspection. Some of these parchments date from the days of King Richard the First down to the days of Elizabeth, who took a lively interest in her loyal city of Aquæ Solis. The documents especially relating to the antiquities of Bath, whether ecclesiastical, archæological, or political, have been removed from the Town Hall (if indeed they were ever placed there), and those interested in the earlier charters relating to public monuments, religious establishments, grants of land and tenements, must search for such deeds in the libraries of our universities and the record offices of York and Canterbury, &c. For instance, the earliest Bath grant known was the granting 100 villeins and their lands by King Osric, a Saxon king or chieftain of the Hwiccas, a tribe inhabiting Worcester and Gloucester, to the Abbess Britana, for the purpose of establishing a nunnery in Bath, bearing date A.D. 676, is at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the Latin almost unintelligible and part of the meaning obscure. In the appendix to Britton and Warner's Histories, copies of all the old charters and deeds relating to Bath which are not in the municipal library, will be found, as well as the names of the libraries where the originals are deposited. I brought to the notice of Mr. Freeman this grant of Osric's to the Abbess Britana in Warner's appendix No. 1, which he examined with much interest, and I have no doubt that some day the original document will be under the critical eye and intellect of our famous Somerset historian. He certainly did not appear to credit the existence of so old a piece of writing until I promised that I would show him the copy in Warner in corroboration of my statement, which I did, with the signatures of Osric and his friend Æthelred, king of Mercia, and witnessed amongst others by the celebrated Greek philosopher, Theodorus, Archbishop of Canterbury, who signs, "I, Theodorus, by grace of the King, Archbishop, witness and subscribe," &c., and in another document granting forty villeins and their lands in Slipi to the

Abbess Bernguid for her nunnery, he signs himself, "By the grace of God, Archbishop," &c. These and other grants of lands and tenements to the Abbey, monks, and guilds of Bath, dating from Osric's grant to the days of Richard I, are not in our keeping, but, as I said before, are to be found in the ecclesiastical libraries scattered over the kingdom. Of these charters one of William Rufus, dated A.D. 1090, granting the Abbey of Bath to John de Villula, of Tours, Bishop of Wells, is an object of considerable interest to antiquarians. In this State paper the King styles himself King of the English (Rex Anglorum). It is signed both with a cross and seal—the first being an Anglo-Saxon, the latter an Anglo-Norman attestation, and it is also witnessed and confirmed by some of the most renowned and highest ecclesiastics of the period. Another interesting deed consigning grants of lands to the Bath monks by the same John de Villula, Bishop of Wells, dated 1106, and which I believe is at Wells, is remarkable for the language of a Christian bishop, "Whoso shall infringe this my gift, may the curse of God and all His holy apostles and saints light upon him, and through my authority (although a sinner) let him be accursed for ever." I wonder from what part of the discourses of our Lord he borrowed this pious language; at all events he went in at that early period for the cumulative vote of censure. The deeds on this table have never been indexed, much less published, and until Mr. Riley reports upon them they will remain unknown to the public. The small piece of parchment I hold in my hand (No. 1) is a charter of Richard the Lion-hearted, under his seal, granting to the citizens of Bath free tolls—in this and other documents I read from Mr. Riley's translations. This date, 1189, is the first of legal memory, and the year in which a Mayor of London was first elected. "Richard, by the Grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Count of Anjou, to the justiciars, sheriffs, barons, provosts, ministers, and all other his faithful subjects of the whole of England and of the ports of the sea,

Greeting. We do command that the citizens of Bath, who are of their merchant guild, shall have in all things the same acquittance and freedom as to all their markets, wheresoever they shall come by land or by water, of toll, of passage, of lestage, and of all other customs and demands and matters, as fully and freely as our citizens of Winton of their merchant guild have, and we do forbid that anyone disturb or molest them hereon, or their property on pain of forfeiting 10£. Witnesses—Hugh of Durham, Hugh of Chester, and Hubert of Sarum, bishops; William, Marshal; John his brother; Geoffrey Fitz Peter. Given at Dover by the hand of William, bishop-elect of Ely, our chancellor, on the 7th day of December, in the first year of our reign." No. 7 is a lease dated 1218, and is remarkable for mentioning the situation of the property. It speaks of a seld at the south of the stalls of Bath, no doubt Stall street, as it is elsewhere named the street of stalls. Perhaps some gentleman present would tell us what a seld is? "Know present and to come that I Henry Stanold have given and granted and quit claimed for me and my heirs for ever, to Robert Puther and his heirs, the right which I had in the seld to the south of the stalls of Bath, which belonged to Richard Stanold, my father, and Matillis, my mother. The aforesaid Robert Puther and his heirs shall therefore hold and have the seld aforesaid freely, quietly, wholly, and honourably, without any reclamation and claim of me or my heirs, or such person to whom he shall wish to assign the same; rendering for it each year to the lords of the fee, at the feast of S. Michael, 7 pence, and at Hock Day 5 pence for land-gable [land tax] for all service and demand. And for this my gift-grant and quit-claim the said Robert Puther has given me one mark of silver. And I, Henry Stanold, touching the holy evangelists, for me and my heirs have sworn that we will never seek art or design whereby the aforesaid Robert Puther or his heirs, or any person to whom he shall wish to assign the same, shall be eloigned [removed] from the seld aforesaid, and that the same may be held, ratified and

established. I have corroborated this present charter with the impression of my seal. This grant and quit claim was solemnly made in the full hundred court of Bath, at the feast of S. Nicholas, in the third year after the death of S. John. These being witnesses, Hebas, Dean of Bath, Richard the chaplain, Swein, Thomas his son, Gervaise, David le Petit, Henry Cavvel, Hugh de Aixtone, Swein de Westone, Walter de Westone, John the Porter, Geoffrey the Porter, Richard la Waite and many others. Dated 3 Henry III, A.D. 1218-19." This and all other deeds of that period are executed and attested by numerous witnesses at some place of public meeting, a County Court, a Court of Leet, or of a Hundred, for the purpose of notoriety, and we find *cum multis aliis* always subjoined to a list of witnesses; this precaution was necessary in the feudal days of violence to secure property amongst the lower classes, and the seal of the donor or vendor was generally attached—seals having been introduced by Edward the Confessor with other Norman customs. No. 8 is a continuation of the lease of (No. 7) the same property, by the wife of Henry Stanhold, which property appears to have been given up on payment of forty-eight shillings, provided the fee to the lords of the soil be continued. It is also noticeable that the name Sweyne constantly occurs as witnesses to deeds—in all probability men of Danish descent. No. 9 is the grant of a seld to the South of the Stalls of Bath, from Walter, son of Surlow, to Juliana, daughter of William Springult, 1230, which was the same property he brought from Robert Puther, and Robert Puther bought, in 1218, from Matilda Stanhold. This deed is curious, as it mentions amongst numerous witnesses, John the Porter, at that time Mayor of Bath, and therefore contains perhaps the earliest mention of a Mayor. The device on the seal has the appearance of an ancient gem. No. 16 is the sale of a certain seld, situated at the west end of the church, dated 1256. This sale seems in consequence of the vendor being arrested for debt. No. 2 is a grant of Henry III, dated 1247.

No. 19 is another seld, by David le Petit, in 1250. No. 17, in 1260, is a grant by Peter Chamberlain, of Sheftebure, to Richard Donekar, vicar of South-Stoke of a yearly rent of 12s., from a house opposite the church of St. Mary de Stalls. In No. 3, dated 1280, the Mayor of Bath, Henry the tailor, is mentioned. No. 10 is a Charter of Edward II. No. 508 is a deed, grant of Edward I, attested by William de Valence, uncle of Edward I, to the citizens of Bath. A charter of Edward II, in the year 1313, granted full and independent jurisdiction to the magistrates of the city, inside the walls. Reference is made there to a Charter of Henry III, which it is hoped Mr. Riley will find. As to the size of these papers, I must remark on "the great improvement" modern times have produced. These small pieces of parchment sufficed to secure probably several hundred acres of land. The charters are also written on one piece of paper, the writing is admirable and the durability of the ink astonishing. In conclusion I may mention that Mr. Riley will examine the documents at his leisure in London, as there are some among them probably of great historical value—Mr. Riley having said himself that the Corporation possessed some of the oldest documents he had seen. Those documents will very likely be published in the report of the Commissioners, and a copy sent to this city, which, if it should come during the period of my mayoralty, I shall have properly printed and placed in the library of the municipality. These documents have not been hitherto published, because they were carefully guarded by some of the legal advisers of the Council, who were perhaps afraid that some of the charters might prove that property now held by the Corporation did not belong to it. If ever there was such an argument, I may say that I am dead against it, and that even at this late period restitution should be made to the rightful heirs. Let truth prevail, and let right be done.

On the Course of the Roman Road between Aquae Solis (Bath) and Isca Silurum (Caerleon).

BY THE HON. AND RIGHT REV. WILLIAM CLIFFORD,

Bishop of Clifton.

ROMAN Roads form a very interesting portion of the antiquities of Somerset. Several of them traversed the county in various directions, and (as might well be supposed) they have not failed to engage the attention of archæologists. But the subject has not been exhausted, and many doubts remain to be cleared up regarding these roads and the stations along their course. One of them led from Caleva Atrebatum (Silchester) to Isca Silurum (Caerleon) passing through Bath. That portion which lies between Silchester and Bath has been carefully described, and its course may be traced to this day. It is otherwise with regard to the remaining portion from Bath to Caerleon. The direction of the road, the site of the stations, and the position of the ferry across the Severn, are points which have given rise to much controversy, but no decisive conclusion has hitherto been come to. The present paper is an attempt to settle the question by a careful examination of the evidence which may be obtained on these points.

Our chief authority in the matter is the "Itinerarium Antonini," a document which (in its main features) is considered by Professor Nibby to belong truly, as its name implies, to the time of the Antonines, and which contains a catalogue of the military roads throughout the Roman empire, with the names of the stations, and the distance in miles between them. Many other roads existed in Britain, both for commerce and for

social intercourse, but those mentioned in the Itinerary were military roads especially designed for the use of the legions by which Rome held her sway over her vast empire.

The road from Silchester to Caerleon formed the direct line of military communication between Isca Silurum and Caleva Atrebatum. Isca was the most important station of the second legion, surnamed Augusta, which was charged with the defence of the south and western portion of Britain, whilst Silchester was the central and perhaps one of the most important Roman towns in the south of Britain. It is with the portion of this road leading from Bath to Caerleon that we are at present concerned.

The stations in the Itinerary are thus enumerated. Ab Isca: Venta Silurum, M.P. viiii., Abone, M.P. viiii., Trajectus, M.P. viiii., Aquis Solis, M.P. vi. Here then we find it stated that the distance by this road from Isca (Caerleon) to Bath was thirty-three miles, and that along the road were three stations, distant nine miles from each other, the last station being six miles from Bath.

The method hitherto adopted by those who have sought to verify these statements does not appear fair towards the writer of the Itinerary. Instead of first taking the facts as he states them and comparing them with existing localities, it has been usual to make at the outset various assumptions. First, it is *assumed* that the name of the station Trajectus (Passage) must bear reference to the passage of the Severn, and, therefore, it is further *assumed* that, by an error of transcribers, the two stations Trajectus and Abone have been transposed, so that the station six miles from Bath (the camp at Bitton) should be called Abone, and the name of Trajectus be given to the next station, at the spot where the Severn had to be crossed. Here, again, a third *assumption* is made regarding this spot. Some say it was Aust (the Old Passage), others prefer Sea Mills, near the mouth of the Avon. But Aust is fourteen miles from Bitton, whereas the distance between the two Roman stations is marked as only nine miles. Sea Mills, on the other hand, is distant about nine miles from Bitton, but it is distant full twelve miles from Caer-

went (Venta Silurum) the next station, whereas the distance according the Itinerary was only nine. In order to meet this difficulty recourse has to be made to a fourth assumption, viz., that the numerals in our copies of the Itinerary are corrupted, and so the distances are wrongly stated. A further attempt is made to overcome these difficulties by appealing to the authority of Richard of Cirencester, who introduces an additional station "Ad Sabrinam," which is not in the Itinerary of Antonine. There is now little doubt that the work ascribed to Richard of Cirencester is a forgery. But, moreover, as this author places his station, "Ad Sabrinam," only six miles from Bitton, adding, however, that "hence the passage is made across to Britannia Secunda" (Wales) to a place called Statio Trajecta, three miles from "Ad Sabrinam" and eight from Venta Silurum, or (Caerwent), and as all this is irreconcilable with the actual distances between Bitton, the Severn, and Caerleon, the intrusion of this writer adds to the confusion instead of removing the difficulty. It will be seen that when all these "assumptions" have been made, very little remains of the original statement laid down in the Itinerary. Still, for all this, the one object which alone could justify these arbitrary changes, viz., the harmonising of the account given in the Itinerary with existing localities, is not attained. A learned writer, after laying these different assumptions before his readers, sums up in these words: "Where numerals are corrupted, and the very ruins and vestiges of former roads have disappeared precise confirmation is hopeless." Now, it is this method which I say is so unfair toward the writer of the Itinerary. What right have we to begin by *assuming* that his statements are false? It *may be* that stations have been omitted or transposed, that numerals have been corrupted or names misspelt. All this may be; but it has to be proved, not to be assumed. Why should we make assumptions of any kind, at all events till we have tested the accuracy of the facts as stated in the Itinerary? The only right course to pursue in an inquiry of this sort, is to take the Old Roman's story as we find it, to follow him as our

guide, step by step, and at each spot to examine what evidence we can find either in support of, or in contradiction to, his statements. If we do this we shall, I think, not only find that he is right, but we shall also find many interesting facts in confirmation of what he says. First, then, he informs us that on leaving Isca Silurum after a march of nine miles we reach Venta Silurum. As no doubt exists about Isca being Caerleon, so neither can there be any doubt that Venta is Caer-Went. The distance is correctly stated; the origin of the name is obvious, and the remains that have been discovered there mark it as a Roman station. I will only call attention to the fact, that this station (the one at which the troops would halt prior to crossing the Severn) was more than two miles distant from the river. This is no more than what we should expect. For what Roman general with a view either to the comfort or safety of his troops, would choose the low banks of the Severn, subject as they are to the action of the tide, as a place of encampment, in preference to high ground in the neighbourhood? This observation will naturally lead us to suspect that a similar precaution was observed on the opposite side of the river, and so predispose us to look for the next station, not in the low marshes but on the adjoining heights. Our Roman guide now tells us that on leaving Caerwent in the direction of Bath we shall find the next station, Abone, at the distance of nine miles. As Caerwent is about two and a half miles from the Severn, we have to find, first, the point of embarcation on the Welsh side of the river; secondly, the landing place on the English side; and, thirdly, the site of the station itself. Now, the whole distance from Caerwent to Bath, as the crow flies, is close upon twenty-three miles, and as our guide says that the whole distance by road was only twenty-four, it follows that the road must have been a very direct one, as Roman roads usually were. In seeking, therefore, either for landing places or for stations we cannot deviate far from the straight line. Three miles distant from Caer-went, on the right bank of the Severn, may be seen the remains of a Roman entrenchment known as

Sudbrook Camp. This, I think, may well be taken to mark the site of *embarcation*, which would naturally be protected by military works, though (as I have already remarked) the Romans would not choose such a spot as *a station* for their troops. If we could but discover works of a similar character on the opposite side of the river we might be sure of our route. But the action of the tide, which is now only kept off by artificial embankments from flooding the low land on the left bank, has destroyed all such works, if they ever existed. Even on the Welsh side the tide has not been inactive. Only one half of Sudbrook camp remains, the other half has been carried away by the Severn. We must, therefore, have recourse to other means for finding the landing place and station we are in search of. Two places have been suggested for the Roman station, Aust, near Old Passage, and Sea Mills, near the mouth of the Avon. Both of these are too far out of the direct line, and therefore would lengthen the journey between Caerwent and Bath beyond the twenty-four miles allowed in the Itinerary. Moreover, Aust is too near Caerwent (six miles instead of nine), and too far from Bitton (fourteen miles instead of nine), to agree with the Itinerary. Add to this that the passage across from Aust to Sudbrook camp would be a very inconvenient one, as regards tide and rocks. And if we take the passage from Aust to Beachley, called the Old Passage, the troops after crossing the Severn would still find themselves cut off from Caerwent by the river Wye, and would have to march a long way up that river before they could ford it. Sea Mills in like manner is too far out of the direct line, and while it is at the right distance from Bitton (nine miles), it is too far from Caer-went (twelve miles by water instead of nine). Moreover, a little reflection will show that "Sea Mills," however suitable for a harbour, can never have been the starting point of a ferry to a point *up* the Severn. The tide, which would carry the boats down the Avon, would prevent their ascending the Severn. If boats went across the Severn from Sea Mills to Caerleon, they

would have gone down the river, in the direction of Newport, not up the river towards Caer-went. Therefore, the landing place on the English shore cannot have been either at Sea Mills, or at Aust. Nor can either of these places represent the station of Abone, according to the Itinerary. We must turn our attention elsewhere. If, starting from Sudbrook Camp, which is not three miles distant from Caer-went, we measure six miles in the direction of Bath, we find ourselves at Henbury, on the heights about two miles from the left bank of the Severn, nine miles from Caer-went, and nine from Bitton, the exact distance mentioned in the Itinerary. The village has a Saxon name, signifying the high camp, or the enclosure, or town on the hill. This name is applied to several ancient Roman camps in various parts of England ; Henbury-fort is the name of one such encampment near Honiton, in Devonshire ; and Hean-byrig (Hanbury), in Huntingdonshire, is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle (675). At Blaise Castle close to our Henbury are the remains of an ancient entrenchment, a plan and description of which may be seen in Seyer's *History of Bristol.* Here Roman coins have been found : one bearing the date "Aurelianus Cos. III," *i.e.* A.D. 275. A straight road leads from Henbury to the Severn. The river here is wide but free from rocks, and its course (as may be seen in the Ordnance Map) is favourable to boats crossing thence to Sudbrook Camp, with the aid of the tide. The road is called in the Ordnance Map "Chittening Street ;" and "Street" (via Strata, Paved way) is commonly used in Saxon to indicate a Roman road. It is also remarkable that in an old map of King's Forest near Bristol, dated 1610, in the possession of H. S. Wasborough, Esq., of Bristol, a road is indicated in the opposite direction in a line between Henbury and Bitton, and it is described "Auguste Causeway." This name is not improbably derived from the "Legio II. Augusta," whose chief station at Caerleon was approached by this road from Bath through Henbury. The Roman military roads were sometimes constructed by the legionaries themselves. As re-

gards the name of Abone given to this station, which seems to be derived from the River Abone (the Avon), I may remark (following the guidance of M. Violet-le-Duc in his interesting book *The Annals of a Fortress)* that when the Romans occupied the British fort on the hill the inhabitants would be forced to leave it, and they would naturally choose for their new residence a spot in the valley below the fort by the river, such as *Sea-Mills*. This became the town of Abone, the old fort became the Roman station and was called after the town the station of Abone. Since, therefore, by following our Roman guide we find that at the exact distance which he mentions, viz., nine miles from Caerwent, and nine from Bitton, there exist to this day the remains of an ancient encampment, that the spot is about the same distance from the left bank of the Severn as Caerwent is from the right bank, that the road leading from it in either direction bears a Roman name, that it lies in almost a direct line between Caerwent and Bath, that the passage of the Severn is here very convenient as regards the use of the tide, and that the position of the camp justly entitles it to be called "Abone," or the station at Avon-town; why should we doubt the accuracy of what our guide tells us? Henbury, or the camp at Blaize Castle, correctly answers to what he designates as the station Abone. The next station which he speaks of is Trajectus, nine miles from Abone, and six from Bath. This was doubtless Bitton, where the vestiges of a Roman camp are still visible. The only objection raised is with regard to its name. Why should it be called Trajectus, when the passage of the river Avon at that point could be effected by an ordinary bridge? In answer to this objection I would, in the first place, simply point to the two places in the immediate vicinity of Bitton, called respectively Salt-ford and Swine-ford. The Britons were not famed for bridges, but Tacitus remarks how daring they were in the use of fords, whether across marshes or rivers. Not being encumbered by superfluous clothing, they often used as fords places where only their head and shoulders reached above the

waters. Since, then, the names of Saltford and Swineford show that formerly the Avon was forded near this spot, why should we hesitate to believe that even before the occupation of the Romans, the British town or village here was known by the name of The Ford, which the Romans on occupying it translated Trajectus? But I think we have still more direct evidence to show that such was really the case. Some five miles S.W. of the Avon, up the valley of the river Chew, near Pensford, is the well-known Druidical circle of Stanton Drew. Some two miles from Bitton, north of the Avon, up the Golden Valley, are also to be found some Druidical stones. Now, whatever be the explanations of these ancient monuments, we may safely conclude that they mark localities where the Britons either resided, or assembled for religious or political purposes. They were resorted to as places of importance, and we cannot imagine that two such places existed at so short a distance from each other (only eight or nine miles) without being connected by a road, or by some path or track. Such path, track, or road, would naturally cross the river Avon at this spot; here, then, in days prior to the Roman Conquest, must have been the British ford—perhaps a boat was kept here—and a hamlet would be sure to grow up at a spot so frequently resorted to. It was called the Ford, or the Passage, and the Romans, when they occupied the spot, translated it into their own language, Trajectus.

From these remarks it will appear, that so far from the description given in the Itinerary of this Roman road through Bath being "corrupted and full of difficulties," the difficulties only commence when we begin to substitute our own assumptions for the express statements of the Roman author. If we take his facts as he states them, and simply follow his guidance, we find not only that his statements are free from all improbability and contradiction, but that their accuracy is attested, and the places he mentions may be identified even after the lapse of so many centuries, by monuments and names which still exist.

Roman Somerset, with special relation to recent discoveries in Bath.

BY THE REV. H. M. SCARTH, M.A.,
Prebendary of Wells.

IT will be remembered by some here present that when the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society met in Bath, 21st September, 1852, the fourth year after its foundation, I had the honour to give a brief account of the Roman remains that are preserved in the Museum of the Literary and Scientific Institution. The paper read on that occasion was published in the *Proceedings*, and the interest taken in the subject led to the expansion of it into a quarto volume published twelve years afterwards (1864). Twelve years have since elapsed, and in the course of those years something has been added to the information then brought together. I purpose therefore now to supply a notice of what has been acquired; but this notice must necessarily be brief, and can only indicate what may be done by careful observation and collection and preservation of remains when found, and may serve to show how necessary it is to note down every remnant of antiquity which may come to light. If another edition of *Aquæ Solis* were put forth, it would contain much matter that has accumulated, and rectify some errors which in years past it was impossible to avoid.

The study of Roman remains, and especially of inscriptions, has within the last fifteen years received increased attention, and a great impetus has been given to it by the publication of Dr. Mc Caul's *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions, with critical Notes*, in

1863, in which Somersetshire inscriptions form an important part; and by the publication of Bruce's *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, or inscriptions found on the line of the great northern barrier, or in the neighbourhood of it. But the chiefest and most important work is due to German industry, and that is the seventh volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, put forth by the Academy of Letters at Berlin. This volume contains all the inscriptions found in Britain brought together and edited by Prof. Hübner, under the title *Inscriptiones Britanniæ Latinæ*.[1] In this very scholarlike work Bath has received due attention, and the readings of the inscriptions are very accurately given, while the comments upon them are exceedingly valuable. Prof. Hübner has paid two visits to England, and the Roman remains of Bath were on one occasion very carefully examined, when I had the pleasure of seeing and conversing with him, and have since been in frequent communication. He has availed himself of all the authorities who have written on British Roman remains, consulting them with great care, always acknowledging their use and pointing out wherever they have fallen into any error.

The first subject to be noticed is the ancient name of Roman Bath, which has always been a fruitful subject of discussion. Is it *Aquæ Solis* or *Aquæ Sulis*? Prof. Hübner decides in favour of the latter, on account of the altars bearing inscriptions to the *Dea Sul*, but acknowledges that there is good authority for *Aquæ Solis*.[2] To myself it appears a point very difficult of solution, for *Sul* in the ancient Gaulish language seems to have been synonymous with *Sol*. Sul was the *Eye of the World*, the universal *Soul*, or *Soul* of the universe. Our word "soul" is from the Saxon, but in some of the cognate languages it approaches very near the word *Sul*. The word soul expresses inward illumination, and, if you note, *Sul* is connected with *Minerva* on two of the Bath altars. *Minerva*, the goddess of wisdom, is coupled with Sul, the goddess of illumination.

(1). Berlin, 1873, Reimer. (2). See *Ins. Brit. Lat.*, p. 24.

Leaving however our hearers to select whichever name they would like, I pass on to a point of not less importance, the rank held by Bath among the Roman cities of Britain. Aquæ Solis, or Aquæ Sulis, is distinguished from another *Aquæ*, the position of which though generally believed to be Buxton, in Derbyshire, has only lately been confirmed by lapidary evidence. Some years ago (1862) a Roman "Miliaria," or milestone, was discovered in the immediate neighbourhood of Buxton. This gives the name of one of the Roman stations mentioned by the chorographer, Ravennas, as the next to "Aquæ," and at the same time the distance between the two places is given, and so we are enabled to fix the position of "Aquæ" at Buxton, where the remains of Roman baths have been found.[3] We have therefore the remains of two watering places, famous in Roman as well as in modern times, "Aquæ" and "Aquæ Solis" or Sulis, but our Somersetshire city appears to have been most famous according to the account of Solinus, and judging from the remains that still exist. Indeed if I may quote the words of Prof. Hübner—"Omnis vero regio illa vestigiis vitæ Romanæ abundat: ut appareat loca etiam hodie amænitate cæli non minus quam aquarum salubritate clara inde ab initiis dominationis Romanæ precipue culta esse."

I hope this testimony of a German to the charm of the climate of Bath, as well as to the springs and the Roman remains, will have due weight with some who dwell here and who, it is to be feared, little regard the privileges of place, country, or clime! We see that Prof. Hübner regards the antiquities found in Bath for the most part as of *early date*, and this is certainly borne out by the discovery of the "Lamina" and pigs of Roman lead, bearing the Imperial stamp, in the district of Mendip. One as early as A.D. 44-48, found at Blagdon; two more of the time of Vespasian (A.D. 69-78), found at Charterhouse; and others of the time of the Antonines.

From the coming of Vespasian into this island, in the time of

(3). See *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiii., p. 54).

the Emperor Claudius, to the end of the second century, we may probably date the chief remains found in this city. Yet Bath itself does not appear to have been a military station. There was a military station at Combe Down, as the inscription found there in 1854 clearly proves,[4] but Bath itself was a place of resort for recovery of health in Roman times as well as at present. Prof. Hübner observes :—"Milites ex universa provincia huc convenisse valetudinis recuperandæ causa consentaneum est; unde non mirabimur titulos aut votivos aut sepulcrales hic repertos esse legionariorum, legionis II adjutricis, II Augustæ, VI Victricis, XX Valeriæ Victricis, item equitis Hispani in ala Vettoniana militantis." We have evidence of soldiers of four legions coming hither, and of Spanish cavalry, but we have a total absence of Roman tile or brick bearing the stamp of any legion. These remains are abundant at Caerleon, Chester, York, and elsewhere, and would have been found in Bath had there been any stationary camp. There are no traces either of a Roman municipality, the decurion or magistrate whose monument was found here belonged to Glocester (Colonia Glevum), not to Bath.

The discovery in 1854 of the inscribed stone at Combe Down,[5] established the fact that "Principia" or Roman "officers quarters" were situated there, and the remains since found of columns, coins, pottery, and glass, shew that dwellings existed there. Though no traces of a fortified camp have been found, yet such may have been obliterated by quarrying, as all the ground around has been much disturbed, and a large portion of land built upon. There are some traces of a fortified camp on Brerewyck Hill, near where the Foss Road entered Bath; but here also the operation of quarrying renders it very difficult to trace the entrenchments.

The sculptures once seen in the ancient walls of the city, but now lost, which are recorded by Leland, and drawn and

(4). See *Proc. Som. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* vol., 1854, p. 138.
(5). See *Proc. of Som. Arch. Soc.*, 1854, p. 135.

published by Doctor Guidott,[6] have been recently confirmed by the discovery of drawings also made of them by Dingley, in the time of Charles II, whose MS. has been published by the Camden Society (1867).

There is an additional sculpture given in Dingley's MS. of a figure bearing a palm branch in the right hand and a wand in the left.[7]

The authority for these sculptures has sometimes been doubted, on account of the representations given in Guidott's work being somewhat un-Roman. In the pen-and-ink sketches made by Dingley the Roman characteristics are better preserved, and no doubt is left of the authenticity of the sculptures.

It is much to be regretted that all these stones have perished. They had been built into the mediæval walls, as relics of a power that had passed away, but alas, in the removal of the walls in later times no care was taken to preserve them. In the autumn of 1867, and spring of 1868, the old White Hart Hotel was removed, to give place to the present Pump Room Hotel. In digging out the foundations, Roman remains were found at a depth of 16 feet, nearly opposite the Pump Room, and on the opposite side of Stall Street was found a basement of concrete, 24 feet 3 inches east and west, by 20 feet 3 inches north and south. Attached to this were large stones laid as a foundation. At a distance of 15 feet west the foundations of walls were laid bare, and 39 feet still further west foundations of other walls. These seem to have formed an ambulatory or covered walk round the building, the two lines of parallel wall being 10 feet 6 inches apart. The entire width of the court in which this building had stood was 112 feet, but the foundations of wall 15 feet from the mass of concrete seemed to shew that it had been surrounded by a portico or colonnade. Happily, an accurate plan of these remains was made, and notes taken by Mr. Irvine, and an account sent to the *Archæological Journal*

(6). A.D. 1676.

(7). See Dingley's *History from Marble*, A.D. 1680.

(5th March, 1868). Many interesting remains were found above these foundations, especially a fine piece of embossed glass, several coins, and some portions of sheet window glass. This is found in abundance all over the ancient city, when the Roman level is reached.[8] The removal of the old White Hart led to the confirmation of an idea which had been current previously, that after the Roman evacuation of the city it had been abandoned, and allowed to fall into ruin. The site was found to be covered up with mud, vegetable remains, and drift wood, the deposit being in places almost converted into peat. This is the description of Mr. Moore, who carefully examined the site during the process of clearing away the foundations for the new Pump Room Hotel. Mr. Earle, in Vol. II of the *Proceedings of the Bath Field Club*, has given a very interesting paper on "An Ancient Saxon Poem on a City in Ruins," supposed to be Bath, (read 15th March, 1871). This poem is from an old Saxon book preserved in the Chapter Library at Exeter. The description well applies to Bath, and can indeed apply to no other place; and this is a confirmation of the fact that the Roman city was probably abandoned for a century or more after the battle of Dyrham, A.D. 577.[9]

We are, many of us, acquainted with the work of Samuel Lysons, published in 1802, containing drawings of the chief Roman remains found in Bath, and entitled *Remains of Two Temples and other Antiquities discovered at Bath.* He has attempted the restoration of two temples from the fragments preserved. Since the time of this publication others have come to light, and by the aid of these Mr. Irvine, who was some time resident in Bath (having the oversight of works needful for the restoration of the Abbey Church), has given a more detailed restoration of the Roman temple in the *Proceedings of the Archæological Association* for the year 1873, p. 379. He has

(8). See notes by Mr. Irvine on the remains of the Roman Temple and Entrance Hall to the Roman Baths found at Bath in 1790, printed in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, 1874.

(9). See *Proc. of Bath Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Field Club*, vol. ii, No. 3, p. 259.

with great care and diligence succeeded in giving to every fragment its proper place, and has made two architectural drawings, of the temple and another building, in their original condition. We have the pediment, the frieze, the entablature, and the columns, all reproduced to scale, and the places assigned to the sculptures, still extant; also he has found out the probable position of the stone containing the sculptures of Hercules and Bacchus. He supposes that the building, called by Mr. Lysons the smaller temple, was the entrance to the Roman baths; and in the proposed frontage which he gives he finds the true position for the sculptures of the "four seasons," and also for the inscription, the fragments of which are placed in the passage of the Literary and Scientific Institution, together with the conjectural restoration. "This building," he says, "was erected probably later than the Temple," and was part of the Roman baths, &c., and he has computed the area covered by them at a length of 500 feet by a depth of 100.

I need not say how much the labours of Mr. Irvine have tended to elucidate the Roman vestiges still remaining in Bath. I have mentioned the inscription in the passage of the Institution, which has called forth the learning of eminent men in conjecturally filling up the missing spaces. Mr. Lysons gives a conjectural restoration (p. 5), and for further conjectures I would refer to *Aquæ Solis* (p. 20). Prof. Hübner is the last authority who has put forth an opinion, and his conjectural restoration is well worth our attention. He says, "In Bath anno 1790 in Stall Street detectæ sunt reliquiæ templi operis tectonici optimi, quæ servantur in Musæo. Litteræ sunt optimæ et alte incisæ, seculi puto secundi." He would read it—

C. PROTACIV s. libo, ti.c LAVDIVS. LIGVR sacer (dotes)*
DE AE.SVLISM inerv AE. NIMIA.VETVST ate conlapsum†

* restituto c OLEGO. LONGA. SERIA annorum abolito sedem
† sua pec VNIA. REFICI. ETREPINGICVR arunt idemque.

He supposes the restoration of the temple of Sul-Minerva to be the work of two priests of that goddess.

If this restoration of the temple was carried out in the *second century*, as Prof. Hübner seems to think from the form and execution of the lettering, "Litteræ sunt optimæ et alto incisæ, seculi puto secundi," it is another proof of the early settlement of Bath as a Roman town, for the inscription commemorates a *restoration*. Most of the altars hitherto found in Bath are dedicated to the goddess Sul, Sul-Minerva, the Sulevæ; one is dedicated to Mars Lucetius and Nemetona; but there was found in 1870, in removing a portion of the buildings of the Bath Market, adjoining the Guildhall, two portions of an altar dedicated to the "Genius Loci." The inscription had consisted of six lines, the first and last alone being distinctly legible, the other portions can only be conjecturally restored. The altar seems to have been erected in the time of the Emperor Hadrian; probably from A.D. 119—135. This is an addition made to the city collection of remains, for which we have to thank Mr. Davis, the city architect. An altar bearing the same inscription, DEO GENIO LOCI, was found at York in 1875, in making the new railway station.[10] It is a curious inference to be drawn from the discovery of this altar dedicated to the "Genius Loci,"—that the goddess Sul seems to have had other and distinct attributes. Although the tutelary deity presiding over the springs, she was not the "Genius Loci," unless it be supposed that the "Genius Loci" was only another title of the goddess Sul. "Not only the individual," says Prof. Döllinger, "but each and every place had its genius. There were countless genii of places." "Why talk to me," says Prudentius, "of the genius of Rome, when your wont is to ascribe a genius of their own to doors, houses, baths, and stables, and in every quarter of the town, and all places, you feign *thousands* of genii as existing, so that no corner is without its own ghost."[11] "No place," says Servius, "is without a genius, generally manifesting itself in a serpent." The

(10). See *Academy*, 9th Oct., 1875. (11). *Prud. Adv. Symmach*, ii, 444.

people, the curiæ, the centuries, the senate, the army, the different burgher companies, each and all had their genius. There were even genii of particular deities."[12] We may therefore infer that this genius had presided over the locality where the altar was found, or over some society. What a medley of belief do these remains open out before us! The goddess Sul, or Sul-Minerva, seems to have presided over the springs, and her tutelary guardianship to have rested over them. Thus it was at the head of the spring of the hot bath, near the site of S. John's Hospital, that the small and elegantly shaped altar, dedicated DEAE SVLIMINERVAE, by SVLINVS MATVRI FIL: was found, and with it many coins, deposited there, no doubt, as votive offerings. At the source of the Seine, which rises near Besançon, around the principal spring were found the foundation of a Roman temple, with busts, statues, and *ex voto* offerings—as arms, legs, hands—carved in stone. Also a vase, containing votive offerings in bronze, and silver, and as many as 830 coins, reaching from Augustus to Magnus Maximus. The vase was inscribed

DEAE SEQVANAE RVFVS DONAVIT.

A votive altar also, dedicated by Flavius or Flavianus—

AVG SAC DEAE SEQ

"To the August and Sacred Goddess Sequana."

PRO SAL[VTI]. NEP. SVI.

For the health of his nephew.[13]

As late as February, 1875, there was found at Bourbonne-les-Bains, department Haute-Marne, France, in clearing the reservoir of thermal waters, above 4,000 bronze coins or medals, and a few gold coins. These were no doubt *ex voto* offerings to the divinity of the spring; also small statuettes, beautifully wrought, and a stone pillar bearing inscriptions[14]—

(12). See Döllinger's *Gentile and Jew*, vol. ii, p. 62.

(13). See *Rapport sur les Découvertes faites aux Sources de la Seine, par* M. Baudot, 1845, Paris and Dejon. Also, *Journal* of Arch. Assoc., vol. xxxii, p. 61.

(14). See *Times* (London), 4th Feb., 1875.

BORVONI ET DAMONÆ, BORMONIAE DAMONAE,
APOLLINI BORVONI ET DAMONAE.

We have here the local deity Borvo dignified with the prefix of APOLLO. Apollo precedes Borvo, but at Bath *Sul* precedes Minerva. The barbarous goddess precedes the Roman. We never find *Minerva-Sul.* Borvo, however, was happily united to a wife or female companion called Damona, but we do not find the goddess Sul or Sul-Minerva to have been blessed with a husband. I am therefore disposed to regard *Sul* as only another form of *Sol*, and as combining the attributes of male and female.

It is interesting to find in different lands remains of the same grateful custom of making votive offerings for recovery of health. The altar in the Literary Institution, dedicated DEAE SVLI, by

AVF. LEMNVS,
PRO SALVTE ET INCOLVMITATE
AVF. MAXIMI.

whose freed-man he was, is a very pleasing record of gratitude. I cannot but look upon the noble Mineral Waters Hospital in the city of Bath, open to all the sick poor of the British Empire, where the cases of sickness might receive benefit from the healing springs, as a fitting monument—a votive altar—on behalf of a Christian people—a grand evidence of Christian love and charity, in obedience to the Divine command that "he who loveth God love his brother also."

Among the amended readings of the Bath inscriptions, where the lettering upon the stone is doubtful, made by Prof. Hübner, is one which deserves attention. In the Sydney Gardens was found the monumental stone to the priest of the goddess Sul, C. CALPVRNIVS, who died at the age of LXXV. The memorial is erected to him by his wife TRIFOSA : but the letters following this name are much obliterated. Prof. Hübner has, however, given what appears to be the true reading, viz. :—

LIB(ERTA) et conjunx,

"*freed-woman,*" who had become his wife, and probably nursed him in his old age, and been comfortably provided for by him, or she would not have erected the memorial stone, for monumental stones were generally tokens that means were provided for their erection. Thus, in the mutilated inscription (probably of the 1st century[15]) to a soldier of the 20th Legion, who had served his time, and was probably of Nicomedia, the monumental stone is erected by G. TIBERINVS, "*heres,*" his heir. To the Romans belongs pre-eminently the credit of inventing the *will.* It is doubtful whether a power of testation was known to any original society except the Romans. "Rudimentary forms of it (says Maine, in his *Treatise on Ancient Law*, p. 194) occur here and there, but most of them are not exempt from suspicion of Roman origin. The Athenian will was no doubt indigenous, but it was only an inchoate testament. Similarly the rudimentary testament which the Rabbinical Law of the Jews provides for, has been attributed to the Romans. . . . . The original institutions of the Jews have provided nowhere for the privileges of testatorship."

In addition to the memorial stone to the priest of "Sul," found in Sydney Gardens, other interments have since been found, but no inscriptions. A stone coffin, mentioned in *Aquæ Solis*, p. 101 ; and since then, in February, 1866, where a pit for gravel was opened near the boundary fence which separates the College play-ground from the gardens, many fragments of black earthenware and pottery, together with two flint arrow-heads, were found. Ashes and burnt matter were also found, and stones reddened by the action of fire. During the month of August, the same year, another gravel pit was opened in the same ground, and at the depth of 10 feet below the surface two stone coffins, lying side by side, were discovered. The one contained a skeleton, supposed to be that of a male, and the other the head of a horse. The head of a horse, interred in a stone box or cist, was also found at Combe Down, when the inscription

(15). See Hübner, *In. Brit. Lat.*, p. 27, No. 51.

there was discovered.[16] Many interments, both in sepulchral urns and in stone coffins, have been found at the foot of Bathwick Hill, in preparing sites for villas, and this leads to the belief that the south side of the river was used as a place of interment, and that probably a Roman road here passed up the hill, or along the river side.

Roman interments have been found on every side of Bath, especially where the lines of ancient road passed out of the city. In digging the foundation of the Church of St. Andrew, beyond Catherine Place, a stone coffin was found in 1870, also the remains of several interments. The traces of the Roman road which passed out of the city in the direction of Bitton were also found. This line of road has been called the Via Julia, and came from Marborough, the Roman Cunetio, and passing down Bathford hill and through Bath-Easton into Bath, passed out by way of Weston to Bitton, and on to Sea-Mills and the Severn at Aust.[17]

But the most important Roman road entering Bath and traversing Somerset was the Foss Road, coming from the sea coast at Seaton, passing through Ischalis (Ilchester) on towards Shepton Mallet, where it crossed another great line of Roman road which traversed the Mendip mineral district, and passing by Camerton entered Bath by Holloway, and left the city again by way of Walcot Street and Bath-Easton, and passing up Bath-Easton hill in the direction of Colerne, went on in a direct line to Cirencester. Along the course of this road the sites of many villas have been traced, and the pavements and hypocausts laid bare, as at Wellow, Camerton, Newton St. Loe, Combe Down, Bath-Easton, Colerne, South Wraxall, and Langridge.

These are enumerated in *Aquæ Solis*, pp. 112 and following, but since the publication of that work another has been opened

(16). See *Aquæ Solis*, p. 100.

(17). An account of this road will be found in Vol. I. of the *Proceedings* of the Bath Field Club.

near Tracey Park, in October, 1865, under the direction of the Bath Field Club, and a full account of this is given in the first volume of their *Proceedings.*

Somersetshire is rich in the remains of Roman villas, and these lie chiefly in the direction of the great Roman roads.[18] There are three principal lines of Roman road in Somerset, the *Foss*, the *Via Julia*, and what has been called the *Via ad Axium*, which passed from old Sarum, near Salisbury, to Shepton Mallet —where Roman pottery kilns have been discovered,—and through the mineral district of the Mendip Hills, where many vestiges of Roman mining are now being unearthed, on to the mouth of the Axe. The vestiges of Roman mining are here very abundant, and portions of inscriptions have been found cut in stone, as well as stamped in leaden lamina. These works go back to the time of Claudius.

Scattered throughout the *Proceedings* of this Society will be found notices of the tesselated pavements which have been opened in various parts of the county. It would be too long to attempt more than to mention those found at Pitney, at Chard, at Coker, at Ilchester, at Somerton ; but it is time that some steps were taken to collect and put together details of Roman Somerset—the roads, villas, Roman stations, coins, pottery, inscriptions, accompanied by a map noting the exact position where such relics have been found. This Society might devote something from its resources for the publication of such an account, and this should be done throughout every English county. Private efforts have accomplished much, but these ought to be seconded by public spirit, and the burden lightened for those who, if partially assisted, might accomplish much in the illustration of their country's antiquities.

(18). A Roman villa has lately been found in the Vale of Wrington at Lyehole, two miles east of Wrington,—in July 1876.

On West Somerset Patois.

BY FREDERIC THOMAS ELWORTHY,

Member of the Council of the Philological Society.

NOT very long ago, if an educated man had troubled himself about the talk of peasantry and common folk, he would have been as shocking to people of refined ideas as touching pitch would have been to the dandyism of the last century. Even now this feeling is not quite extinct.

Science, however, in these days has found in loathsome tar some of our richest dyes, and so from the much despised ploughman's patois modern investigation is distilling the no less rich ingredients with which to build up the history of the words we now utter and of the way we sound them.

To an Archæological Society no facts can be more in accord with its objects than those which relate to archaic speech. We may by a careful study of the handiwork our forefathers have left behind them, be able in some measure to read their history, their culture, and even their feelings; but from their speech may be best constructed that chapter of their history which precedes and ends with the times of distinct tradition or written document.

Our two Somersetshire dialects are the living memorial of two races now completely amalgamated; but by the differences of speech as still heard among their descendants we are carried back to the times when they were at deadly feud with each other; to a time far beyond that when, as we know from written history, the Saxon of the plains at last drove back the Briton to the hills and strongholds of the west. These differences still sharply mark the limits to which the right of might confined them, and not all the subsequent mixture with immigrant

Normans or Danes, nor the lapse of long centuries upon centuries has been able to obliterate the boundaries or to reduce the language to a dead level.

Though the Saxon tongue has at last conquered and become supreme, though proud Normans have trampled upon us, though French cookery was even in those days so much better than theirs, that our ancestors soon learnt to call every eatable animal by a French name the moment it was slaughtered; though no distinctly perceptible feature remains of their physical type, yet withal, our Celtic ancestors still speak in the west, and still insist on dressing the Saxo-Norman body of their speech in a clothing of their own fashion.

The difference between east and west in Somerset dialect, though noticed by nearly all who have written upon the subject, has not had its full weight given to it, probably because the western has not yet attracted attention at all in proportion to the eastern. Indeed it seems in comparison to be very little known, while many who have noticed it must have taken their facts at second hand.

The line dividing the districts of East and West Somerset, so far as dialect is concerned, has, I maintain, been wrongly placed at the river Parret, nor can the historical notice quoted from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the interesting introduction to the *Glossary*, published a year or two ago by this Society, be held to prove the present limits of the diverse speaking peoples. I have shown elsewhere that the Quantocks are what they might be expected to be, the natural boundary, and that the fortress of Taunton is the military post (built for the purpose of defending the Saxons of the plains from the Britons of the hills), which still sharply marks the line where the conquering Saxon tongue becomes modified in its sounds by the conquered, but not extinquished British. The west has adopted almost all the Saxon of the east, while it has retained a great deal of what was exclusively its own, and hence we have a dialect peculiarly rich and archaic.

Time would not permit, nor am I competent to enter into a comparison of the two dialects, but I will endeavour to lay before you a few of the principal features of the West Somerset, which though they may not be peculiar to it, have not so far been much noticed. Our chief characteristic is our delight in vowels and our indistinctness as to consonants. Mr. Melville Bell only reckons thirty-six vowels in his visible speech, but in West Somerset we have no less than forty-three or forty-four distinct vowel or diphthongal sounds, while probably many of these might be still further divided and classified.

Before going further it may be well to try to make it clear what is meant by dialect. In talking with people who take an interest in the subject, almost the first question is certain to be, "Do you know such or such a word?" Now these quaint local words are of great value, and so are the glossaries which enshrine them, but there will still be very distinct dialects when every one of these is forgotten by the "oldest inhabitant." If I ask a Yorkshire man where he comes from, the answer is short—direct, "*Aa koom fra Hool.*" I ask a west-country man the question in the same words—"*Wur due aay leev tue dee main? Wuul hon I be haum, I du leev tu Widheepeol.*" There are no glossary words here, but there is clearly dialect. Again, it is usual to remark upon any impolite mode of expression—a double or treble negative, for instance—such as "*I niver dedn zee no jis dhing avoar.*" "O, that is merely bad grammar." It is not bad grammar any more than the French double form of negative is bad grammar—it is another language from written English, with its own grammar and its own unwritten rules, both for conjugation, pronunciation, and inflexion. Moreover, these rules are adhered to with an exactness incredible to those who have not studied them, and altogether different from the chaos of polite English.

I was much edified the other day in reading in a biography of a certain non-conformist minister, that "he was invited to supply the pulpit, which he did with acceptance for a month." Surely

a future biographer would be justified in asserting of this good man, that he added to his vocation of preaching, that of a joiner, for he supplied a pulpit, and was paid by an acceptance at a month. This last is not dialect, but slang of a kind now much in use, and it is important to keep the distinction well in mind. When we hear a man reply to an enquiry as to whether a certain person had passed by, "*I ant azeed nort o'un,*" we are at once aware of something peculiar and altogether different to the answer we should get to the same question in the streets of London; yet in it are none of the quaint words to be found in glossaries, and if analysed we find nothing but a pronouncing, conjugating, and combining of common English words, yet differing from our written English, and especially differing from the way in which the same words would be pronounced and combined elsewhere to convey the same meaning. What, then, we mean by dialect is the divergence of speech, as found in different localities, whether in construction of sentences or pronunciation of words, from literary English. I may, perhaps, illlustrate further what I mean, by taking the word *come*, which I shall have occasion to refer to later on. If a crop of hay or corn has been cut, it is usual with us in West Somerset to speak of the time when it will be fit to stack, as *Dhikĕe vee-ŭl ŭl kaum tumaa-rŭ*—(That field will come to-morrow). Again, *Bee yoa-ur paiz ukaum?* means, Are your peas fit to gather? Halliwell is mistaken in giving "to be ripe" as a meaning for this word; it simply means fit or ready, and is used in this sense in connection with all kinds of garden or field produce. Again, *Uur-ul kaum oa-ut*, means, She will recover, and might be said of a person in sickness; but *Uur-ul kaum o dhaat*, would imply that she had been very angry, but that in time she would get the better of her temper. *Yue kaa-n kaum ut*, is a very frequent expression, and means, You are not able to do it. *Ee keod-n kaum ut*—(He could not manage it.) In these instances we have no words but what are found in the most correct English, but their pronuncia-

tion, and the very fine shades of meaning here given to them, mark a wide divergence, and go to show that real dialect consists less of the quaint words found in the glossaries, than in the various and peculiar senses and sounds given to what we now consider as ordinary English words.

A man would say to another, *Aai zeed a sheeps aid* (I saw a sheep's head); or he might say, *Aai zeed dhŭ aid o a sheep* (I saw the head of a sheep); in the first case his hearer would clearly understand that the sheep was dead, in the second that it was living. We admit our prolixity in general, but could Bacon himself have made so great a distinction in so few words?

Our dialect does not contain very much that can be certainly attributed to our Norman conquerors, yet some distinct traces of their influence are to be found; not so much in the words themselves, as in the way in which we still pronounce many, long since adopted into common English. Words now spelt with *ay*, are in polite society all sounded as long *a*—*may*, *day*, *play*, *way*, *pay*, &c. But we in West Somerset have two very distinct ways of sounding these words, and our sound pretty generally corresponds with what we may safely call the origin of the word. We say *paay*, *plaay*, *maay*, *praay*, *graay*, *kwaaint* and *kwaaintuns*; but, on the other hand, we almost invariably say *dai*, *way*, *zai*. Again, to weigh is with us to *wauy*—certainly very suggestive of *poids*. We *kunvauy* and *survauy*—but never convey or survey. We *bwoyl*, and *spwoyl*, and *pwoynt*. Our mangers are *maunjurs*. We *paiz* up our heavy weights with a *paizur*. We always say *faut* for fault, though we may be sure our forefathers would have said *faul*, dropping the *t* if they had heard an *l*. For rank we say *raunk*; while our *gilaufur* is surely a nearer approach to *giroflée* than the gilliflower of the grade a little above us, and who have been to school. If our floor is of wood we call it the *planch-een*, and a single board a *planch*. A brewing vat is a *keeve*, and wool waste from the comb is called *pinions*. A black cock is a *poolt*, and a wheel-track is a *rout*, not a rut. We *rape* our skin if we get scratched, and we pound our

cider apples into *pomĕe.* The round sieve-like implement formerly used in winnowing we call a *zimmut, i.e., sem-metre.* A very common exclamation is *ees fai!* which is nearly identical with the old form of *foi. Noa-un o yur uyzĕe pruyzĕez* is another common expression, which being interpreted means an objection to such quibbling and tricks as are associated in the bucolic mind with lawyers' proceedings at *nisi prius.* I do not cite this last so much as an instance of Norman, as an example of how words are moulded in being imported into a dialect. Besides these, there are the well known *su-ant* and *soce,* with doubtless many more words, which more or less faithfully represent the French words learnt by our ancestors from their Norman masters.

With respect to this word *soa-ŭs,* which is quite peculiar to the south-western counties—if a quotation showing its use in any old French author could be found, its origin would be set at rest; but, in default of such a distinct proof, its meaning and pronunciation seem to point to the French root *soce*—from the Latin socius—and we must accept it, therefore, as a legacy from our Norman conquerors, until better evidence can be found. It has been suggested to me by my friend Mr. Kerslake, that this word is a relic of the monkish preaching of the middle ages, when their Latin sermons were as thickly interlarded with *socii* as those of their modern successors are with "dear brethren." This is plausible, but not decisive.

In Forby's *Glossary of East Anglia, How now Sars!* is given as a form of address. This may mean *Sirs,* but the coincidence is strange, that in West Somerset we pronounce *sauce, Fr. sauce, saars. Roa-ŭs duk-n aapl saars* (Roast duck and apple sauce); *Noa-un o' yur saars* (None of your sauce). Here it is plain that we have worn the word *sauce* into *saars*; possibly the East Angles wore a word with a similar sound, but with a different meaning, in the same direction. If this be so, *How now Sars?* would be with us *How now so-us,* and would mean, How now friends—companions.

Not long ago I saw in a shop window an article marked *Distangy.*

Now this was not a very bad attempt, and it precisely represents what I wish to show. The draper had heard the word, knew its meaning, and imitated its sound as nearly as he could, in his own phonetics. So our ancestors must have learnt Norman words from the conquering people who came to settle among them, and in many cases must have handed down to us the very same sounds they seemed to hear, while in modern English the words have now become very greatly altered. That we should find some distinctly French words in our west country vocabulary, such as those I have given, is to be expected, for we have many undoubted Norman settlements in our district. We see this from the names of places, such as Huish Champflower, Quarm Monceaux, Molland Bottreaux, Wotton Courtenay, Langford Budville, Brompton Ralph, and others. It will be noticed that these are all double names, and their very form implies conquest—for the surname of the new lord is in each case added to the original name of the place; and we may take it for granted that the pronunciation of these Norman names has come down to us approximately as our forefathers heard them and imitated their sound, with much the same sort of accuracy as the Potomac, Wooloomooloo, Waitaki, and other native names are now sounded by us.

This Norman element in our dialect is curiously confirmed by the list of names discovered at Old Cleeve Abbey, in the very heart of our district, and given in the interesting paper read to us last year at Frome—such as Pointz, Trivet, Bardolf, Cary, Beauchamp, Fitz Nicholas, Furnaux, Peverill, Palton, Boteler, Mohun, &c.

Again, among our more educated people the ordinary idiom would be, "I took the both." I submit that the use of the article here may be a relic of French influence.

In preparing a list of words to illustrate our peculiar pronunciation,[1] I found that certain modes occur so regularly that a

(1). *West Somerset Dialect*, published by Philological and English Dialect Societies.

law may be very fairly induced from them. It is usual to charge us with always sounding *f* as *v* and *s* as *z*; nothing can be further from the truth. In those words with initial *f*—which have unquestionably come to us from Norman-French, or other distinctly foreign sources—we retain the *f* as sharply as in the politest talk, while if it be a Saxon word we as surely and invariably pronounce it as though spelt with *v*. The same rule applies with equal force to *s*-sounds. The French words retain the *s*, and the Saxon sound it as *z*. Although I have treated this at greater length elsewhere, yet I may venture to give here one or two examples by way of illustration. *Fan*, the verb and noun, is always *van*; but in *fancy*, both verb and noun have invariably the sharp *f*. Who ever heard a west-country man say *vace*, or *vaiver*, or *vaam-ley* (family); these are always, *fae-us*, *faivur*, and *faam-lee*. But, on the other hand, fall, fast, far, four, are as invariably—*vaul*, *vaas*, *vaar*, *vauw-ur*. Again, who ever heard of a *zarpunt* or a *zoa-urt*, or of our old friend, as *Zoa-ŭs*; but, nevertheless, we always *zay* that we *zeed geod zee-ŭd ŭzoa-ŭd way zand* (good seed sown with sand). 'Tis true that in caricaturing us, our *fs* and *s s* are all *vs* and *z s*; but those who laugh at us for this, only proclaim their own ignorance.

These few examples serve to show that we have a very distinct Norman ingredient in our talk, and I venture to bring it before you as a fit subject for further discussion and investigation.

Of the old Vikings we have scarcely a trace in our speech, or in our names. The gill, however, of Cumberland, is with us a *goy-ul*; and, as the meaning is nearly the same, I presume the words are synonymous.

In considering the various external influences which have come to bear upon our dialect, and which, at length, have brought it to be what it now is, we have to take full account of the conservatism and "*sae-um z faa-dhur zaed avoar me*" (same as father said before me) spirit of the uneducated people; and this has undoubtedly been the means of handing down to us, in an unaltered state, the changes—the reforms, if you will—the

additions to their vocabulary, which our forefathers adopted long ago. I repeat that we may, I think, take it for granted that, in the case of words, new to them, our ancestors adopted approximately the sounds given to those words by the people from whom they received them—just as we, now-a-days, have adopted *aun-velopes*, *porte monaies*, *sheeniongs*, and all the drapery stuffs by which we try to copy—and often succeed in caricaturing—both our neighbour's fashions, and his names for them.

In the preface to the glossary before referred to, the author ventures to hope that, while omitting mere peculiarities of pronunciation, not much of interest has been overlooked. Now, while admitting the great value and interest of the glossary as a collection of archaic words, yet, with all deference, I submit that the way in which those words are pronounced is just the point which, as a subject of study and analysis, gives them their value. I may, perhaps, make clearer what I mean by an illustration. I again take one of the commonest of English words—come. In received English we sound it *kum*. In the northern counties it is *koom*; but we in West Somerset say *kaum*. Now, there must first have been but one way of pronouncing it, afterwards a divergence in one or more directions. Of the origin of this word there is no doubt; and our west-country way of uttering it is strikingly like its modern German equivalent—proving either that the sound has remained unchanged since Saxon times, both here and in Germany, or that both we in the west and the races now inhabiting Germany have been subject to the same linguistic influences, and hence the sound denoting the same action has arrived in two widely divided countries at the same pitch. This latter alternative is so improbable that we must revert to the former, and hence we conclude that we in the west have maintained the original, and still pronounce the word correctly—while our London cousins are somewhat, and our Lancashire ones a great deal, wrong. This illustration, however, does not show any sign of Celtic influence, unless we find that this particular sound is thoroughly in harmony with it.

If that were so, this influence would be conservative; and hence we may account for this particular sound having been kept unchanged by us Celto-Saxons, while from other influences, people in other localities have wandered more or less away from the original. This naturally brings us to the enquiry, what have been the exact causes for these divergences into *Kum* and *koom*, but into them I must not now enter; yet this and similar enquiries seem to me to point the true way to the proper study of a dialect, and thereby to construct the links in the chain of the history of the people speaking it.

Our vowel sounds, or rather our pronunciation of vowels, is very greatly and constantly modified by the consonants immediately adjoining—sometimes by that preceeding, sometimes by that following: while, in their turn, the consonants are no less modified, labialized, or even changed by neighbouring vowels. I confess, however, that although there must certainly be laws by which these modifications occur, I have not yet been able to find the changes sufficiently regular to apply any process of induction to them. The word field we pronounce *vee-ul*, with a very distinct *v*; but in combination with heath—which we call *yeth*—we do not say *yeth vee-ul*, but *yef-l*—a distinct return to the hard *f*, while the long broken dipthong in *vee-ul* is whittled away to almost nothing. Again, we find the letter *r* very frequently transposed when joined to a *u* or *u* sound—*urd* (red), *gurt* (great), *burchez* (breeches), *bursh* (brush), *purty* (pretty), and many more are all well known, while the well worn example *urn* is no transposition at all, but a sample of true west-country conservatism—a correct sounding of the original—whilst the received English is the corruption and transposition. We, in our turn, as I must admit, have corrupted curds into *kridz*, curb-chain into *krub-chain*, tea-urn into *tai-run*, perspiration into *presfurae-ushun*; all of which corruptions are the usual forms with us.

Again, in polite English the periphrastic form of the verb is the emphatic. "I do know," "She does flirt," implies that

some one doubts, and that a stronger mode of assertion is needful. With us, however, all this is reversed. *Aai dă ploweĕ* (I do ploughy), *Aai dă keokeĕ* (I do cooky), *Ai da pangkeĕ*, (he pants), are the simple forms ; the emphatic being—*aai plowus, aai keokus, ai pangkus, ur waukus.* "*Ai kweed-us,*" a well known farrier gave to me as his decided diagnosis of a pony's ailment. Had he any doubt, he would have said *he do queedy* or *chow his queed, i.e.*, chew the cud. (The pony had a sore gum, and so seemed to be chewing.)

Mr. Skeat reminds me that the form here given is found in William of Palerme, and is written *es, e.g., fall-es.* That the ending *es* is found both in singular and plural—as *thei fall-es.* I keep to the spelling *us* for the singular, because it correctly represents our pronunciation of the inflexion, which is quite as distinct as in the pronoun *us.* In the plural we should generally say *dhai da vaaleĕ*, but often *dhai vaalz.*

When short *e* comes before *s*, it is almost always sounded like *a*, while before *l* it becomes *u*. Here one seemed to have found something like a law, and I determined to test it, by getting a native to speak a word that probably he heard for the first time. In conversation I used the word tesselated, pronouncing it very carefully ; and, as I expected, when I got the man to speak it he called it *tasulae-ŭtid.* So vest is always *vas*, west-country is *was-kuntreĕ;* while everyone knows that a telegram is a *tuligraam*, a bell a *bul*, and a well a *wul.*

To many it may seem a paradox to speak of the grammar of a dialect ; but we in West Somerset have many peculiarities of grammar remaining in a perfect form, while they have become obsolete—even if they ever existed—in what is now called good English. For instance, the well known termination *ĕe*—as in *ai da kwee-dĕe*—which is found in all the south-western dialects, is in West Somerset and Devon the invariable sign or inflexion of the neuter infinitive. *Kut dha dhaachez avoar-an eens thai mid kwĕeleĕ.* In this sentence, one of the commonest orders of a farmer to his men, we have two or three peculiarities which

it may be well to examine. First we find an example of the interchange of *v* and *th*, common to all languages; and in this case—vetches into *dhaachez*—we have the exact counterpart and opposite of the instance mentioned in Dr. Prior's paper, before referred to, where "thatch" is pronounced "fatch." I have often heard *vaa-ch* for thatch, but I do not ever remember hearing *fach*. *Dhury* for very, is to be heard daily; and a turning lathe is always called a *lae-uv*. An instance of this change, first of *b* into *v*, and then of *v* or *f* into *th*, is found in polite English. The plant febre fuge, or, Anglicised, fever fuge, then becomes *feather few*, while in West Somerset it is *vadhur voa*. *Eens* signifies in the sentence given above, "in order that," but it is very often used to express the manner or "how." *Yur! lat mĕe shoaw ĕe eens taiz.* "Here! let me show you how it is." *Lat un buyd eens ĕe aiz.* "Let it stay as it is." Since writing this I overheard a woman say, *Ta aulur aatur anybaudĕe eens dhai bĕe ŭgwain oam kwei-ŭt leik wai dhvr aarŭns! tez shee-ŭm-feol.* "To call after one, whilst one is quietly going home with one's errands! 'tis shameful." Here *eens* clearly means "whilst," or at the "time when." This must not be confounded with the same word given in the glossary before referred to. In West Somerset we should say *een-to* for "except," "all but." *Dhae-ŭr wuz a dizn een ta waun ur teo.* "There was a dozen, all but one or two." We should never say *eens-to* in any case. I should think the *een-to* might mean even-to, or perhaps "in," for we always pronounce the preposition "in" as *een*—"Could he not get in?" *Keod-n ur git een?* Halliwell has *een—into, within, short of*, as a *Herefordshire* word; so this latter is not peculiar to our west country, while *eens* is. To return, *Kweeŭlĕe* is the neuter infinitive of the verb to *kwĕel* or quill—that is, to dry up like hay. In the transitive form we should say, *Dha zin-l zuen kweel aup dhai flauwurz.* "The sun will soon quill up those flowers." But we should never say *Kweelĕe aup dhai flauwurz.* Whether this word is in any way related to quell, I leave to etymologists, but as regards the inflexion—I mean this neuter

infinitive termination *ĕe*—Prince Lucien Bonaparte, than whom I presume there is no higher authority, says, that an inflexion specially denoting the intransitive infinitive of verbs is found in only three languages, whether ancient or modern—*e.g.*, in the dialects of the south-western counties of England, in Basque, and in Hungarian. Now, we know that these two last are nearly related; and, moreover, they are among the most ancient of all languages, probably containing many elements of primeval speech, or what is known an non-Aryan; and the fact of our having now, in this 19th century, a peculiar grammatical inflexion in common with them, but not to be found in any, not even the most grammatical of ancient literary dead languages, surely points to some very early connection between their forefathers and ours, which has lasted in a living form down to our day. We have one or two other peculiarities which the same authority pronounces non-Aryan; and since writing this paper I have been informed that Professor Huxley stated in a lecture, I believe, on physical types, that there was an undoubted non-Aryan settlement on the south-western coast of England. (I have been unable to procure this lecture.) If this be so, we have here a monument, beside which the most ancient piece of builder's work to be found in this country becomes a thing of yesterday—a monument which may perhaps be anterior to Stonehenge and co-eval with flint weapons.

On the other hand Mr. Skeat says of this inflexion *ĕe*, "that it was originally the mark of a secondary or derived verb, and oddly that it was generally transitive." This however assumes it for granted that this termination is the remains of the Anglo-Saxon inflexion *igan* or *ian*, and Mr. Skeat quotes Piers Plowman in support of this. I must, however, leave this to be decided by savants. It is strange nevertheless that word-wear should have got rid of a termination which is grateful to our ears, and have retained one which is less so. It is true we say *dhikĕe*, and the termination moreover is with us a kind of endearative or diminutive, as in all other districts, as *Bee-ulĕe*, *Maa-lĕe*, *Saa-lĕe*;

yet on the other hand in some words where it is found in English we drop it, as *kaar* for carry, *stoar* for story, *kwaur* for quarry.

Another grammatical inflexion is the well known participial prefix *a* or *ŭ*, corresponding to the German *ge*, and which Chaucer, Shakspeare, and many old writers wrote *y*. With us the peculiarity is that we use it with all past participles and participial adjectives, whatever may have been their origin—*Eev-ŭbin an ŭtaord dhe weendur, aan ur?* "He has been and broken the window has he not?" Here we have the prefix to the past participles of both the auxiliary and the principal verb, while in the word *ŭtaord* we have a reminder that we tear our crockery and break our clothes. The same word is a good example of a pleonasm where the strong conjugation is supplemented by the inflexion of the weak. There are many other instances of this, as *ŭteokt, ŭbroakt*, &c. I remember well an accident to a cart, and the account given by the man who was driving was, being interpreted, "the horse ran away, threw me out, tore the wall, and my breeches were broken to pieces." *Dha aus urnd awai, an droa-ud mĕe out, taord dha waal, an mi oal burchez wuz ŭbroakt aul tue liputs.* With all our present participles we use a similar sounding prefix—"She is going to be married to John Fouracre." *Urz ŭgwaain tŭ waid wae Jan Vauu-ur-ae-ŭkur.* "I am living at home with mother." *Ei be ŭbeidin oam laung wae maudhur.* I do not assert that this is the same as the prefix to the past participle, but I venture to doubt the usual explanation, *e.g.* that it is a corruption or contraction of *on*.

The use of *ize* or *ice* for I, which is said by Halliwell to be a characteristic of West Somerset, and by Jennings to be found in the south of the county, has never come within my pretty long experience. It is common to say "I am almost too late am I not?" *Ei be maus tue lae-ŭt, bae-un ĕes?* "I can carry it, can I not?" *Kan kaar-n kaa-n ĕes?* But this is clearly the use of *us* for I in the interrogative form. This interrogative is the only

way in West Somerset in which we use *us* as a nominative, while in North Devon *us* is the rule and not the exception. The other forms of *I*, as *utchy* and *ch*, as given by Jennings and others as Somersetshire, do not occur in our district, and I can find no trace of them.

Again, *ur* is said to be used for *he*, but it is only so used interrogatively and in a limited way, as "He is not going, is he?" *ĕe idn ŭgwaain ez ur?* *Ur* is however used for the indefinite pronoun *one*, and also for *you*—"One must not go in there must one." *Mus-n geen dhae-ŭr mus ur?* "Take hold of it will you? *Dhee vangun wul ur?* *Ur* is most generally used for the nominative "she," but *he* is very often used for she, as also it is nearly always for "it." The usual indefinite pronoun is *Aneĕ baudĕe. Aneĕ baudĕe keod-n voo-urd tŭ due ut vur dha monĕe.* "*I* or *one* could not āfford to do it for the money." *Anĕe-baudĕe mid wurk dhaer ving-gurz tŭ boa-ŭnz an neet git thankĕe vaur ut.* "One may work their fingers to bones and not get thank you for it." *Tid-n-z auf anĕe-baudee wuz ŭgwaain vur tŭ be ŭpaaid vur ŭdue-ĕen o-ŭt.* "It is not as though one were going to be paid for doing it." It is a noticeable feature that with this indefinite pronoun—anybody—we always construe in the plural, as in the example just given, *i.e.*, their fingers. Mr. Skeat remarks that *ur* occurs in Trevisa, who spells it *a*. Halliwell also give *a* for he, but I do not think this *a* and our *ur* are the same. We too use *a*, or rather short *ŭ*, for he. *Zoa ŭ zaed*, or *Zoa ur zaed.* "So he said," is the usual adjunct to each sentence when two people are repeating what a third has spoken. If a farmer wishes to praise a man for industry or good work, he usually says, *Wul zaeds Jim*, meaning *well done.* Here we have a curious change of word, almost implying that amongst us saying and doing are equivalents. I may remark here that none of these I have been using are made up sentences for the purpose of example, but they may be heard daily among the people.

In our adjectives and epithets we are more quaint, but quite as peculiar as the slangy "awfully jolly," though some are

merely old words which we retain while their meanings have changed or become conventional in ordinary English. *Coarse*, though now seldom applied except to express a quality the opposite of fine, in texture or in some article of use, is still with us commonly applied to the weather. The ordinary salutations would be, "Fine day, Thomas," or *Kues waedhur, Jim*, according to circumstances. A man said to me the other day of another's treatment of his wife, *Ee due saar-ur maur-tul kues.* "He do serve her mortal coarse." In the *Gentleman's Magazine* of April 25th, 1770, we find a "coarse, wet day." This would show that the present limited meaning of the word is rather a recent "development." Expressions like—cruel kind, mortal good, dreadful sweet, terrible pretty, are of daily use. In forms of speech great redundancy of words seems our chief characteristic; we use a phrase where a preposition serves other people. Under, is *Down een under*; upon, is *Aup pon taap*; stand aside, is *Stan a waun side.*

I feel that I have but very briefly and imperfectly hinted at the subject I have tried to deal with, but if this paper should in anywise be the means of drawing out more of the attention of this Society, and of those competent to deal with the rich treasures embedded in our western dialect—always hitherto held up as the very type of clown-dom, the very dregs of language—I shall feel that no apology is needful from me for having occupied so much of your time with what is not perhaps very interesting to a mixed audience, but which nevertheless will very amply repay all the labour that can be bestowed upon it.

The Mineral Waters of Bath.

MACKAY HERIOT, F.C.S.,

Captain, Royal Marine Light Infantry.

THE thermal waters of Bath, which for ages have been celebrated for their medicinal properties, constitute my subject. To go into the history of these mineral springs would occupy too much time and be foreign to the purport of my paper; but a few introductory remarks on their antiquity may not be out of place.

Legends tell us how Bladud, when wandering through the valley of the Avon, was cured of his leprosy by bathing in the mineral waters, and how, years afterwards, when he became a king, he revisited the scene of his cure, and, in gratitude for his restoration to health, built a beautiful city on the spot and erected baths that others might benefit from the waters. This was supposed to have happened about 1,500 years before the Christian era. According to Warner the earliest period of these baths being of any repute was A.D. 44; and the fact that Roman baths of great size and beauty were discovered during the last century would go far to prove this. The present enclosures round the chief springs are supposed to have been built by John de Villula, Bishop of Bath, about the year 1106, and, I am informed, that it was under the very house in which this bishop lived, and which was destroyed some time during the last century, that the remains of the Roman baths, before referred to, were discovered.

The mineral spring at the King's Bath, as analysed by me during the past month, contains as follows:—calcium, 403 parts

per million; strontium, traces; magnesium, 34 parts per million; sodium, 144 parts; potassium, 29 parts; lithium, traces; iron, 3·5 parts; sulphuric acid, 962 parts; carbonic acid, 62 (combined) parts; chlorine, 280 parts; silicic acid, 33 parts; solid contents, 1,950 parts; specific gravity, 1°002 parts; (water, 1); temperature, 113½° Fahrenheit. The water for analysis was taken from the drinking fountain in the Grand Pump Room.

The geological formations through which the spring passes may be thus enumerated:—The coal measures, upper red sandstone and marls, lias and alluvial soil. Supposing these waters to pass through the coal measures, I think we may dismiss that as adding to their chemical constituents. We know the red sandstone and marls to be rich in gypsum and salt, and it may be here that a great proportion of the calcium, sulphuric acid, sodium, and chlorine are obtained. In passing through the lias the spring would take up the magnesium salts and more chlorine. The amount of iron present is possibly due to the decomposition of the iron pyrites, acted on by the bituminous deposits in the same strata. We may not be far wrong in ascribing the free nitrogen which bubbles up through the spring in such large quantities to the same source; and if we put down the thermicity of the springs as due to the spontaneous ignition of the bituminous shales, I think we have completed a theory received as worthy of consideration by many people. This theory, in which I must own to having once believed, has, however, many fatal objections; the decomposition of the iron pyrites and bituminous deposits in the lias, though possibly giving rise to great heat at times, would not account for the constant thermal heat of the mineral spring. I lay stress on the word constant, for, if we give any credit to the numerous pamphlets published on the Bath waters during the past century, we must believe that the variation in the temperature for that time has been very small. Again, suppose this decomposition to be the cause of the heat, should we not ere this have had optical evidence of the same? for those deposits are not so deeply

placed, being above the red sandstone. Surely, had this been the case, cutting for coal or other deep excavations must have brought the truth to light. Another objection to the decomposition theory is the wonderful constancy of these thermal waters, which I am not aware that any one has ever noticed. You will, perhaps, be surprised when I prove to you that their composition has scarcely altered during the past seventy years. I had by me, for the purpose of completing this paper, the different analyses made by eminent chemists since the commencement of this century. The figures did not show much: thus, in the year 1806, Phillips found 14,000 parts of sulphate of soda; Scudamore, in 1820, found only 1,500; while Galloway, in 1848, discovered, 19,000; the same way with the other salts of soda, and lime, &c. It, however, occurred to me that, as the solid contents in each case were nearly similar, if I calculated the different salts of lime, soda, &c., into their elements, I might have something to work on. Thus I took the amount of carbonate of lime in each analysis, and calculated it into calcium and carbonic acid; the sulphate of lime into calcium and sulphuric acid; and the same way with the others. By doing this I arrived at a gross total of the different elements, and now I will show you the result.

ANALYSIS OF THE BATH MINERAL WATERS SINCE THE YEAR 1806.

Expressed in parts per Million or Milligrammes per Litre.

	Calcium.	Magnesium.	Sodium.	Potassium.	Iron.	Sulphuric Acid.	Carbonic Acid.	Chlorine.	Silicic Acid.	Solid Contents.
Philips, in 1806	406	...	243	...	2.2	1011	67	275	28	2032
Scudamore, 1820	443	55	75	...	1.4	1006	45	271	27	1925
Wackler, 1829	404	48	174	19	2	1033	92	273	46	2092
Herapath, 1836	426	42	144	...	1.9	1100	70	209	25	2019
Noad, 1844	405	26	195	..	3.5	970	51	308	48	2006
Galloway, 1848	387	53	160	30	7.4	1029	87	265	43	2058
Heriot, 1873	377	47	129	40	6.1	869	86	280	30	1864
Heriot, 1876	403	34	144	29	3.5	962	62	280	33	1950

The above is drawn up in a tabular form for the purpose of showing how little variation has taken place in the mineral

springs of Bath during the past 70 years. We see then the constancy of these waters for the past 70 years; and this appears more wonderful since we know that during this time these springs have discharged over 100,000 tons of solid inorganic matter drawn from the source whence they come. The amount of insoluble débris, sand, &c., thrown up daily to the mouth of the spring, is not computed in this calculation. I will explain how I base my estimation of this enormous weight of solid matter. The springs give off daily about 7,500 hogsheads, weighing say 2,000 tons. The solid contents of these waters are, as nearly as possibly, two parts in 1,000 by weight, so that the 2,000 tons of water represent four tons of residue, equal to 1,460 tons for a year, and to 102,200 tons for 70 years. One would naturally imagine that the enormous mass of earth necessarily disintegrated to allow 100,000 tons of solid matter to be taken from it would have a great effect upon the springs; such, however, is not the case, it appears to have had no effect worth noticing, nor has the rainfall chemical influence of any consequence. Some time ago I undertook a series of experiments (since published in the *Proceedings of the Bath Field Club)* and found the variation in the amount of chlorine taken daily during the week from the Hetling Spring was only two parts per million; the other springs varied a little more. I could not discover that rain had any influence, though I tested the waters on many occasions after a long continued rainfall. I will endeavour to account for the constancy of their chemical composition. We are all aware of the great extent and thickness of the upper red sandstone formation, and water passing through it for a long distance, say a few miles, would naturally have the same composition at all times. The spring, in working its way to the surface, has in the course of ages coated the natural passages through which it rises with insoluble salts of iron, lime, and magnesia, forming for itself a crystalline tunnel impervious to outward influences as, for instance, rain water filtering through the alluvial soil. To see that such a thing is not impossible one

has only to notice the deposit on the drinking fountain in the Grand Pump Room. Having briefly noticed what, in my opinion, are the objections to the theory that the source of thermal heat emanates from the lias—a formation, comparatively speaking, close to the surface,—I will now close this paper by observing that from the constancy of the temperature, as well as that of the chemical composition of these waters, we are justified in saying that one point is tolerably well established, namely, that the source of heat, whatever that may be, can hardly be the result of chemical decomposition, which would be intermittent, or, at least, varying in intensity; and that for a solution of this problem we must go to some of the older geological formations.

On the Cause of the Heat of the Bath Waters.

BY E. CHISHOLM BATTEN, M.A., F.R.S.E.

ALL thermal springs issue, without an exception, in positions which may be arranged under three heads :—

1. Volcanoes, either actually existing or which have exhibited eruptions within the memory of man—The hot springs of Iceland, those in the neighbourhood of Vesuvius, Ætna, and Ischia; those in the Eifel Mountains near the Rhine, and in Auvergne in Central France ; and the springs which are universally found to accompany volcanoes in South America, California, Kamschatka, and the Canary Islands, are all proofs of the intimate connexion between thermal springs and volcanoes.

2. Igneous rocks, or those of igneous origin, among which is granite. The European thermal springs for the most part are in this position ; those in the Pyrenees and the Alps, where granite has uplifted the stratified rocks of a very recent date ; the thermals of the Erzgebirge Mountains, in the north-east of Bohemia, where whole hills are composed of clinkstone, and other trappean materials, and their shapes assume quite a volcanic character ; those of the Bohemian Riesengebirge, a continuation of this range ; those by the Black Forest, for example Wildbad, where the hot springs rise at the junction of the granite and the clay slate, and in the Taunus Mountains, near the Rhine, are instances. There appear, from the observations of Dr. Bouè, to be many hot springs connected with the mountains of European and Asiatic Turkey, and no country abounds with them more than that of the Caucasus.

3. Points where the strata, although not actually pene-

trated by any volcanic or igneous rock, exhibit great marks of violence and dislocation—There always exist *faults* in the neighbourhood of such hot springs; there is also, sometimes, a peculiar conformation of the strata, which exhibit an elevation by some force at a single point, and where a circle is formed of inclined strata, all pointing to this point as the centre. This exhibition of dislocation from an upheaving force appears to be connected with those thermal or quasi-thermal springs which exist in the recent portions of the secondary formations in England.

Now, this last position is that of Bath. There are here, as Dean Conybeare remarks,[1] "cases of subsidence which are accompanied by vertical fissures, or faults, traversing the strata to a great depth, and in which the whole series of strata affected by them (soft as well as hard) is let down together. . . . They must be referred to causes seated at a great depth, and acting in the same manner as the force producing earthquakes." He mentions instances which have since been frequently supplemented, and are familiar to all Bath geologists.

The heat of the waters of Bath must have startled the Roman conquerors. They had, indeed, known well the high temperature of the Baths of Nero, in the Bay of Naples; but this was in the immediate neighbourhood of a burning mountain. Bath had no volcano in its vicinity. Nor is the phenomenon less surprizing now. Sir Charles Lyell calls attention to the fact that there is not even an extinct volcano nearer Bath than those of the Rhine and the Eifel, four hundred miles off.

What, then, is the cause of the heat of the Bath waters?

The theories which were formerly framed to acccount for the origin of the heat of thermal springs have greatly lost credit. A thermal spring is a spring whose mean temperature exceeds the mean temperature of the place where it comes to the surface; and some theories, such as the burning of coal, the decomposition of iron pyrites (by which the late Professor Quekett explained some of the Bath heat), and many others, are obviously inap-

(1). Conybeare and Phillips, p. 23.

plicable to many of the numerous thermal springs that are now known to exist.

One favourite theory was, and is, that the heat of thermal waters depends upon certain chemical combinations, indicated by the mineral contents of the springs; it being contended that the heat increased with the quantity of these mineral contents. But the heat of a thermal spring by no means depends on the quantity of its fixed mineral constituents. Most of the thermal springs are considerably impregnated with foreign ingredients, but there are instances of hot wells, such as Pfeffers in the Alps, and Gastein in the Salzkammergut, which are almost as pure as distilled water, and have a temperature of 120 Fahr.; and it is quite certain that facts do not warrant any law of the increase of temperature corresponding with the increase of the quantity of fixed ingredients. In the case of salt springs it has no doubt been generally observed that the more salt they contain the hotter they are, but the salt can have no effect upon the temperature. Professor Bischof gives the following temperatures and fixed ingredients of four springs near the Laacher See; and his figures shew that in that volcanic tract the rule does not hold :—

	Fixed constituents.	Temperature.
Heilbronn	0.0053	52.9
Tönnistein	0.0025	54.9
Fehlenbor	0.0019	57.6
Burgbrohl	0.0013	58.1

The non-correspondence between the heat and the fixed ingredients will appear further on a comparison of the ingredients and temperature of several thermal springs which are considerably elevated above the mean of the climate. On examining the list given by Dr. Daubeny, on Volcanoes, 2d. Ed. 1848, p. 57, who gives not the absolute temperature, but merely the elevation above the mean of the climate, and the solid ingredients, I find that the connexion between these two quantities is by no means constant :—

Quantity of fixed constituents.			Temperature above the mean climate.
0.9	..	..	71.
2.	..	..	85.
15.	..	..	71.
33.	..	..	57.
57.	..	..	107.
62.	..	..	57.
87.	..	..	36.
119.	..	..	20.

The last three are salt springs.

In these figures the influence of height is not taken into account, but I have not thought it worth while to make the reduction for height, as it seems very clear that the temperature does not increase with the quantity of fixed substances. One more witness against this opinion may perhaps be thought quite sufficient. Prof. Forbes, in his paper on "The Thermal Waters of the Pyrenees," in the Philosophical Transactions, 1836, says, "A common opinion prevails that the quantity of the hydrosulphurets contained in these springs is in proportion to their temperature, and I have even heard the existence of cold sulphureous springs in the Pyrenees denied altogether. Yet, not only are such to be found, but even within not many yards of others having a high temperature, and almost an identical mineral composition." After citing instances, he adds, "When to these facts we add others scarcely less curious, of springs of totally different mineral composition issuing from nearly the same spot, and with temperatures from 160 to 180 Fahr., as we see at Ax and Thuez, we are forced to conclude that the source of mineralization must be independent to a great extent on that of high temperature, and that the arguments as to the origin of thermal springs, founded upon their chemical composition, must be to a certain degree fallacious."

Dr. Daubeny suggested that all the heat of thermal springs was produced by the mixture of foreign ingredients, particularly nitrogen; but Professor Bischof put this theory to the test of experiment. In order to ascertain whether this was the

cause of heat in a mineral spring richly impregnated with carbonate of soda, he took anhydrous carbonate of soda, mixed with concentrated sulphuric acid, smoking muriatic acid and water, in the quantity indicated by the analysis of the spring, and found the temperature increased only 1° 35. Again, he took the most favourable instance, and mixed sodium with sulphuric and muriatic acid, and then found that the temperature was raised in one case, only 2°, and the other 4°. These experiments prove that chemical compositions of this nature cannot produce the high temperature of hot wells.

From the wide spread existence of thermal springs, and the failure of the other explanations of the source from which their heat arises, we are compelled to conclude that they owe this heat to their origin being deep in the earth; if so, the deeper we descend, the hotter we should find the water; and when there is a deep seated source of disturbance, which has produced cracks and fissures in the lower strata, any water found at the bottom of these fissures must be hot, and will, if raised to the surface by the action of some elevating force, exhibit the phenomenon of a hot spring. Except where there has been this disturbance at a considerable depth, no such fissures could exist, and accordingly no hot springs are found except in such localities. The force with which hot springs come to the surface is governed by the same law which determines the rise of the water in the case of Artesian wells; and, except where volcanic forces supply the expansive power of vapour and gas from below, we generally find in the neighbourhood of hot springs a sufficient elevation to reduce this force to the influence of hydrostatic pressure alone.

The changes produced by earthquakes on springs of this character are to be looked upon as principally affecting the fissures by which the meteoric waters descend, and the thermal waters ascend.

Let us enquire, then, whether the Bath waters owe their heat to the depth from which they rise.

Now, what are the conditions of depth, if this is the source of heat of the Bath waters, which must exist to produce their temperature? Assuming the mean temperature of Bath to be 50°, they exceed it by 66°.

Let us enquire at what depth below the surface of the earth at Bath we may expect a temperature of 116°? In 1836, Dr. Daubeny, in his report to the British Association on mineral and thermal springs, says, "the temperature augments as we descend, on the average, about 1° Fahr. for every 100 feet;" this would make their depth 6,600 feet."

Sir Charles Lyell, in his *Principles of Geology*, ed. 1868, states Professor Phillips's observations in two coal shafts, one near Durham, and another near Manchester, as giving the augmentation at 1° Fahr. for every 65 to 70 feet. In Saxony he states the observed rate in a mine to be a degree for every 65 feet; and at the Dolcoath Mine, in Cornwall, a degree for every 75 feet; but, he says, that the experimental well at Grenelle, near Paris, gives an increase of one degree for every 60 feet to the depth of 1,800 feet, and ultimately he adopts the mean increase of 1° Fahr. for every 65 feet of depth.

The great extent to which Artesian wells have been bored, since the well of La Grenelle was made, and the more exact methods of observation which have been lately employed enable us to lay down a more accurate rule. An important collection of facts will be found in the reports of the Committee appointed by the British Association some years ago to ascertain the state of increase of underground temperature in descent. These reports are continued to 1872.

There is a boring at St. Louis, in America, where they have attained to a depth of 3,029 feet, and the temperature is said to be 107° Fahr., and careful observations of the Kentish Town well and the well of Grenelle show an increase of one degree Fahr. for every 54 feet in the one case, and every 56 feet in the other case. So a boring at the bottom of a shaft 1,066 feet deep shews an increase of one degree in 51 feet.

All observations in shafts exhibit irregularities, and I should be glad to have accurate observations of the temperature in the boring of 4,194 feet near Berlin, but the latest observations point to an increase of a degree for every 50 feet as the correct rule, at least when depths beyond 1,000 feet are reached.[2]

If we adopt this rule it will follow that the Bath waters should rise from a depth of between 3,300 and 4,000 feet below the surface of the earth, in order to acquire the heat which they now exhibit. They are forced to the surface through fissures or cracks produced by the violent dislocation which some upheaving agency has produced in Bath and its neighbourhood (and of which such evident traces are visible in the steep hills and valleys which add so much to its beauty), by the pressure, after the manner of Artesian wells, of a column of water standing to sufficient height in some neighbouring hills, and reaching down through fissures or permeable strata in those hills and below them to the level where the crust of the earth and the waters in contact with it are of a temperature of not less than 116°.

We may I think find, not in the Cotswold Hills, as hinted by Sir Charles Lyell, but in the Mendip Hills, quantities of water at heights sufficient to produce the phenomenon of the volume of hot water which springs forth at the surface in Bath. The carboniferous limestone of the Mendips affords such countless instances of great collections of water as to need no particular enumeration.

Of any actual tracing of the course of the hot springs there are only a few instances known to me. Mr. Townsend (Conybeare and Phillips 219) says, "By Hetlin Court, when the hot springs had failed to supply the usual quantity of water in a given time, the Corporation employed Mr. William Smith to remedy the evil. He laid open the ground, detected the cause of failure, and restored the springs. At that time I took notice of his

(2). See *Encyclopædia Britannia.* Artesian wells. 1875. "On an average, including the best data of all, those yielded by Artesian springs, the increase appears to be 1° Fahr. for every 50 or 60 English feet of descent." Principal Forbes, *Ency. Brit.*, Prel. Dissertation, 1856, s. 675.

operations, and at a great depth saw the springs through the blue marl." (T. 197). This was about 1803. Subsequently to this operation, says Mr. Townsend, "Mr. Palmer, then mayor, sunk in the sand of the King's Bath, as deep as he could venture to proceed, without endangering the pump room, yet he did not arrive at the blue marl. From the bottom of this sinking, he sent me a quantity of sand. This was alluvial, not calcareous, but silicious, and in this sand I ascertained the green quartz, with iron, such as we find beneath our chalks in Wiltshire, and from thence it came." (T. 197).

Lastly, we have Mr. Pinch's well, sunk in 1838 in Kingsmead Street, which after being sunk to a depth of 169 feet reached a dark red soil wherein the Bath hot water was found. This dark red soil was, Mr. Moore says, without doubt the upper portion of the Keuper, or New Red sandstone. The new red sandstone is here very thin apparently and the hot water was found rising through it. In the then state of the law it was thought that the Corporation of Bath had a right to prevent Mr. Pinch from digging so as to affect the flow of the hot water to the baths of the Corporation, and consequently he dug no deeper.

I apprehend no one imagined that the SOURCE of these hot springs was the red marl.

It is obvious that the position I have ventured to suggest, that the heat of the Bath waters is due to their rising from a depth of more than 3,000 feet below the surface, may be taken up with more success when the mineral contents of the Bath waters are compared with the character of the strata through which--if they rise from that depth—they would be expected to pass. *Tales sunt aquæ, qualis terra per quam fluunt* was the maxim of Pliny, and must be true now.

The Bath old well yields 126 gallons of water per minute, which is equal to 181,440 gallons per day. What must be the effect of such quantities of hot water as this passing through the strata. They do contain in each gallon 144 grains of salts—

carbonate of lime, sulphate of lime, sulphate of sodium, common salt, chloride of magnesium, besides iron. I shall be surprised if this exhibition does not indicate the passing of the Bath waters up out of the carboniferous limestone through the coal measures. However this may be, I believe every additional step in our knowledge of the geology of Bath will bring strong confirmatory evidence in favour of the opinion, that the heat of the Bath waters is due to the depth from which they ascend.

The First West-Saxon Penetration into Somersetshire.

BY MR. T. KERSLAKE.

IN the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles appear the short records of two great national conflicts, at two very distant dates—A.D. 658 and A.D. 1016—at a place called "Peonna," which was certainly somewhere upon the confines of the present counties of Dorset and Somerset. The first of these two battles is the one which directly concerns our present consideration. It is that by which Kenwalch extended the subjugation of the Britons westward from the territory already occupied by the West-Saxons in the district of Salisbury, by the penetration of what is now Somersetshire. Nearly all our historians and topographers have identified this "Peon" with Penselwood. But it is found that Penselwood was already "Pen" (short), as it still continues, long before the Saxons came, and that it was not the habit of the Saxons to confound the dipthong "eo" with the short vowel: and where they used the dipthong it still maintains its force in our own speech, continued direct from them, as witnessed by most such words in constant use, such as "thief," "deep," "week," &c. It is believed, therefore, that this name "Peon" cannot now be represented by any of the many place-names that have been formed out of "Pen," but must be sought for among those which now appear either as "Pion," "Pewen," "Pevin," or "Poin;" and it is to the name "Pointington" that it is now intended to direct particular attention.

The high range of hills between Somerset and Wilts, of which Penselwood is the southern terminus, is supplemented, or continued toward the south-west, by another lofty range, called by Leland, "great Crestes of Hylles," a similar natural rampart between Somerset and Dorset, the boundary of which counties

is crossed in the short journey from Yeovil to Sherborne. On the Dorsetshire, or south-eastern side, this range commands views over the Vale of Blackmore: as also does Penselwood, but from the north towards the south; and both lines of view look over Gillingham, which, a little indirectly, lies between them in the lower country. On the other side the steep north-western escarpment, or out-crop, looks down upon that one of the extensive Somersetshire levels in which occurs the junction of the Ivel with the Parrett. Beyond the northern ending of this western escarpment, about equal to it in height, but insulated in advance of it, stand out, like a sentinel upon the deep combes and valleys of the range, the hill and castle of Camelot or Cadbury. This block of high country, was most likely included, with Selwood proper, in Selwoodshire. Sherborne, Milborne-Port, Charleton Horethorne, and several considerable places, nestle in the deep valleys that intersect it; and in these are also the sources of several streams that afterwards become considerable. One of these, the Yeo or Ivel, takes its rise in seven springs, at a place called "The Seven Wells," or "The Seven Sisters," a secluded spot at the top of the small valley in which, scarcely three miles lower, lies Sherborne, with its Norman castle apparently occupying the earthworks of a strong fortress that had previously commanded the widened junction with another valley.

From this deep and narrow interior valley, close to the "Seven Sisters," arises a large and nearly quadrangular platform, sloping upwards until it is terminated westward by the lofty and precipitous escarpment itself, commanding an extensive prospect over the Somersetshire plain, and overlooking Ilchester and the Fosse-way. This is "Poinington" or "Pointington down." The village of Pointington lies about a mile lower down the valley towards Sherborne. The quadrangular down retains some marks of having been, to some extent, artificially levelled; and there are slight remains of earthworks about it, and appearances of the edges having been declivitated and the angles squared;

although these are not so conspicuous as to attract uninvited attention, nor more so than such as are frequent and generally unnoticed on many of our unploughed downs. But none but extemporised works are expected by our theory. There are, however, four or five barrows, more or less flattened, on a steeper slope called "Pointington Slait," separated from the down by a small stream and ravine on the north side. The view from the western, or highest, edge of the squared platform over the broad level of southern Somerset includes the entire field of the retreat of the Britons to the Parrett, which perhaps where the valley narrows again, by Langport, into a sort of land gate, through which the river passes, would be the next tenable natural boundary. The western outcrop of Pointington Down, althought steep and very high, is rather lower than the hills that flank it; and there is at one part a much easier descent to the lower country than is the general habit of this precipitous range. Holway Hill to the south, and Corton Down to the north, form cheeks to this down, and to this descent from it.

This seclusion might have been penetrated from Gillingham, on the east, by a pass a little to the south of Charleton Horethorne, through which it may now be approached from the Temple-Combe railway junction. But the part of the eastern side of the valley, opposite the down or platform presumed to be the battle-field, is closed by a long steep declivity, a most formidable position if it should have been attained by a force advancing from that side. And such an advance would have been easy by a line of way nearly the same as that which has been adopted by the South-Western Railway; but about a mile to the rear of this position, at Milborne Week, and close to the railway station, is the very remarkable earthwork which the late Rev. F. Warre has described, but despaired to account for, as "a very puzzling construction." It is, however, no more than an artificial dyke of rather unusual magnitude crossing a hill promontory, and insulatiug a considerable level platform; evidently with particular provision against an advance from the

east. There can be no doubt that this is a hill fortress or camp of that type which consists of a promontory separated from a main land of equal height by an artificial vallum, such as those at Maes Knoll, near Bristol; Broadhembury, Devon; Devil's Dyke and Telscombe Tye, Sussex. Whether or not it is a continued usage of this ancient type, adapted to the later emergency of the resistence to the Saxon invaders of the seventh century, may be a curious consideration. In one respect it differs from the better-known examples, that whereas they are mostly found to command a wide outlook of forty or fifty miles, this, although the spot itself is very high, is almost shut in within a scope of at most four or five. It seems, therefore, to have been specially intended to bar this direct passage of the hilly fastness, which is here suggested to have been the last holdfast of the Britons before their recorded westward flight, A.D. 658. At all events, there it stands, across the most accessible way from Gillingham to our adopted "æt Peonnum" or Pointington Down.

It is hoped that what is called the philological evidence for this place has been satisfied. In the present name "Pointington" the diphthong of the ancient "Peonnan" survives in that undiminished vigour which ought in such cases to be always expected against the pretentions of any of the "Pens" that are so conveniently numerous and everywhere at hand. As to the geographical fitness of the site of this platform for the two battles recorded in the Chronicles, it is not necessary that both the annals—of the seventh and eleventh centuries—refer to one place, but it is most likely that they do; and this site suits the requirements of both. Its superior aptitude for the last strong holdfast of the Britons upon this hilly region, and the flight and pursuit of Kenwalch to the Parrett, is very obvious. As for the fight of Eadmund with the Danes, A.D. 1016, at Peonnan near Gillingham, this plain is ten miles west of Gillingham, and as Penselwood is only five miles north of it, we must trust to the diphthong reason for a preference of the ten miles. Along

the plain west of the escarpment of Pointington, then, as now, ran the Fosse-way, the direct and only road by which Eadmund could lead the "Dorsetenses, Domnani, Wiltonienses," to the place of his next following engagement, the famous drawn battle at Sceorstan, where it appears his army still consisted of these three peoples. No matter whether "Sceorstan" be now represented by Sherston, near Malmesbury, or the Four-Shire-Stone near Chipping-Norton, for the road passes close to both.

That Kenwalch penetrated Somersetshire, A.D. 658, by this southern entrance at Pointington, and not by the more northern one at Penselwood, is further confirmed by one of his footsteps left in this very path. The first record of the church of Sherborne, almost adjoining to this battle field, upon which he won a large extension of his dominion from the Britons, is that Kenwalch was the first founder of that church, and gave it a hundred hides at a place called "Lanprobi." It does not matter to our argument what may be the cartular authenticity of this record. It is sufficient that it attests a very ancient belief that Kenwalch, with the zeal of a convert, had a special interest in this spot, and that he exercised the well-known instinct of conquerors to mark the scene of his victory by a religious memorial. Of this motive Battle Abbey will be remembered as a later instance. But although this place, Lanprobus, is no longer known by that name, there is some reason to believe it was close to the battle-field. In the record above cited it first appears with its unaltered British name, and must have had a sanctuary dedicated in the name of S. Probus, as Cornwall still has one. But in a Papal Confirmation of the terrier of Sherborne Abbey, dated 1145, this name turns up again in the more English form of "Propeschirche." It there follows the names of Higher and Lower and a third Compton, which are all still situated on those very western slopes of the great crest of hills, whereon our proposal is that the battle of A.D. 658 was fought.

Another presumption that the "æt Peonnum," from which

the Britons were driven A.D. 658, indicates the same field as that of the defeat of the Danes, A.D 1016, "æt Peonnan with Gillingham," may be given. Although Gillingham is not mentioned in the first annal, it was without doubt the basis of assault of the invaders in that case also. When mentioned in the second event, the name had already suffered the mutilation with which it is still current among us, and in which that remarkable testimony which is contained in the name to nearly the date of its own beginning is obscured or nearly obliterated. The compilers of the Exchequer Domesday are answerable for many distortions of English names, but here they have compensated a multitude of their shortcomings by having inadvertently, as it almost seems, for it is only once in seven entries of the name, preserved the name in something like its entireness—"*INGELINGEHĀ*." Our concern with the restitution of the decayed intelligence of this name is, that at some time in the century between the conquest of Sarum, A.D. 552 and A.D. 658, when the Saxons pierced the hilly phalanx of South Selwood into South Somerset, there was a settlement of them—the Englings—upon the holm or "ham" formed by the confluence of a stream, now known as Shreen Water, with the Stour; and called, as an advanced frontier outpost of them, by the distinctive name of their nation—the Ham of the English. Dr. Guest, with his usual sagacity, felt the want of such a frontier, but was attracted by the neighbouring name of "Mere." But when Mere is not the equivalent of "more" or "marsh," as it is at Mere—formerly Ferlingamere—near Glastonbury, it will usually prove to be the almost technical name for a forest boundary. And this one is probably so named as a mere of Selwood. What has since been called Mere Castle, with Whitesheet and the other surrounding hill forts, were likely to have been the British outposts which checked the progress of invasion, and maintained this great natural rampart for another hundred years.

But there is still another word, concerning the retreat of the Britons to the river Parrett, from this first inroad of the West-

Saxons into Somersetshire, as well as for the fact, that this was indeed the first military or dominant penetration of the West Selwood country by that nation. It has been usual to interpret the annal of the year 658 of the Chronicles, as the establishment of the course of the Parrett for the subsequent strict boundary of the two nations. And this interpretation has been employed to explain the great and obvious difference of the two English dialects of North and of South-West Somerset, more likely due to slower, or at least more natural, causes than to such a distinct and artificial political division. No one can have passed through Somersetshire without having noticed its most striking physical feature, the division into long and wide level valleys, by continuous lines of mountainous hills, running from west to east. Like water-tight compartments in ships, these broad valleys are in a manner invasion-proof. That is, an inroad which has penetrated one of them, must be repeated before it can be extended to the others. If the battle of A.D. 658 was fought at Pointington, the more southerly field, as above maintained, the consequent entry into what to us is Somersetshire, would have been into that very compartment in which alone the flight to the Parrett was possible—the plain within which the Ivel falls into that river. If the invasion had, on the contrary, been made at Penselwood, the more northern field of conflict, as heretofore presumed, the entry would have resulted in the valley of the Brue, and the Parrett could not have been reached nearer than its mouth, or rather it could not have been reached at all; for it is not outside probability that Huntspill level, through which the river's mouth now winds, was at that time a wide bay of the sea itself. Again, that the course of the Parrett should then have been established as a political boundary is most unlikely, for the *line* of that river neither divides the dialects nor takes the required direction. What the annal must have meant is, that the fugitive nation was pursued to the Parrett, at the point in that valley where it would lie in their path—the junction of the Ivel with the Parrett flowing from the south, at Langport; and to the

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narrow gorge through which the united river almost immediately passes out, a resting place which they maintained until some fifty years afterwards the West-Saxon frontier was pushed further westward. A religious observance, that must have been also a tradition of this conquest, continued into the twelfth century. William of Malmesbury narrates that the poor monks, in the Isle of Athelney, which is just at the mouth of this valley, still continued to sing the praises of their patron saint Eielwini, who was also at that time still considered to be the brother of King Kenwalch.

There is in truth more than one reason to believe that the large northern part of Somersetshire, claimed as a portion of the earlier and pagan conquest in Gloucestershire, A.D. 577, was not included in the shire. The usual leading authorities, such as Mr. Sharon Turner, had already been accustomed to conclude that this earlier conquest included a "part of Somerset," probably because one of the three cities named—Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath—as having been captured is included in the Somersetshire of our day. But at a still later time Bath was in the kingdom of Mercia, and not in Wessex, out of which the bulk of modern Somerset has come. Bath contained one of the dedications of S. Werburg, found to be a land-mark of the early frontiers and conquests of Mercia. The north bank of the Avon was lined with them, as this at Bath, one at Bristol, and one at Henbury. This misapprehension has been much exaggerated by living writers, who have interpreted and mapped the grasp of the earlier conquest as including—all but a long and narrow, not to say a most anomalous and exceptional, strip—not only all South Gloucestershire, but the very large part of Somerset extending to the river Axe. Thus it is represented that a conquest which having crossed the Avon and passed the Wansdyke, although it was unable to appropriate the long, narrow, and comparatively easy barrier north of Selwood, dividing it from its own territory eastward, was yet able to include in one lot the mountainous fastnesses of the Mendips, not

to be conquered by saying so, only to be stopped by a small river to the south of them. This extension does not, however, seem to be very strongly suggested by the line of the four places named in the annal of the conquest—Bath, Dyrham, Cirencester, and Gloucester—which leaves it even doubtful that the capture extended at all even into the south-west corner of Gloucestershire, the angle of the Severn and the Avon.

Then again, what ground is there in the scanty written records of the following century for supposing that Somersetshire had already been conquered? Four years before Kenwalch penetrated South Somersetshire "æt Peonnum," we find him only yet attempting that feat upon this northern district which he afterwards affected at a much more southern point. In A.D. 652, he is recorded to have fought at Bradford by the Avon; that is, he is still endeavouring to enter Somersetshire from the east.

Another reason for believing that North Somerset was not included in the earlier conquest is, that the Britons were Christians, whilst the conquerors of A.D. 577 continued, as a nation at any rate, or political body, in their ancient barbaric paganism; whereas, except those districts of which the population remains to this day certainly British, there is no part of England of which the surface is so overspread with traces of the continuity of the more ancient Celtic Christianity until it became absorbed into that of the newly-christened invaders—not to speak of the unbroken transmission of Christian Glastonbury. The whole of this part of Somerset that has been claimed for the pagan conquest is dotted with the names of Celtic Christian saints, often actually surviving in the present dedications of churches, in other cases leaving visible impressions in the names of places, of extinct dedications, where later churches have superseded older sanctuaries. It is believed, moreover, that the doubt above expressed, of the extension of the pagan conquest of A.D. 577 to the south-west angle of Gloucestershire, might be similarly justified. On the north side of the Avon more than one of the institutions of the Celtic missionaries near the shores of the

Severn estuary, not only lived through the period when the whole of Gloucestershire has been assumed to have been under pagan Saxondom, but still flourished with endowment in the twelfth century. Indeed, it may safely be asked whether any part of England which submitted to that rule of Saxon paganism that has been imputed to this part of Somersetshire, retains so many and such scattered traces of the continuity of Celtic Christianity. We see throughout this district the undisturbed reliques of the institutions of the antecedent Celtic peoples, still in their own places, unswept by any torrent of exterminating pagan conquest: the very cobwebs left by the former occupants still hanging from every beam and rafter. In fact, this district chiefly became English by the quieter process of intercolonization; and so the dialect of North Somerset, so different from that of the South, entered it by infiltration from the north or north-east.

One incidental episode is upon record which might possibly illustrate the social condition of this district in the midst of this very transition period. It is the well-authenticated expedition of S. Augustine of Canterbury, about A.D. 601, to the western English frontier, to meet in conference the Cambrian Bishops. This, it will be observed, was just intermediate in time between the pagan Saxon conquest in Gloucestershire, A.D. 577, and the Christian Saxon penetration of South Somerset, A.D. 658; and the path traversed on foot by the Saxon Christian missionary and his attendants must have been also intermediate of the two points of conquest, and through the very district imputed to be at that very time under the pagan rule of the earlier conqueror. The name of the place of conference, if not lost, has been obscured during the long interval; but the locality has been so circumstantially defined as to provoke a hope, or at least a wish, that it may not yet be beyond recognition.

On the Parish and Castle of Nunney.

BY EMANUEL GREEN.

NUNNEY, "a goodly village al by Champagne Ground frutefull of corne," as Leland calls it, contains two manors, the smaller being known as Nunney Glaston, from its former connection with that Abbey. The larger is distinguished as Nunney Delamare, from the family of that name, who were for some time its lords, and to whom, as builders of the Castle, the parish owes its historical and archæological interest.

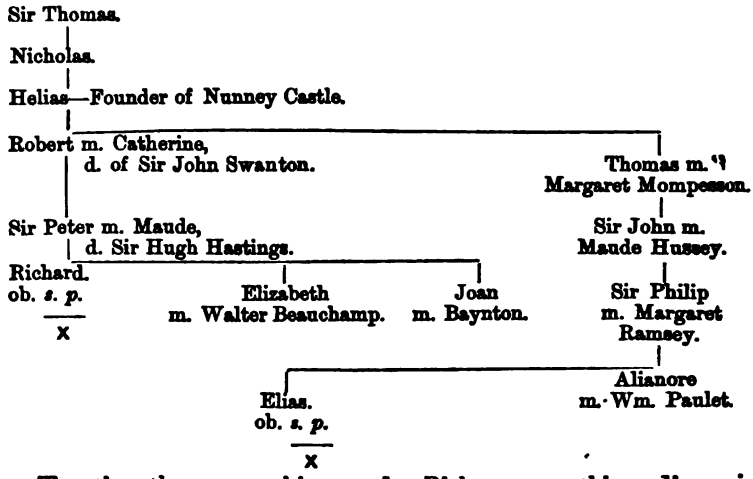
Amongst the Harleian MSS. there is given, as below, but without dates or comment, a descent of these Delamares, professing to show, but not very clearly, how their lands passed to the Paulets by a marriage with the Delamare heiress.[1]

Sir Thomas de Nony.
|
Nicholas m. Isabell,
| d. of Sir John Gifford.
Elias m. Elizabeth,
| d. of Sir Adam Basset.
| Founder of the Castle.
Robert m. Catherine,
| heiress of Sir William Manton.
|
Sir Peter m. Maude,
| d. of Sir Hugh Hastings.
Wilmayne m. Sir John Roche
or,
Wilielma.
|
Eliza Roche,
m. Walter Beauchamp.

Thomas m. Mompesson.
|
John m. Romsey.
|
Sir Philip m. Maude Hussey.
|
Alice m. William Paulet.
|
Paulet.

Another descent, with a difference, is given by Sir Richard C. Hoare in the *History of Modern Wiltshire*, under the parish of Fisherton Delamere, so named, like Nunney :—

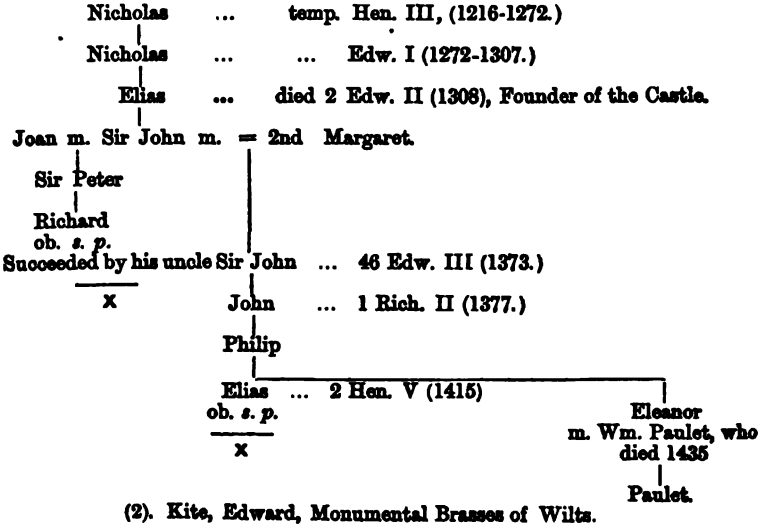
(1). Harl. MSS., No. 1,052, p. 41.



Treating the same subject under Bishopstone, this pedigree is overlooked, and Sir Peter is there given, as in the Harleian MS., an only daughter Wilmayne, also called Wilielma,[2] who in her turn has daughters only.

Why Nunney is made to pass to the younger son of the founder is not stated.

Collinson makes the descent more direct, and gives it somewhat differently, but with more attempt at truth, as he adds dates to the respective generations. Instead of Sir Thomas, he commences with—



(2). Kite, Edward, Monumental Brasses of Wilts.

There is yet another account, again differing slightly, as may be gathered from Leland, who notes that Sir Peter was a man of twelve hundred marks per annum, as quoted by Collinson, but adds what Collinson chose to overlook that he had daughters only: three, said some, but on the authority of Mr. Baynton, whose family had been connected, two only, one of whom married a St. John, and the other a De la Roche, who divided, and the Nunney lands went to St. John.[3] Mr. Baynton was soon seen to be wrong here, as in the original MS. the name St. John is crossed and over-written Paulet. There was no doubt a marriage with a St. John, but it was the lady who was of that family, as the heraldic quarterings will presently show.

These pedigrees are given simply as showing what has been said on the subject. Neither is absolutely true, although, all of them, by allowing for errors in Christian names, are remarkably near being so.

Besides those named below, others of the Delamare family, early had lands in different counties—in Berks, Devon, Essex, Gloucester, Hereford, Hertford, Oxford, Salop, Suffolk, Surrey, Wigorn, and Wilts.[4] At the time of the Domesday Survey, 1085, William de Mara was an under tenant of the Crown in Wilts.[5] In 1199, the name Nicholas de la Mare, appears in the same county.[6] In 1240, Gunnora held lands in Wilts and Oxon. In 1271, in Wilts there were Elias and Margaret his wife.[7] In 1291, Peter held lands in Wilts and four other counties. In 1308, Robert held lands in Wilts and five other counties. In 1349, Peter held lands in Wilts and other counties, and so on later.[8] Any pedigree could thus be made out, and missing links easily supplied, if direct documentary evidence were not called for.

(3). *Itinerary*, 2nd Edit., vol. vi., p. 36.
(4). Inquisitiones Post Mortem Chancery.
(5). Wiltshire Domesday.
(6). Rotuli Curiæ Regis, vol. ii, p. 9.
(7). Excerpta e Rotuli Finium, vol. ii.
(8). Inquisitiones Post Mortem Chancery, 33 Henry III, No. 38; 20 Edward I, No. 39; 2 Edward II, No. 68; 23 Edward III, No. 143, part 2.

The first record found of Nunney is in 1259 (44 Henry III), when the King, under date from Westminster, 23rd October, granted to Henry de Monteforti, that he and his heirs for ever might have one market every week on Wednesday at his Manor of Nuny, and one fair there every year, to last for three days, viz., the vigil, the day, and the morrow of St. Martin (except the said market or fair should be to the injury of neighbouring markets and fairs), and with all liberties and free customs to the same appertaining, &c. The witnesses are H. Cantuar, Archbishop; W. Wigorn, Bishop; Simon de Monteforti, Comes Leicester, Peter de Monteforti, Robert Waller, and others.[9]

The next notice is in 1273, when the King (Edward I), considering himself cheated by non-payment of rents and fees, due from the lands held of the Crown, ordered a survey of them to discover defaulters. The jury for Somerset, sitting at Briwton, found that ten acres of land in Noni, which Alexander de Monteforti, Henry de Monteforti, and Nicholas Delamare then held, with the waste of the wood, were "taken into the hands" of the late King (Henry III), and for it was rendered by each of the three tenants, to the "itinerant justices," half a mark, but "whether it went to the Exchequer or no they knew not."[10] They found also that the said tenants held or seized stray cattle and (?) rabbits ("sive cuneligges"), by old custom, but by what warrant was unknown.[11] They further found that Henry de Montforti de Nuny had assize of bread and ale in Nuny, by concession or grant from Johannis Braunche of Frome.[12]

In 1279, 8 Edward I, Nicholas Braunche, Lord of the Hundred of Frome, endeavoured to stop the market at Nunney, and summoned Henry de Montfort, on complaint that his market was an injury to the free market at Frome, on Saturday, and to the said Braunche of twenty pounds. To which de Montfort

(9). Charter Rolls, 44 Henry III, part 1, Membranes 1 and 2.
(10). Rotulorum Hundredorum, 2 Edward I, fol. 124, No. 25.
(11). Rot. Hund., extracta, fol. 127, No. 3, M. 14.
(12). Rot. Hund., extracta, fol. 129, No. 3, M. 10.

answered that he held his market on Wednesday, two days earlier than that at Frome; and that Nony being two miles and more from Frome, no injury was done. He was also attacked on behalf of the king, and summoned to show by what warrant he held assize of bread and ale and a market in Nony, to the injury of the king. He replied that Nony was in the Hundred of Frome, that there was no injury to the king, and produced his charter granted by Henry III, conceding him his privileges.[13]

This is the first notice of a Delamare in connection with Nunney, but his tenure or position there does not clearly appear. The next mention is in the 25th Edward I (1297), when, on the 24th May, by writ dated at Portsmouth, the King ordered a muster in London, on Sunday, the octave of the Feast of St. John the Baptist (1st July), to accompany him beyond the seas. Amongst those from Somerset having £20 in lands, and summoned to appear with horses and arms, were Nicholas Delamare, and Alexander and Henry de Monteforti.[14]

In 1315 (9 Edward II) a return was ordered and made, of all owners of manors, a sort of second Domesday, when Noin was found to be owned by Nicholas de la Marche, Alex. de Mountfort, and Felicia de Mountfort.[15] In 1332 (6 Edward III) Thomas de la Mare paid a subsidy in Nunney of three shillings and four pence,[16] but one John de Nony, a priest, found busy in 20 Edward II and 1 Edward III (1326—1327), getting away from Thomas le Wyte of Nacton, his lands in Lacock for the benefit of the abbey there,[17] must not be confounded with the Delamares. The Montforts now disappear, and no other notice is found of Nunney, until on his death, in 1372, it is scheduled amongst the vast estates of Humfrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, as held of the King in capite or chief. Under him

(13). Placita de Jur. Assis et Quo Warranto, p. 26.

(14). Harl. MSS., No. 1,192. Parliamentary Writs, vol. i, p. 725.

(15). Nomina Villarum, p. 353.

(16). Subsidies (Lay), 169—5.

(17). Court of Wards and Liveries.

was John Delamare, holding one knight's fee, which, "when it fell," was valued at 100s.[18] "Item unm ffeod milit in maner de Nony qd Johis de la Mare t et val p am cu acced 'it c^s.^" [18]

This tenure by knight's service was not a very secure one, and means were sometimes found for ending it. The king, too on various pretences, often chose to take in hand and regrant his manors, thus causing the various and often changing ownership.

"Nicholas," says Collinson, "was lord here temp. Henry III, and was succeeded by Nicholas, who lived temp Edward I, and had Elias, a great warrior, who was the first projector of the Castle, which was finished by his successors," &c. No references are given nor authority quoted, except for the first assertion, for which a reference is made to some Cartæ Antiquæ. This can hardly mean the documents usually so called. Possibly it refers to certain charters or deeds, the work of Johannis, a monk of Glastonbury,[19] but which must be received with caution. Amongst them there is certainly one, but to which the reference does not help, dated the 3rd April, 47 of Henry the son of John (Henry III), by which Beatrice de Sancto Vigore is supposed to give lands in Mells to the Abbey of Glastonbury. It is signed as witnesses by Dominis Elia (not Nicholas) Delamare and Henrico de Monteforti.[20] Nunney is not mentioned, but the coupling of the names of Delamare and Montefort looks very much as if it were intended. It is curious to remark, when so much has been attached to the name, that no Elias appears amongst the names of the Delamares, in the Inquisitions, either in Chancery or the Exchequer.

Next, Collinson says that the Castle "projected" by the unknown Elias was finished by John and Jacques, the sons of Sir John, giving still no authority. Further, that it was "embellished" with the spoils of war gathered in France.

(18). Inq. P.M. Chancery, 46 Edward III, No. 10.

(19). Edit., J. Hearne.

(20). Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. I., p. 55.

Again, no authority is quoted for this, but the circumstances of the time just make it possible.

In June, 1369, the King (Edward III) announced his intention to resume his claim to the crown of France; asserting that the French king had broken the agreement by which it had been formerly abandoned. Preparations were promptly made; men in the several counties of England were ordered to be in readiness; the archbishops and bishops were ordered to array the ecclesiastics under them; and the sheriffs of counties to provide arrows. He also declared to Prince Edward (the Black Prince), that he would grant all lands in France, not belonging to the Crown or the Church, to any one who conquered them."[21] This last idea looks like a license for unlimited loot; and, supposing Sir John Delamare to have been there, he may have gathered some aid towards the building or the "embellishment" of Nunney Castle.

Passing to facts, he seems in some way to have so far gained the favour of the King, that after the death of Humfrey de Bohun, leaving no heir male, he appears in possession of Nunney Manor, holding without a superior lord, and actively "embellishing," as in 1373 he received a license to embattle and fortify his house there.[22] The original document reads—

"D manso Kernellando

"R omib ad quos &c. Saltm. Sciatis qd de gra nra spali concessimus e licenciam dedim p nob e heredib nris quantum in nob est, dilco e fideli nro Johi de la Mare, Chivaler qd ipe mansum sum apud Nonny in Com Soms muro de petra e calce firmare e Kernellare e mansu p'dcm sic firmatu e Kernellatu tenere possit sibi e heredib suis imppm sine occoe vel impedimento nr vel heredum nro'm Justic, Escaetor' vice comitu aut alior' ballioor' seu Ministro' nro' quor cumq. In cuj &c. T. R., apud Westm xxviii die Novembr.

P ipm Regem."[23]

(21). Rymer's *Fœdera, Syllabus*, vol. i, p. 452.
(22). Cottonian MSS. Titus, c. 2, fol. 392.
(23). Patent Rolls, 47 Edward III, part 2, Membrane 14.

"For Kernellating a Manse,

"The King to all to whom, &c., greeting. Know ye that of our special grace we have granted and given license for us and our heirs (as much as in us is) to our loving and faithful John de la Mare, chevalier, that he may fortify and crenellate his house at Nonny in the county of Somerset with a wall of stone and lime, and the aforesaid house so fortified and embattled may hold to himself and his heirs for ever without occasion or impediment of us or our heirs, Justices, Escheators, Sheriffs or of others our bailiffs or ministers whatsoever. In witness, &c., Witness the King at Westminster the 28th day of November.

By the King himself."

This word manse was used as distinctive from manor, and indicates a house with land and cottages around it, together forming a hamlet within the manor; and this seems to have been up to this time exactly the position of the Delamare property in Nunney. As Sir John was now lord, the use of the word seems almost an allusion to a previously existing building, one not known as part of the manor. Yet, unfortunately there is so far no documentary witness of the founding or commencement of the Castle. No record to determine more closely, whether the crenellating was an addition to an old building, a plan to change the manse to a fortified manor house; or only the finishing touch to a new one. In stone, by a statue in the church, there is clear evidence of the existence of a Delamare, for some reason, of no mean importance, who must have lived in the time of Edward II, immediately preceding this Sir John. His commemoration however does not directly connect him with an earlier foundation of the castle, but, by an inference to be noticed, points him out as the rebuilder of the church. It is difficult to detect in the building any evidence of an altered plan, and equally difficult to imagine it as existing without battlements; except, perhaps, that it had a wooden gallery running round it, instead of the crenellated wall of stone and lime, allowed by the license.

Licenses such as this to crenellate or embattle were simply a means for extorting a fee. It was by such devices and the constant enquiries about land that the Crown revenue was obtained, and except for them there would now be nothing to tell of the Delamares of Nunney.

The grant or holding from the king in capite altered Sir John Delamare's position, and next in 1377 (1 Richard II), he became Sheriff of Somerset. Once in possession as superior lord, he not only crenellates, but of the Delamares, the first and for the first time is found dealing with the property, and by so doing he shows of what family he was and that he had already other possessions in Wiltshire.

By deed, dated the 5th October, 49 Ed. III (1375), he granted to Henry de Forde, John de Panes of Wyke, Thomas Erlestoke, parson of the church of Fisherton juxta Wylye, John de Byry, parson of the church of Whately, Godfrey Bydyk, and John Adymot of Nony, two parts of the manor of Fisherton aforesaid, with appurtenances and the advowson, except the third life, *i. e.*, the third presentation, during the lifetime of Ralph de Norton, chevalier, &c., &c., and then he grants his manor of Nony, as well in Nony as in Clonorde, to have and to hold the same, &c., to the said Henry and the others, for ever, of the chief lord of the fee by the services therein due and accustomed. This was sealed at Nony the 5th Oct., 49 Edward III, the witnesses being Hugh Tyrel, Ralph de Cheyney, Peter de Escudamore, Knights, Nicholas de Bonham, John Elys of Co. Wilts, John de Merlaunde, Edmund de Flory, Henry de Montefort and others of Co. Somerset.[24] This was only a nominal transfer, and its exact purpose must be left to speculation. Soon afterwards, at Easter, 4 Richard II (1380), he and his wife Margaret became plaintiffs against Thomas Erlestoke and Godfrey Bydyk, deforcents, for recovery of the manors of Fisherton and Bishopstowe, except the advowson of Fisherton,

(24). Close Rolls, 50 Edward III, part 1, Memb. 22.

and of the manor of Nony with appurtenances, and the defendants then surrendered to them accordingly. At the same time the property was re-settled, and here may be the purpose of the transaction. It was agreed and conditioned as to Bishopstowe, that after Sir John and Margaret it should go to Thomas their son, and to his heirs male, and as to the manor of Nony that it should pass after them wholly to Philip their son and to his heirs male, but if they or Philip died without issue, then to the right heirs of the aforesaid Sir John, to be held of the lord in capite and by the services which to them belonged.[25]

Sir John appears to have died about or before 1389, as in that year, on the 20th November, Philip seems to have been in trouble, being called before the Privy Council, with Mr. Henry Grene, "by force of arms," to answer certain matters touching the "profit of the king."[26] Philip was certainly in possession in 1390, as in that year he endowed a chantry. Before he could do so, however, as in the case of crenellating, the permission, or license of the King, as lord in capite, was necessary.

The intention being notified, a writ was issued, and on the 16th March, 14 Rich. II (1390), an enquiry was made before a jury at Warminster, as to whether such a proceeding would be injurious to the interests of the Crown, and it was declared that a license might be granted, as it would in no way be to his Majesty's damage or prejudice.

Philip then charged a certain annual rent of ten marks, issuing from land at Fisherton, payable to the Prior and Convent of the Priory of Maydenbradley, who was to give and assign a "Capellano divina in ecclesia de Nony ad altare Sce. Katrine ibidem," for the good of the aforesaid Philip whilst he lived, and for his soul, the souls of his family, and of the King, and all the faithful deceased.[27]

For some purpose or reason not declared next, Margaret "quæ

(25). Pedes Finium, Divers Counties, case 8, No. 54.

(26). Acts of Privy Council, vol. i, p.14. Cottonian MSS., Cleopatra F. iii, f. 61.

(27). Inq. P. M. Chancery, 14 Richard II, No. 108.

fuit uxor Johannis de la Mare milit." appears in the Common Pleas, in 1393, before Johis Wadham, Rico Sydenham, and other Judges, as defendant, against Thomas de Hungerford, milit., Ralph de Cheyne, milit., Thomas Knoyel, William Stourton, John Wykyng, Thomas Bonham, John Dyker, parson of the church of Fyssherton, and John Folk, parson of the church of Nony, as plaintiffs, for the manors of Bishopstowe and Fisherton, and a moiety of the manor of Nony, which Margaret held for her life. She then surrendered her life interest to Thomas Hungerford and the others, in consideration of the payment of two hundred marks of silver.[28]

Soon after this Philip must have died, as in 1396, on the death of William de Monte Acuto, Earl of Sarum, amongst about fifty other such fees in Somerset, there is scheduled to him one knight's fee at Nony, held by John de la Mare; Nony, unum feodum, per Johem de la Mare, as attached to the Castle of Christchurch Twinham (Hants). Feod milit. pertin ad castrum de Christchurch Twinham.

This is the only record of this John, who must have been the son of Philip, and must have died without issue. The estate is next found in the hands of Constantia, who had been the wife of John Poulet, Knight, "quœ fuit uxor Johis Poulet, chiv.," at whose death, by inquest held at Yevelchester, on the Monday next before (Oct. 28) the Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, 2 Henry VI, 1443, it was found that the said Constantia held no lands of the King in capite, nor in service, but that the said Constantia held at her death, the manor of Nuny, with appurtenances, of the hereditaments of John Poulet, son and heir of John Poulet, Kt., late her husband, from the gift and grant of Walter de Hungerford, Kt., Lord of Heytesbury, &c., and so being seized, the said Constance died, and the said manor was held of Wm. Palton, Kt., as of his manor of Corscombe, by knight's service, and that there was in the said manor a certain scite of the manor called a Motte, which was

(28). Pedes Finium, Divers Counties, case 9, No. 254, 17 Richard II.

valued at nothing beyond reprises. Also, there were in the said manor, two hundred acres of arable, valued at two pence the acre; also twenty acres of meadow, valued at twelve pence per acre, and seven pounds, rents of assize, payable on the four quarter days by the customary tenants. Constance died on Sunday, the "Feast of the Epiphany last past" (6th January, 1443), leaving John Poulet her son and heir, aged fourteen years and more, and having, after the death of John Poulet, Kt., taken "to her husband" Henry Grene, Esq., who survived her.[29]

This young John Poulet, for the purposes of dower and his marriage settlement, gave by deed of 1st Dec., 39 Henry VI (1458), the castle, manor, and advowson of Nony, "with the chantry of the same castle and manor," which were in his demesne as offee, to John Hylton and others, to hold the same by the usual services, &c., for ever, and almost immediately afterwards, viz., on the 20th of the same month, John Hylton and the others reconveyed and again "sold and demised and confirmed the said castle, manor, and advowson, to the said John, and Alianore his wife, to hold the same for ever." John died on the Friday "next after the Feast of M'Mas," 8 Henry VII (1492), leaving John a son and heir, then thirty-two years of age. At the inquisition taken at Ilchester, the 1st October, 9 Henry VII (1493), the above deeds were produced, and the widow Alianore was declared in possession of Nunney, as a free tenement in dower for life, held of the King as of his honour of Hereford, parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster, but by what services the jury knew not. That the value per annum in all was £20 beyond reprises, and that the said John was not seized of any other lands in Somerset.[30]

In 1518, John Paulet had the right of pasturage on Nunney Glaston for four hundred sheep.[31]

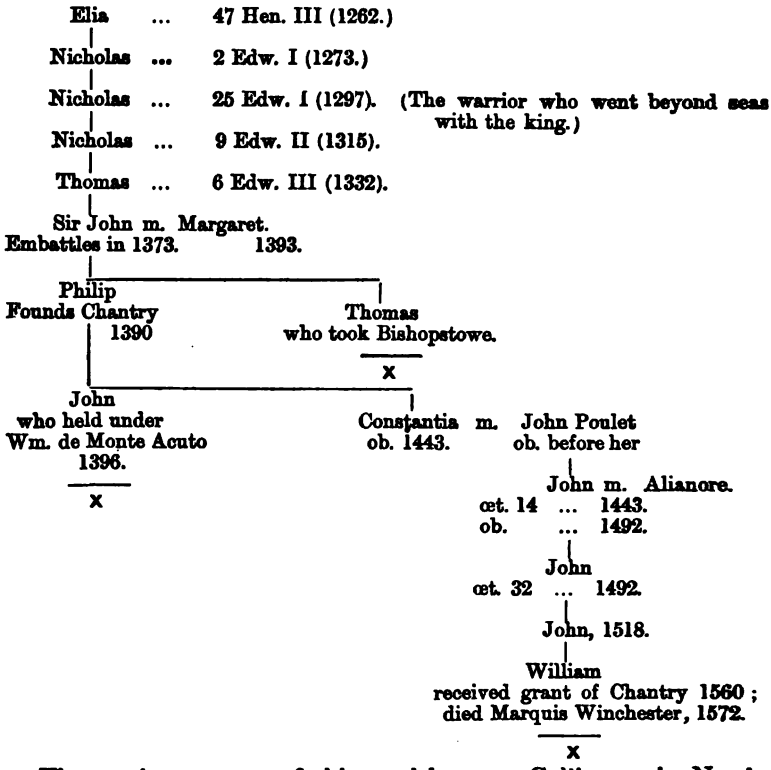
(29). Inq. P. M., 21 Henry VI, No. 22.
(30). Inq. P. M. Chancery, Appendix, 9 Hen. VII., No. 9.
(31). Terier, Harl. MS., No. 3961.

At the dissolution of the monasteries, in the time of Hen. VIII, their lands and revenues being taken into the hands of the King, were gradually redistributed. Thus it happened that the descendant of these Poulets having become Lord St. John, Marquis of Winchester, and Treasurer of England, received from Queen Elizabeth, under date 20th January, in the third year of her reign (1560), a grant of "all that her house or mansion of the Chantry of Nunney, and one garden and orchard to the same adjoining, with the appurtenances situate within the Castle of Nunney, to the late Chantry of Nunney, now dissolved, lately belonging and appertaining;" also, "those our two tenements and cottages, and one vergate of land, and three acres of meadow, being at Truttoxhill, in tenure of John Pye and John Chancellor, and to the said Chantry of Nunney, formerly belonging, and all that our rent of £6 13s. 4d., issuing from profits of the manor of Fisherton Delamare and the rectory of the same, parcel of the possessions of William, Marquis of Winchester, and to the said Chantry of Nunney, by the hands of the bailiff of Fisherton, annually payable. And all other lands, &c., to the aforesaid chantry in any wise belonging. In the hands of us, by virtue of a certain Act of Parliament, held in the first year of our loving brother, Edward VI." With this the Marquis received other property, out of which the chantry was valued at £7 5s 10d. clear, for which he paid in all £1,805 16s. 2d.

Before the death of the Marquis, Nunney passed into other hands, and so the Delamare holding ceased.

Amongst the Corporation documents of the City of Bath, there is one to which some Delamares were parties, and bearing their seal. Attention is called to it, hoping it may be examined when opportunity offers.

The pedigree, as now worked out by the present evidence, from existing vouchers and by actual search, can be easily seen, and may be compared with those already given.



The ancient name of this parish, says Collinson, is Nuni, from Nunne, a nun, and Ea, a rivulet, there having been in Saxon times, "according to tradition," a nunnery on the little stream. Instead of being from tradition, this is clearly the result of similarity of sound. It is simply phonetic history. He then mentions a charter of King Edred, by which two hides in Nunney are supposed to be given to Glastonbury, marking no reference, but the statement is found in one of the "Cartæ Antiquæ" already noticed.[32] There was no such holding, however, at the Domesday Survey. If Noiun means Nony, it was then held by Wm. de Mohun. Turgis holds of William, Noiun. Colo held it in the time of King Edward and paid for five hides. The arable is three carucates. In demesne is one carucate and

(32). Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. I, p. 4.

four servants and three villanes, and eight cottages with one plough. There is half a mill which yields 30d.; twenty acres of meadow and as many pasture, and one hundred acres of wood. It was worth 40s., now 60s.

When Glastonbury got hold of part of this manor, with part of the advowson, or when the advowson passed from the Poulets, does not appear. No mention seems made of a second holding, until the time of Henry VIII, when, in the second year of his reign (1510), Richard Maudley died, seized of half the manor of Nunney Glaston and half the advowson, *i.e.*, the alternate presentation. The whole appears to have been 300 acres of land, 80 of meadow, 60 of pasture, and 60 of wood, with appurtenances.[33]

There is extant, in Latin, a terrier of this manor, made in the 9 Henry VIII and the 26 Richard (Beere) Lord Abbot (1518), which shows the claim of the Abbot to the alternate presentation, and gives particulars of all the lands and tenements, "omi terrar' et tenementor';" but want of space prevents more than this passing notice of its existence.[34]

In 1534, when King Henry VIII determined that the tenth of the clear income of all livings, which was usually paid to the Pope, should be paid to him, the survey of Nunney showed Richard Basyng as rector, and the value per annum from dominicals, 13s. 4d.; tithes "predial," £7; tithes of wool and sheep, £2 6s. 8d.; oblations, personal tithes, and all other casuals, £6; together, £16. The reductions were, for the Archdeaconry of Wilts, 9s. 10½d; Bishop of Bath, 9d.; together, 10s. 7½d., leaving nett, £15 9s. 4½d.; Decima inde, or a tenth therefrom, £1 10s. 11¼d. The chantry, Richard Laurence cantaria, was valued at £5 19s., as being formerly received from the Priory of Bradley; a tenth therefrom being 11s. 11d.[35]

Next came the general dissolution, when parties desiring to

(33). Escheators Inquisitions, 1 and 2 Henry VIII, Mem. 12.

(34). Harleian MSS., vol. iii, p. 99, No. 3,961.

(35). Valor Ecclesiasticus, vol. i, p. 161.

purchase lands were requested to send up a schedule of those they wished to have, with a valuation attached, and then a grant was made to them.

The Earl of Hertford in 1540, 28th January, first had the rents in Nonny, parcel of the cell of Longleat, late of the Priory of Hinton, Somerset;[36] but this grant was cancelled, apparently, and the messuages belonging were afterwards sold to Robert Kelway.[37] William, Lord Stourton, 7th July, 1543, requested to purchase a close called Adnams, and this being granted, it was confirmed to him by patent on the 18th Jan.[38] The principal applicants were Thomas and John Horner, who in 1543, 22nd May, sent in their valuation for the Manor of Nunney, part of the possessions of the "attainted" Monastery of Glastonbury. This set out that Rents of Assize were payable from Wm., Lord Stourton, Roger Mawdelyn, and Edward Ruddock, valued at 32s 1d. Fee farm rents from fifteen others, amongst them being John Peckfatt, 118s. 8d.; farm rents, 46s. 8d.; casual, 5s. 6½d.—making a total of £10 2s. 11½d; from which 10s. were deducted for the bailiff's fee, leaving nett £9 12s. 11½d. The advowson, with the alternate presentation was valued at £7 18s. 7d. Attached to this document is the request, with autograph signatures, "That we Thomas and John Horner requireth to purchase of the King's highness by vertue of the King's Commission of Sale the premises of the yerely value of £9 12s. 11½d. In witness whereof we have subscrybed this byll with our hands and putte our Seales the day and the yere of the said date expressed."[39] On the 10th July, by patent, Thomas and John Horner, jun.,

(36). Augmentation Office, Inventory of Grants, 32 Henry VIII, sec. I. Deeds of Purchase and Exchange, &c., p. 245. Patent Rolls, 32 Henry VIII, part 5, No. 697. Patent Rolls, 2 Edward VI, 26th June.

(37). Patent Rolls, 36 Henry VIII, 4th Dec., Mem. 22, 23.

(38). Augmentation Office, Inventory of Grants, 35 Henry VIII, sec. 1. Particulars of Grants, Miscellaneous, No. 137. Patent Rolls, 35 Henry VIII, part 18, No. 739. Fee Farm Rents Reserved, roll 35, No. 137.

(39). Particulars for Grants, 35 Henry VIII, sec. 2.

received the Manor of Nunney (Glaston) as prayed, "to hold in capite by the service of the 20th part of one Knight's fee and rendering therefor at M'Mas only, pr annum 19s. 4½d."[40]

Some other rents appear as reserved. Thus, when the enquiry into value was made, it was found that the chantry, treated separately from the advowson, was worth in lands and tenements by rental £7 10s. 4d., wherefrom was deducted 4s. 6d., leaving clear £7 5s. 10d. That there were in it ornaments praysed at 69s., and of plate a chalice of silver, weight 13 oz.; Richard Laurence, clerk, œt 60, being incumbent. That a "tenement" or cottages worth 16s. per annum were granted towards the maintenance of the said chantry for 120 years, in the 8 Hen. VI, but it was not then known in whom the inheritance of the same remained. The parsonage was now valued at £15, Richard Basyng being incumbent. The partakers of the Lord's holy "sooper" were 228 persons. It was also presented that the lights founded within the church were worth yearly from lands 12d.[41] This was received from the rent of one acre called "lamp acre," granted for the use and sustenance of a "burning light" in the church, and valued at 6d. per ann.[42] Also an annual rent of 6d. reserved from a tenement called Longleat (late of John Thynne, Kt.), in the tenure of Galfridus Clymer and others, for the price of 1 lb. of wax, granted to the use and sustenance of one lamp in the church.[43] The chantry priest, Richard Laurence, received a pension of £5 per annum.

The Horners alienated their grant to Wm. Paulet,[44] owner of the castle, who was made Lord St. John, 9th March, 1539. From Lord St. John it seems to have passed to Richard Parker, and in the 19 Elizabeth, 1st May, Richard, also called John, Parker,[45] in consideration of the sum of 58s. 8d., paid to the

(40). Fee Farm Rents Reserved, bundle No. 28, roll 72, No. 166.

(41). F. F. Rts. Res., bundle No. 28, roll 80, No. 188. Certificate of Colleges, Henry VIII, Edward VI, cert. 42, No. 131.

(42). F. F. Rts. Res., bundle 28, roll 112, No. 359.

(43). F. F. Rts. Res., bundle No. 28, roll 112, No. 360.

(44). Alienation Office, Index to Licenses.

(45). Alien. Off., p. 115, 19 Elizabeth.

Queen, was licensed to alienate to Richard Prater, gentleman, all that the Lordship and Manor of Nunney Glaston, with all rights, &c., and also (half) the advowson of Nunney, valued at £8 10s., fine 6s. 8d., "which of us are held in capite," to have, and to hold the same for ever, at the usual customs, &c.[46]

This Richard Prater is the same to whom had already passed the manor and castle of the Delamares.

The Crown still held some rents in Nunney, and these, "in consideration of the good, and faithful and acceptable services of our loving servant, Edward Dier, Esq., and at his humble request, and for divers other causes, us specially moving," were granted to William Tipper and William Dawe, of London, gents., to have and to hold the same, as of the manor of East Greenwich, by fealty only, and free and common soccage, and not in capite, nor by knight's service, only rendering 6s. 8d.[47] This reserve applied to several other grants included with this, and was consequently entirely nominal.

Here may be noticed a curious squabble which occurred in 1595, ending in a chancery suit between Richard Mawdley, Esq., as plaintiff, and Joseph and Thomas Collyer, defendants. It would seem by a Bill filed on the 30th October, that Joseph Collyer, who had been parson of the rectory for ten years, had on a mortgage for £300, agreed to demise to the plaintiff the glebe lands and tithes belonging, reserving his house and tithes of land of George Prater, Esq., and one load of hay, &c. Collyer seems to have resisted payment, upon which Roger Mawdelyn, son of the plaintiff, with another, going to the glebe to seize the tithes, were arrested. Then the parson cautiously removed by night, with the help of others, "divers tithes of corn, hay, lambs, and wood," &c., &c. There were other proceedings on the same matter in the Queen's Bench, making altogether a long story.[48]

(46). Pat. Rolls, 19 Elizabeth, 11th part, Mem. 45 (2).
(47). Pat. Rolls, No. 1340, 32 Elizabeth, 4th part, Mem. 39 (2).
(48). Proceedings in Chancery, vol. ii, Elizabeth, No. 60, M. 3.

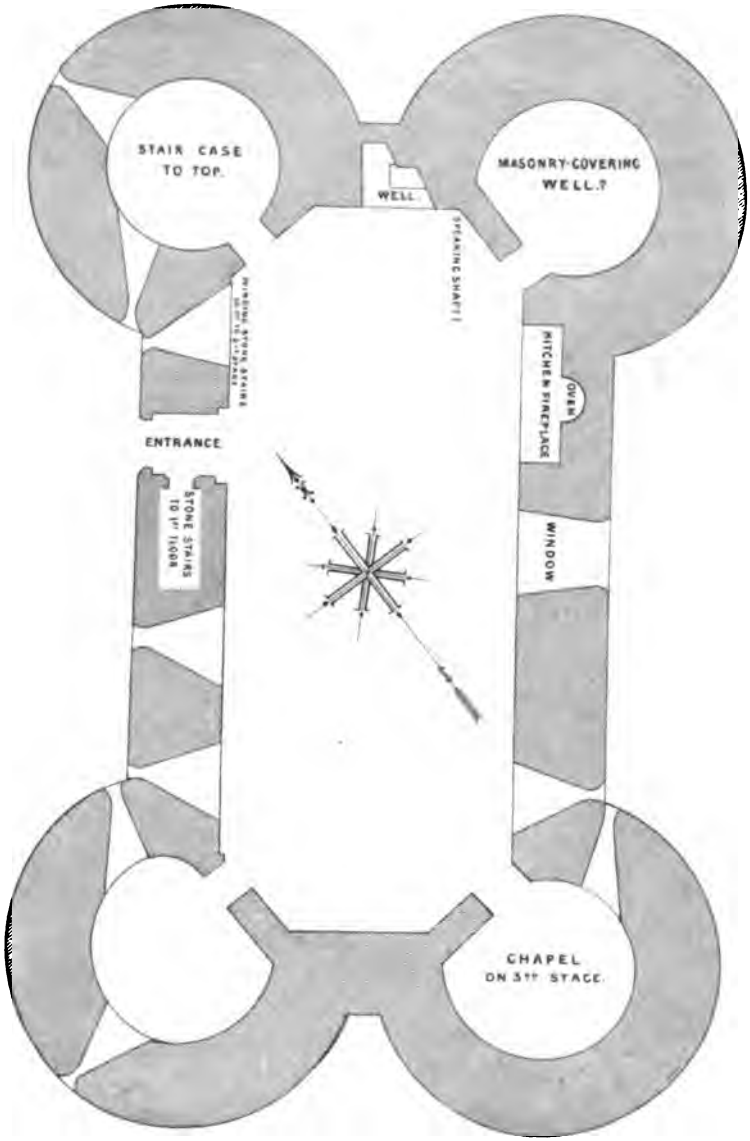
In 1635, the alternate presentation to the living was in the gift of Abraham Burrell, Esq., and George Collier was rector, value £15 9s. 4½d.[49]

The descent of the lands and manors being traced so far, it only remains to work out the destiny of the Castle, and with this will also be followed the holding of the Praters, who were the last residents within it. This, in its early days known as the Moat, the prominent object of interest now in ruins, seems so entirely planned for defence, as to be more suited to a border country than where it is. Possibly besides the warrior mind of its builder, its situation between the forests of Mendip and Selwood may have made this a necessity, as well as the occasional appearance of marauders, who in those days sometimes sallied out of Bristol. The ground plan is laid without reference to any compass bearings, and with but little care for exactness. It is oblong, not quite a double square, being in length within 61 ft. 6 in., and in breath 25 feet, but differing slightly in places, and with walls 8½ feet thick. It was divided into four stories, varying in height, but the flooring and partitions must all have been of wood, as there is no evidence of vaulting or partition wall. At each corner is a tower with walls of about 7 feet in thickness, but all differing in shape and dimensions. These project somewhat, and almost meet at the ends without, the two ends not being alike. Upon each is a turret, which was carried considerably above. The entrance, when standing in the centre of the hall, is almost due north, is extremely narrow, being but four feet wide, and about seven feet high, and bears evidence of having been well bolted and secured within. It opens into a vaulted passage, simply the thickness of the wall, but which afforded opportunities for defence. The eight ribs of the vaulting meet in a circle, enclosing a quartrefoil, and the ends of two of them are ornamented by the *plante a genest*. Turning sharply to the right, without passing

(49). Liber Institutionem, First Fruits, &c.; Series A. 2.

through this passage, were stone steps leading to the first landing; and then again, to the left, above the entrance, are seen other stone steps, leading to the second floor, where were the principal or lord's chambers. On one of the five ribs of the recess in the turn of these steps is seen a rose, and this, with that at the entrance, is the only sign of carving throughout. The northern tower alone is circular within, and in it was a staircase of wood, common to the garrison and household, and which continued its course quite to the top. Beginning close to the ground, on the right of the entrance to the tower, it rose, turning to the left, and in one round passed just clear of, and over, the embrasured opening or window, which there gives directly on the doorway without, as does a similar window in the western tower. On the second stage it passed through a blocked up window and by a closet, of which the drain is visible outside. There is a similar closet on the first floor eastward in the southern tower. Between the northern and eastern towers is the well, which could be used from the first stage above. The upper part is rectangular, being 4 feet by 2 feet 6 inches. It was cleaned out "about forty years" since. In the wall, towards the east tower, is what at first sight seems a flue, but which was probably a speaking tube, or means of communication from above. The bottom floor in the eastern tower is without light, and with but 4 or 5 feet head room, the ground being unlevel, but very firmly paved; under the soil there is a foundation wall. Close to this is the kitchen fireplace, 12 feet wide, with oven behind it. The opening next it was a window, as shown perfect in Buck's view of 1733. In the south tower, on the third storey, is an altar, the window, of the same style as throughout the building, being duly oriented, and with piscina by its side. The flat stone of the altar, straight on the edge, and projecting somewhat, is seen distinctly in the in the curve of the chamber, and beneath it is the original curved worked stone support, built in with the masonry. The chapel was specially roofed, the supports being still in place. In

NUNNEY CASTLE, SOMERSET.

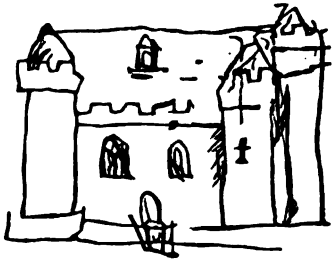


CROUND PLAN.

JEFFERIES LITHO BRISTOL

Scale ¼ of an inch to 1 Foot.

the space between this tower and the western, on the second stage, is seen the upper part of a perpendicular window, built in the wall, but not visible on the outside. This with the carved flower in the entrance, if judged correctly, shows later or additional work. The doorway into the western tower is still perfect. Between this tower and the main entrance the ruined windows and walls are supposed, and with probability, as they face elevated ground, to be the result of battery by cannon. All the windows on the ground and first floors are square-headed. Some of the upper ones are so, others are pointed and cusped; but the principal, those having mullions and more than one light, are foliated, and in type tending towards the perpendicular. Round the outside of the northern tower are some square holes, equidistant, but whose purpose does not seem clear. From a fortunately preserved but somewhat rough sketch, here reproduced in facsimile, every scratch of the pen being noticed, the roof is seen to have been high pitched, and the towers also to have had a high pointed roofing, much or exactly as may be seen in old French chateaux. This is found in a little pocket



MS. volume,[50] carried by a royalist officer, who coming from Mells with the royalist army to the general rendezvous at Nunney, on Friday, the 19th July, in 1644, visited the castle, when it was perfect, and garrisoned for the king. He describes it as "four square a long square very narrow, ye towers at each end almost joyne,—four towers—a deepe moate and a wall without

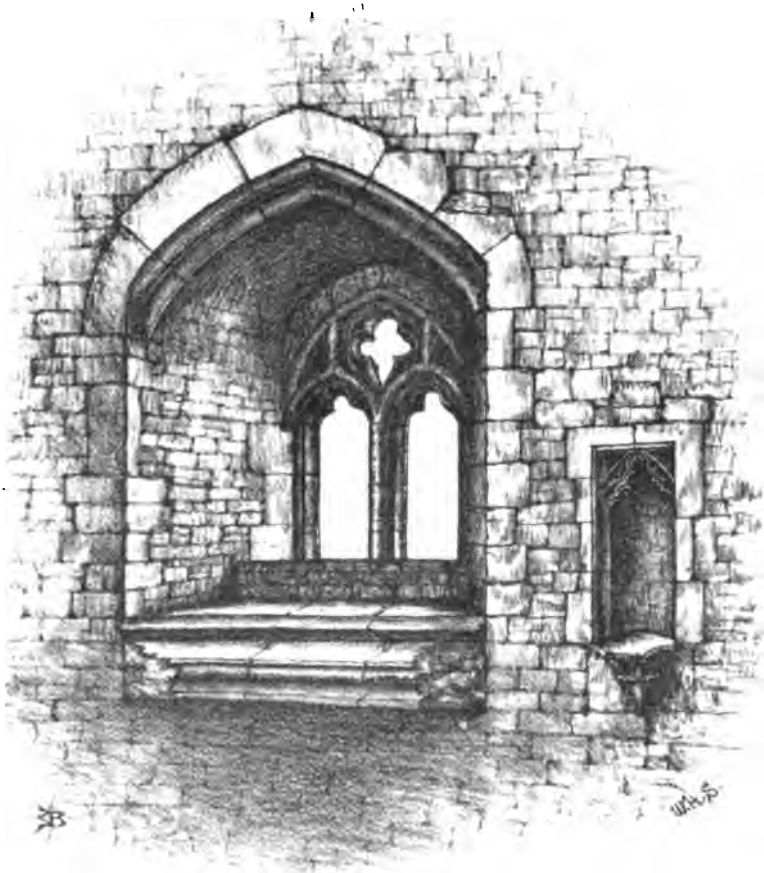
(50). Additional MSS., No. 17,062, Mus. Brit.

that." This wall is said to have been twelve feet high,[51] except to the eastward, where it was absent. This may have been the case, as a lower would not have been of much service, and as similar remaining walls may help to decide. It would, also, be defended by a gate-house and drawbridge. The moat is said to have been 10 feet deep. The sketch seems to show that the doorway was reached by some sort of moveable steps, and hand-rails appear marked on either side of them. This may account for the square-cut holes in the stone at the sides and below the door without. There is no evidence of protection worked as a drawbridge. Whether there was ever a rail or gallery, supported by the machicolations running round without the top or parapet, from which missiles could be thrown on invaders, is a possibility which may lead the adventurous to an examination for proof. It was used as a kennel for hounds "about forty years ago." Traces of a wall are seen in the meadows northward; and part of one, with one projecting round still remains, running N.N.W., about square with that end of the castle. The outbuildings to these castles were sometimes without the enclosure, and sometimes, as appears to have been the case at Nunney, within it. They were often of wood, and consequently have entirely disappeared; but the meadows here are yet scored with rubble remains.

Leland visited Nunney twice. The first time, about 1540, coming from Frome, he calls it "a praty Castle at the Weste End of the Paroche Churche havynge at eche end by North and Southe 2 praty rownd Towers gatheryd by Compace to joyne in to one. The Waulls be very stronge and thykke, the Stayres narrow, the Lodginge within some what darke. It standithe in the left ripe of the Ryver (which) dividithe it from the Churche Yarde. The Castell is servid by Water conveyed into it owte of the Ryver. There is a stronge Waulle withe oute the Mote rownde about savinge at the East Parte of the Castell where it is defendyd by the Brooke. The Castell longed

(51). Collinson.

NUNNEY CASTLE. SOMERSET.



Altar and Piscina.

to the Delamares, syns to Powlett, Lord St. John."[52] This was the same Poulet who afterwards became Marquis of Winchester, and from whom Nunney passed to Richard Prater. This Richard Prater, died on the 17th April, 22 Elizabeth (1578), seized of Nunney Castle and Nunney Glaston, two dovecotes, &c., and hereditaments called chantry lands, and leaving his son George, aged 18 years 4 months and 24 days. In his will, dated 7th December, 1577, he declared that he was thus seized "in fee simple and whereof by the sufferance of God he intended to die seized," and that Nunney Glaston was held of the Queen in capite at half a knight's fee and a rent of 19s. 4½d. per ann.[53] The son, George Prater, died in 1623, and was found seized of the two manors, 40 messuages, 40 cottages, 30 lofts, 1 dovecote, 100 gardens, 1,000 acres of land, 300 acres meadow, with a mill, woods, &c., and other lands in neighbouring parishes.[54] He left a son Richard, who succeeded him, and who becomes prominent in the events next to be noticed.

In 1642 began the great civil contest between Charles I and the Parliament. What may have occurred at Nunney on the commencement of hostilities is not recorded, but it was eventually garrisoned for the king, and held for him until 1645. No doubt it could have been reduced at any time, but the Mendip Hills dividing this country from the west, it lay in no direct road to make it of importance, and was not of sufficient strength to cause anxiety. Like other small places, however, such as Witham House and Woodhouse, close by, and Farley, not far away, it served a good purpose as forming a store for arms and provisions, brought in by foraging troopers, and especially for protecting horses gathered from all parts and turned out in the meadows around. With Bath, Pershutt (Portishead), and Farley, it was subordinate to Bristol, and was placed under the treasurer and paymaster in that city, who was instructed to see

(52). Itinerary, fol. 73 b., vol. vii, part 2, p. 92, 2 ed.
(53). Inq. P. M., 22 Elizabeth, part 2, No. 86.
(54). Inq. P. M., 21 James I, part 1, No. 71, fol. 66.

the garrison duly paid, and to give an account monthly of his receipts from contributions.[55] The payment to the governor was £5 per week.

At first, fortune fairly favoured the King, but the Parliament starting in 1645 with a newly modelled army, under fresh generals, the tide of victory rapidly turned. Nunney with all similar garrisons was then strengthened to meet this increased determination, but without any marked result.

Thus it happened, that after many other victories, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and General Cromwell having conquered at Sherborne, marched on the 15th September, 1645, by Castle Cary, and Shepton Mallet, directly for Bristol. From Cary, on the 18th, two regiments under Cols. Rich and Fortescue, (one account says Cols. Hammond and Rainsborow,[56]) with three cannon were told off to attack Nunney, and on the 19th the main body of the army being advanced so far, Sir Thomas Fairfax rode over from Shepton personally to inspect it. He declared the castle "very strong, but not very large," and leaving the beseigers to do their work, returned to his head quarters the same night. All preparations being quickly made, the usual summons for surrender was sent in. This, as usual also being refused, the cannon were advanced, and after battering away for a short time, a small breach was made. Col. Prater, who was both governor and owner, not wishing to see his property uselessly destroyed, then asked for a parley,[57] and this being granted he offered to surrender, change his allegiance, and hold it for the Parliament. This arrangement being agreed to, it was given up on the second day, the 20th September, on bare quarter.

Besides arms sufficient for two hundred men, and the small quantity of only two barrels of powder,[58] the garrison, reported to be Irish, was found to consist of eighty men under Captain

(55). Harl. MSS., vol. 3, No. 6,802, fol. 260, Instructions for Edmund Turner, Esq., 4th December, 1644.

(56). Moderate Intelligencer, No. 26.

(57). Mercurius Civicus, No. 118.

(58). Perfect Passages, No. 44.

Turberville, all of whom were made prisoners. With them were some others, refugees, and above all, "a good store of papists," who were "not poor until the soldiers left them."[59]

The strong religious feeling of the time, which was one cause of the war, now showed itself. The standard on the castle which was "red and in the midst thereof a fair crucifix cross," greatly excited the wrath of the conquerors, and for fighting under such a popish symbol, the prisoners were set down as "almost all papists," and "pretty fellows to settle the Protestant Religion."[60] This trophy was sent to London, and exhibited to the Parliament at Westminster.

A little later by vote of that assembly, Nunney, with all similar strongholds was ordered to be slighted and made useless,[61] and possibly under this process it was left in a condition, not much unlike that in which it is now seen.

The war being over and the King executed (January, 1649), there came the usual little account to be paid by the losers. The estates of those who had sided with his Majesty were either sold, or possession was allowed by compounding, or payment of a heavy fine. These orders were carried out by commissioners appointed for each county.

Notwithstanding that Col. Prater, when his castle was taken, and he found the "Parliament friends to be the stronger party,"[62] foreseeing this difficulty, and hoping to save himself, changed his allegiance, he was doomed to disappointment. His property was at once sequestered, and eventually ordered to be sold, as forfeited to the Commonwealth for treason. The Col. (Richard) died in 1651, before this order was carried out, but his son George, on finding the Parliament had so resolved and inserted his name in a list for sale,[63] immediately petitioned against it, and set out that he was sequestered "upon

(59). Moderate Intelligencer, No. 26.
(60). Perfect Occurrences, No. 39.
(61). Commons' Journals.
(62). A Diary, or Exact Journal, &c., No. 67.
(63). Commons' Journals, vol. 7, p. 205, 2nd Nov., 1652.

colour" that the late King had on the 23rd June, 1645, made a garrison of Nunney Castle, "which was his and his father's inheritance," and they had lived and continued there "having no other abode," without "takeing upp armes or dooing any other act against the Parliament," yet his father dying "yor petr enters and is returned as a papist in armes which really he never was."[64]. He then prayed that the matter should be referred for examination, and if it appeared that he "never was nor ever acted" against the Parliament he might have liberty to compound. It was referred accordingly, but the prayer was not allowed and the sale proceeded.

It would appear that the commissioners or sequestrators had leased the property to Hugh Pickfatt, gent., for six years, from the 25th March, 1651, at £110,[65] and the lessee hearing of the intended sale petitioned on the 26th January, 1652, that his lease should be confirmed and the sale made subject to it. This being granted, the "manor and castle of Nunney, with the lands, &c.," parcel of the estate of George Prater, Esq., were sold to Samuel Foxley and Robert Colby of Lindisfont, and they having paid down a moiety of the purchase money to the trustees for the sale of forfeited estates, it was ordered that quiet possession should be given them.[66]

These proceedings directed against one necessarily acted on others. In consequence Jane Prater, widow, sent in her petition, stating that her husband on her marriage, 20th January, 1628, had given her a rent charge of £15 per annum, which the commissioners had at first allowed her but since refused.[67] The matter being referred to the committee in Somerset was brought before them at Wells, where Mr. George Prater appeared and produced the deed of settlement made by his father, Richard Prater, and deposed further that the amount

(64). Royalist Composition Papers, 1 ser., vol. 51, fol. 643.
(65). Certificate Comp. Pap., 1 ser., vol. 51, fol. 655.
(66). Comp. Pap., 1 ser., v. 51, f. 641.
(67). C. P., 1 ser., vol. 51, fols. 649, 662.

was for some time paid. It was also sworn in proof that the settlement was of old date and *bonâ-fide*, that by the appointment of Mr. Richard Prater it had been paid for ten years before his death as well as for some time after it.[68] The claim was consequently allowed, 7th April, 1652, especially as Mrs. Prater was "above four score years of age, and for want of it was ready to starve.[69]

Mrs. Ann Prater, being also in poverty, "notwithstanding that she was a protestant and never acted against the Parliament," petitioned on the 26th March, 1650, and claimed under an Act passed for that purpose, a fifth part of her husband's estate, with arrears from the 24th December, 1649,[70] and in a second petition, 1st May, 1651, she asked for her jointure of £40 a year, which was settled upon her on the 11th April, 1642, when she married. She declared that she was, and "ever was," a protestant, and never "acted or did any disservice to the Parliament," and prayed that her husband's sequestration might be discharged, and her settlement allowed, as she had "nooe other livelyhood for herselfe and children's maintenaynce."[71] Apparently she received no reply, as on the 20th October she again asked that her case should be examined, and allowed if true. It was then referred, and oath taken on it, as desired, but the certificate of result is not recorded.[72]

The property of Sir Ralph Hopton, who had the reversion of seven messuages in Nunney and Truttoxhill, of the yearly value before the war of £51 11s. 8d.,[73] was treated in the same way. This was purchased by Major John Wildman, "Esq.," on the 23rd January, 1651, and on the 24th March the Commissioners in Somerset were ordered to permit the said Major "quietly to enjoy the premises and take the rents thereof."[74]

The "almese Howse without Temple Gate is called Roger

(68). C. P., 1 ser., vol. 106, fol. 545.
(69). C. P., 1 ser., vol. 51, fol. 649.
(70). C. P., 1 ser., vol. li, fol. 647.
(71). C. P., 1 ser., vol. li, fol. 645.
(72). C. P., 1 ser., vol. li, fol. 659
(73). C. P., 1 ser., vol. 61, fol. 358.
(74). C. P., 1 ser., vol. 31, fol. 459.

Magdalen's of Nonney, whiche was the Founder of it," says Leland.[75] Relating to this family, Collinson falls into error, when he remarks that "the chief manor after Paulet passed temp. Henry VII into their hands. In 24 Henry VII (1508), Sir Richard Mawdley, Knight of the Bath, died seized of the manor and advowson and other lands, leaving John his son and heir aged 15 years." The reference is marked Esc., which should mean Escheats; but after a careful and repeated search no such account can be discovered. It was however probably some time in Henry VII that the Poulets parted with the advowson and some of the lands, as the whole is seen with John Poulet, who died in 1492. The first notice is of the Richard Mawdley, who died seized of half the Manor of Nunney Glaston, &c., in 1510;[76] others follow in 32, 33 Henry VIII; 7 Edward VI; 25, 26 Elizabeth, &c. In 1518, Johannis Mawdelyn had the right of pasturage for two hundred sheep on this manor.[77]

This property, like that of the Delamares, came to an heiress, and passed by her marriage to the Sambornes of Timsbury.

Maudley Samborne, the next heir, being sequestered like his neighbours, petitioned against it, 8th May, 1649, declaring that he had "done nothing nor engaged in the last war," yet doubting he may have done "some act wch may make him lyable to sequestration," he took advantage of a promise of the Parliament to favour all "such as voluntarily discover themselves," and sent in a list of his estates at Tymesborowe and Nunney. The yearly value in the latter was £180, which he had "in fee tayle in reversion" after the death of his mother.[78] In consideration of his "discovery" he was fined "a sixth," being on the whole estate £210, the first moiety of which was paid down, and the second, "with interest," was paid on the 26th August, 1650.

(75). Itinerary, fol. 70.
(76). Exchequer Inquisitions, 1 and 2 Henry VIII, Membrane 12.
(77). Harl. MSS., No. 3,961.
(78). C. P., 2 ser., vol. xxxvii, fols. 469—473.

At the same time the king's reserved rents were sold, Commissioners being appointed for the purpose. These, after setting out that King Henry VIII, 10th July, 35 of his reign, had granted the Manor of Nunney to Thomas and John Horner, &c., &c., transferred the royalty of this, with other lands, to Wm. Cox and Fras. Arthur, their whole purchase amounting to £2,528 10s. 6¾d. and half a farthing.[79]

There were other small holders whose names from time to time appear. In 1553, Katherine and Alice Turny had 22 acres in Truttoxhill, and other property in parishes around.[80] In 1577, a field called Dansing, situate at Townend, was granted with other property in various parts to John Mershe and Francisco Trencham, gentlemen, of London, it being then in the tenure of John Pecfatt.[81] In 1598 Jeronimo Pickfatt died, seized of property in Nunney, which was inherited by his son John, temp. James I.[82] Some of this family are buried in the aisle of the church.

Besides the castle, a Delamare is said to have built the church. Of what date this structure may be, is not now very clear, but the north and south windows in the side chapels have flowing tracery, of the time of Edward II, and appear original. In 1291, the living was valued at £10 6s. 8d.,[83] and at the same time six shillings were payable to the Prior of Langelet. This was returned as four shillings only in 1534.[84]

In some of the windows, in 1644, there were armorial bearings. In the east window of the south chapel were—gu., three lozenges ermine, conjoined in fesse between three martlets arg. Another was quarterly, 1—4 arg., a lion rampant gu. (Mompesson), 2—3 as the first. Another was six sprigs of, ? laurel, slipped,

(79). F. F. R., Reserved Augment. Office, bundle c. 3, No. 2.

(80). Fine Rolls, No. 5, 1 Mary.

(81). Pat. Rolls, No. 1,170, 20 Elizabeth, part 7, Memb. 6.

(82). Esch. Inq., 41 Elizabeth, part 2, No. 136. Fine Rolls, No. 54, 15 James I. Enrolments in Exchequer, fol. 107, 14 Jac. I.

(83). Taxatio Ecclesiastica, p. 196.

(84). Valor Ecclesiasticus, vol. 2, p. 98.

3, 2, and 1 or. In the north window of the north chapel were —gu., two lions pass. guard. arg., collared az. (Delamare). Arg., ten martlets sa. 4, 3, 2, and 1 (Moore).[85]

These windows were described then as "old;" both are now entirely blank. The modern window east of the chancel alone has any colour. On the tower are two curious carvings.

If evidence is wanting as to the building of the church, plenty has been adduced as to the endowing or founding of the chantry in the chapel on the north side of it, but this did not imply additional masonry. Within this chapel are three tombs.

In the north-west corner is one which formerly stood "more in the midst of the chapel," and in 1644 was "a lofty altar tomb with the statues of a man and woman and on the top divers children."[86] The statues still remain, although somewhat damaged, but the children are gone. The gentleman has armour over his breast, with thigh-pieces, supported by buckles from the waist and hips; his hair is short, and he wears a beard and moustache, and round his neck a single ruff. Beneath the thigh-pieces are seen the trunk hose or breeches, slashed, and much padded or puffed. The head lies upon a cushion; the hands, covered with gauntlets, are held as in prayer. The sword is hung, not round the waist, but from a frog or short belt on the left hip. Across the chest is a curious frill.

The lady's head is also upon a cushion, her hair twisted back from the forehead, the head being covered by a caul or net. Over this, falling back from the front, is a richly ornamented or diapered kerchief, and round the neck a single ruff. The dress at the shoulders is slashed and puffed high, and fastened by a band round the waist. These costumes are Elizabethan, of the time of Richard Prater, the first of the name, the successor to the Paulets, who, proud of his possession, expressed his determination not to part with it.

At the Visitation of Somerset made in 1623, George Prater of Nunney, Esq., was duly summoned to appear before the

(85). Symond's Diary. (86). Symond's Diary.

herald in Frome, but failed to obey, and consequently his pedigree and arms are omitted, and opposite his name is written the word "Contempt."[87] Illness may have been as much the reason as contempt, as he died in that year; but he could hardly have supposed his absence would ever be the cause of much trouble; and yet, without some guide, it is not easy to determine the owners of the shields on the sides of this tomb. There are now visible at the feet, south, quarterly, 1 and 4, a trefoil slipped between three mullets; 2, two lions rampant addorsed;[88] 3, three lions passant.[89] The next westward is a blank, and the next to it a gate.[90] Under the man's head, due west, a blank; under the lady's head, due west, three wolves' heads erased, on a chief a lion passant.[91] There are, or were, two other shields, not now visible, but which, in Collinson's time, when the tomb must have stood clear of the wall, were too much defaced to be legible.

Another is a "large white altar tomb," which, in 1644, stood clear of the last, and nearer the body of the church, but which now fills the north-east corner of the chapel. On it is the statue of a man in arms, with a lady by his side. He has a lion at his feet, spurs with large rowels not pricked, strapped on, and over plate armour, a tabard or jupon, bearing on the front and sleeves the Delamare arms, two lions passant guardant. His hands are gloved and raised in prayer. The sword belt of plain leather hangs from high on the right hip, and on the right side is a dagger. He wears the collar of SS. with jewel pendant; is without moustache or beard, and the head without a helmet, resting on a mantle, has the hair curiously cropped, and made to look extremely bushy. From his appearance it may be judged

(87). Somerset Visitation, Harl. MSS., No. 1145.

(88). Arg., 2 lions ramp. add. gu., Rogers.

(89). Borne by very many. ? arg., 3 lions pass. guard. sa., Hutchins of Sandford Orcas.

(90). Gules, a gate or, Portnew.

(91). Sa., 3 wolves' heads erased arg., on a chief or, a lion pass., of the first, Prater (Wilts).

he was a man of peace, preferring the gay assembly and the tournament to the battle field.

The lady is in a robe or gown, cut square below the throat, and a mantle or cloak loosely fastened across the chest by cords attached to ornaments on either shoulder, and terminating in tassels below the knee. From the head, falling behind and over the mantle, from beneath a richly ornamented coronet, is a long veil, reaching almost to the feet. Her hands are clasped in prayer, and round the neck is a chain or ribbon, from which hangs some jewel. The head reposes on a cushion, no hair being visible in front. These costumes show the times of Hen. IV and V (1399 to 1422). Around the borders of the tomb are the emblems of the Passion; with the key and cord, perhaps the emblems of St. Peter; but as it has all been removed and rebuilt, the intention is not very clear. Beneath, on the sides, are the following coats of arms. Now visible, at the feet, south, are two lions passant guardant in pale.[92] Next westward, quarterly, 1 and 4 three swords in pile;[93] 2 and 3 Delamare. Next, a lion rampant,[94] impaling three water bougets.[95] Then two lions rampant.[96] The next is not very readily deciphered; it appears to be, quarterly, 1 and 4 barry of ten; 2 and 3 argent, over all on a bend 2 annulets; impaling 2 lions in pale statant. There are, or were, on the opposite side, but not now visible, quarterly, 1 and 4 Delamare, 2 and 3 on a chief 2 mullets.[97] Quarterly, 1 and 4 on a bend an annulet;[98] 2 and 3 on a chief 2 mullets;[97] impaling a lion rampant.[94]

At the time of the valuation of church goods, temp. Edw. VI, besides the chalice already noticed, it was certified that there remained in the chapel of this chantry "300 lbs. of iron in bars

(92). Gules, 2 lions pass. guard. in pale argent, collared azure, Delamare.
(93). Sable, three swords in pile argent, hilted or, Paulet.
(94). ? Argent, a lion rampant sable, Mompesson.
(95). ? Sable, three water bougets argent, Wilton, Co. Somerset.
(96). This is borne by many families, differing only in colours.
(97). Argent on a chief gules, 2 mullets or, St. John.
(98). ? Argent, on a bend sable, an annulet or, St. Lo.

enclosing the Founder's tomb and worth 20s."[99] It must have been this tomb, then standing clear, which was so enclosed, and the reading plainly alludes to the founder of the chantry, who was Philip, the father of Constantia, the last of the Delamares. The heraldry also confirms this, as it shows the last alliance, and that Constance was his daughter, by bearing the arms of Delamare, 2 and 3, quarterly with Paulet.

Lastly, now hoisted into the sill of the north window, the feet eastward, is the statue of a knight in complete armour. This is the top of what was an altar monument, originally placed against the north wall, below its present position, and beneath the stone escutcheon still in the wall, bearing the Delamare arms. The statue has a lion at his feet, and under his head, upon a helmet, a mantle, with formerly a leopard's head, now gone.[100] He is without moustache, wears a close-fitting, somewhat conical, helmet or bascinet without visor, but with a camail or neck guard to the shoulders. The hands are gloved and raised in prayer, and the jupon is indented on the edge. There is no shield, but the sword, with a cross handle, hangs from a rich belt, carried low across the hips. The rowelled spurs are strapped on. Symonds, noting this effigy, says, the armour is "in ye forme of ye Black Prince," and adds further "this is the tomb of Delamare who, temp. Edward II, built the church and castle." There is a mistake in this, but one not easily passed from its mention of the Black Prince. The time of Edward II was from 1307 to 1327. The Black Prince, who died in 1376, was the son of Edward III. By his time plate armour was in general use, the fashion having passed through a period of mixed plate and chain. After repeated and careful examinations, no sign of plate armour can be here detected. On the other hand, neither can the markings of chain, except, perhaps, some slight traces on the shoulders; but the general appearance of the figure, and the absence of

(99). Certif. of Colleges, &c.
(100). Symond's Diary.

even plate on the legs, shows the intention to be complete chain. The camail would certainly be chain; and this being represented as smooth, the remainder of the armour may be considered the same. The effigy then is earlier than the time of the Black Prince, and judging by the shape of the helmet, absence of visor, and the chain armour, must be placed in the reign of Edward II, or, sometime between 1290 and 1320.

This was the time of Nicholas the warrior, and consequently it may be inferred that Nicholas is represented by it, and as the style of the window beneath which it was originally placed and in which it is now laid, is also of that time, it may be further inferred that Nicholas received this monumental commemoration as builder of the church, just as Philip received, perhaps sought, a similar distinction afterwards, as founder of the chantry.

Thus both these tombs have an ecclesiastical rather than a civil origin.

The confusion in Symonds' hurried entry is unfortunate as it is of value in deciding the date or foundation of the castle. The architecture of the structure, at least the upper part of it, is later than Edward II, being transition, tending towards the Perpendicular. This would be of the time of the Black Prince; the time of Sir John the Crenellator. But the evidence considered as a whole, suggests the existence of a house or manse before the time of Sir John, and the conclusion must be that Nicholas—the effigy, the warrior,—the builder of the church, temp. Edward II, was also the original founder of this "manse," which Sir John, when converting it into a fortified manor house, "embellished," to an extent that amounted almost to a rebuilding; the result being the present edifice, whose date is then fixed in 1373.

There is also the thought that the chapel may have been formed at the time of some alterations indicated by the later architectural insertions, and attached to the chantry in the church, with the extra endowments in 8 Henry VI, 1428.

Near the church is the old manor house or Court House, as it

is called. A part only is now occupied; the hall, with the minstrels' gallery still remaining, being used as a woodhouse, &c.; but in 1644 it was a "faire stone house in which Mr. Prater's sonne" lived.[101]

Troubled times continued for some years after the purchase of the manor by Messrs. Foxley and Colbey in 1652. It is next found held by Wm. Whitchurch, whose residence was in the house, standing at the western tower of the castle, and known as the Castle House. In Collinson's time there were large iron gates at the entrance, and over them a shield bearing, as he reads it, three lions' heads erased langued, on a chief guttée a lion passant. This coat, which is remarkably like Prater, should be gu., three talbots' heads erased or, on a chief arg., guttée de sang, a lion passant sa. (Whitchurch). In Buck's *View of Nunney in* 1733, the house and its garden front are shown as very trim and neat, and with the view, which is inscribed to John Whitchurch, Esq., this coat, or what should be it, is engraved. It is there again either wrongly given, or Mr. Whitchurch chose, without authority, to vary the Devonshire bearing when he became a Somerset man. The plate shows it as—or, three talbots' heads (very rough ones) erased sa., langued, on a chief of the first guttée, a lion pass. of the second, langued.

Collinson, who was now almost contemporary, says that from Mr. Wm. Whitchurch the property descended to his son "of the same name," and at his death was sold to discharge debts and legacies, &c. It will be noticed that this does not agree with the dedication of the view to John. It was afterwards re-purchased by the widow, who left it by Will, in 1749, to James Theobald, with whose descendants it still remains.

(101). Symond's Diary.

The Sale of Combe.

BY F. H. DICKINSON, M.A., F.S.A.

IN looking through the large *Liber Albus* I have noticed several early charters, which, so far as I can make out, are unpublished, and if I am right in this, shall probably ask the leave of the Society to print them in our transactions. The most important of these charters is the one printed below.

It may be well to mention that this register, written about the middle of the 15th century, is of very different importance from the other two. They are originals; cotemporaneous records in different hands, this one, a copy of the chapter muniments, was apparently completed at the time it was made. As I do not find any notice of this charter in the index, one is left in some doubt whether there may not be other unknown documents, and it would be well that the registers should be calendered.

As this charter was unknown to one of our Members, who is, perhaps, the person best acquainted with the documents of the Conqueror's reign, I made a copy of it for him; and, not improbably in consequence of this an article appeared in the *Saturday Review* of Dec. 2nd, 1876, which pretty fully and clearly explained the charter.

Lib. Alb. II. 254 f. Bæc[1] be Cume

✠ Her cyð embe þ land æt Cume þa biscop Giso of Sumorsetescyre pæs on piltune inn þære stænena[2] cyrcean on þære upfleringe to foren Eadgyþe þere hlefdian Edweardes cyncges lafe mid Willelmes cyncges geleafan þ adzor þuredes sunu moste hyt sellan ⁊ gyfan þ land æt Cume Gisan b̃ ⁊ hi purþan sæhte þ se b̃ gef him. vi. marc. goldes and sceolde þ land gan inn to þā b̃rice. æt pelle eall spa hit stode mid mete and mid mannū ⁊ mid eallū æhtan spa spa hyt hym on handa stod on æcce yrfe ærdæg ⁊ æfter ⁊ his gebedredene[3] sceolde beon bynnan þam mynstre ⁊ his fæder ⁊ his meder ⁊ his gespustra ⁊ his sunu. a tha hpile þe crystendom. punede on engle lande on gepittnæste þære[4] manna þe þær mid pæron. + Sæxi preost + Kyppincg pr̄ + Brihtmær pr̄ + Godric diacᵇ + paldere diacᵇ + Sumorlæte subdiacᵇ + Herdincg + pulfpeard hpite + ægelsig Stipeard + Alfpold burþen + vitela + Alfpold + Brihtric doddasunu[5] + Brixi ceolsig sunu[6] + Godpine hos. Leofpine godpinessunu + Leofpine Edpines sunu + Sipeard godmannes sunu + Agamund + Ælfric lange + Ælfric Ælfheges sunu + þiederic goldsmiðð + Ægelsig Goldsmiðð + Nordmann ioħs sunu + Ægelric coc + Rabel coc + ⁊ pis[7] pes gedon on þone podnesday binnan hlenctene[8] þaman[9] sang Reminiscere miseracionum tuarum Domine. on þam vi geare þæs þe Willelm cyng rixode ⁊ Mathyld̃ his gebedde. ⁊ Rotb̄ æþeling hyre sunu ⁊ landfranc arceb̄ ⁊ þaylce[10] geare gepiten þa tpegen biscopes Stigand arceb̄ ⁊ leofric b̃ of Exacestre. ⁊ þa pæs agan fram ✕pes gebyrdtide þusen geare ⁊ lxxii geare on þæt xi geare. þæs[11] he Giso b̃. feng to rice.

Professor Earle has been so kind as to give the following translation. He remarks that the language of the charter shews that it must be of nearly the date it purports to be, and that the copy made in the 15th century is so nearly

(1), boc; (2), stænenan; (3), gebedræden; (4), gepitnesse þæra; (5), doddansunu; (6), ceolsigessunu; (7), þis; (8), lenctene; (9), hwæne man; (10), þy ylce; (11), þæs þe.

accurate—some of the slovenlinesses having probably been in the original—that he cannot think it a mechanical scribe's work, but must suppose that the language was understood at the time of transcription, even if imperfectly.

Here sheweth about the land at Combe. When Bishop Giso of Somersetshire was at Wilton on the up-floor before Edith the Lady, King Edwards relict, with King William's leave that Adzor Thureds son might sell and give the land at Combe to Giso the Bishop. And they came to an agreement that the Bishop should give him 6 marks of gold, and the land should go into the Bishopric at Wells altogether as it stood, with meat and with men, and with all chattels, just as it on his hand stood, perpetual now and for ever. And that there should be a service for him in the Minster, and for his father, and his mother, and his sisters, and his son, for ever, the while that Christendom should continue in England. On the witness of the men who were present + Sæxi, priest; + Kippincg, priest; + Brihtmær, priest; + Godric, deacon; + Waldere, deacon; + Sumorlæte, sub-deacon; + Herdincg, + Wulfweard White; + Ægelsig, steward; + Ælfwold, chamberlain; + Vitela; + Alfwold; + Brihtric, son of Dodda; + Brixi, son of Ceolsig; + Godwine hos. Leofwine, son of Godwin; + Leofwine, son of Edwin; + Siweard, son of Godman; + Agamund; + Ælfric Long; + Ælfric, son of Ælfheg; + Thiederic, goldsmith; + Ægelsig, goldsmith; + Nordman Johnsson; + Ægelric, cook; + Rabel, cook. And this was done on the Wednesday in Lent when they sing Reminiscere miserationum tuarum domine[12] in the 6th year that King William reigned, and Mathylda his consort, and Robert Atheling their son, and Landfranc, Archbishop. And the same year died the Bishops, Stigand Archbishop, and Leofric Bishop of Exeter, and then was gone from the time of Christ's birth a thousand years and seventy-two years at that the 11th year since Giso's accession to the bishopric.

(12). Ember Wednesday.

Domesday records that Combe St. Nicholas belonged to the Bishop, having been in the time of King Edward the property of Azor, here called Adzor, and Arsere in the ancient history of Wells by the Canon. He is identified by the writer in the *Saturday Review* with Adzurus' *dapifer* to King Edward in the Waltham Charter of 1062. This document shews where the transfer was made and when, the price and other conditions of the bargain. The date, Ember Wednesday in Lent (Feb. 28, according to the *Saturday Review*), is fixed by the first words of the introit at mass, the same as in the printed Sarum missal and the Roman missal now. As the beginning of Lent must be before Lady-day, the date of this deed shews that the year began at Christmas, or on the first of January as now, for if it had begun at Lady-day, the beginning of Lent, 1072, would still have been on the 10th year of Giso, who was consecrated at Rome on Easter Day, April 15th, 17 Kal. Maii, 1061, according to Hickes' *Thesaurus*, part i. p. 177, where he gives a *fac-simile* of the very curious diploma of Nicholas the III, dated 7 Kal. Maii of the same year, which is preserved among the Chapter Muniments.

It may be as well to note that the exact date of Archbishop Stigand's death is stated in the *Saturday Review* to have been hitherto uncertain. With regard to Leofric, Le Neve states him to have died Feb. 10, 1073, and Mr. J. B. Davidson places his death in 1071, in a memorandum on some boundaries near Dartmoor from the *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, which he has been so good as to send me.

The price was 6 marks of gold. It is difficult to make out what this was, apparently a trifle over three pounds weight avoirdupois. The goldsmiths were present who, on the part of the seller and purchaser, weighed and assayed it, and possibly lent it, an early instance of banking, which in later times grew out of the goldsmiths' trade.

The principal witness was the Lady the Queen, the widow of Edward, who seems to have lived in quasi-regal state at the

Nunnery, which she had built anew of stone instead of wood. Her steward and chambérlain, *Burthen*, Bower Thane, akin to the Harem Pacha, of Bishop Strossmeyer, were witnesses, as well as various friends of her late husband, all, as is remarked in the *Saturday Review*, bearing English, and not French, names, thus giving a national character to her court, and to this transaction also, though Giso had been one of Edward's foreign chaplains. Here also the wife of William is designated by an expression by no means uncivil or improper, but which puts her below the Queen Dowager, and it is remarkable that Robert is called Ætheling.

The bargain was made before the 26 witnesses in the up-flooring of the church. This the writer in the *Saturday Review* states to be triforum. We hardly know enough of the plan of an English church at the time of the conquest to be sure of this. The reader must be careful not to make up his ideas of what cathedrals were then by what they are now, with long choirs and vaulted aisles to nave and choir. The long constructional choirs were then, or soon after, beginning to be developed and extended out of the semicircular apse at the end of the nave, in the chord of which the great altar of the church was placed. There was usually a transept just in front of the altar. At Exeter and Lincoln this transept occupied the place of the present transept, and it is probable that this was generally the case elsewhere. It lay between the apse and the nave, which opened into the transept with a great arch, and the aisles on each side with lesser arches, as they do now. In the great Basilicas at Rome, the patterns of other churches, there were no galleries or triforia. Viollet le Duc, at page 180 of the first volume of his charming architectural dictionary, gives a section of a Basilica, which had over the aisles galleries on wooden beams, not upon arches or vaults, similar to those of London churches, like S. James, and in such a gallery it is possible that the sale may have been transacted. If this be objected to, on the ground that architectural taste had not as

yet been sufficiently developed in England, the only alternative seems to be that the up-flooring was a raised gallery or loft in the centre of the church, such as in later times was called rood loft, and in earlier times ambo, and of which the history is given in a curious dissertation of J. B. Thiers *sur les Jubés.* On this loft the Epistle and Gospel were read on feast days and the musical parts of the service chanted, and here also—possibly enlarged for the occasion—coronations were celebrated. That the up-flooring was not a room in the monastery; but something in the church, such as we have been describing, is plain from the account of the troubles at Glastonbury in 1083, between Thurstan and his monks. He misgoverned them and put them wrong. Florence of Worcester tells us that he did this about the service, by teaching them a new-fangled chant, brought from Fécamp, in Normandy, instead of that to which they had been accustomed, and which is called the Gregorian chant. In consequence of these ritual troubles the secular power was brought in. The abbot sent for laymen, and they came fully armed into the Chapter-house and terrified the monks, who fled into the church and locked themselves in, but the doors were broken open and the Frenchmen broke into the choir, and some of the knights went on the up-floor and shot down with their arrows toward the halydom (sanctuary), so that on the rood, which stood above the altar, they stuck many arrows, and the wretched monks lay about the altar, and some crept under it, and three were killed and eighteen wounded. These very uncomfortable proceedings in the course of the great ritual development of the latter half of the 11th century, give a picturesque idea of what the up-floor must have been.

The first among the lay witnesses was Harding, the ancestor of the House of Berkeley, who is described as the Queen's *pincerna* in the Waltham deed, where Adzor himself comes next to him as the King's *dapifer.* Godwin also appears here, with *hos* after his name, the last letter looking like a contraction, in the Waltham deed he was the Queen's *dapifer;* and Brihtric,

Dodda's son, the latter having been at Waltham.[13] Last of all come two cooks, Ægelric and Rabel. It is not to be supposed that the nuns of Wilton employed men cooks. They must have been those of the Lady ; and their presence gives savoury ideas of the capital fish dinner (fit for the fast day) she must have given to all the company, with which the proceedings closed. The afternoon mass being taken as early as possible to enable the company, after performing the religious duties of the day, thoroughly to enjoy itself in the old English fashion at the very late dinner, or, rather, as we should say, luncheon, suitable for Lent.

Combe is stated in Domesday to be worth £18 ; and it was worth £10 in King Edward's time. The Bishop had, therefore, very considerably improved it. I conceive that these pounds weight of silver were a good deal smaller than the pounds of gold mentioned above. If it be correct, as stated in Rees' *Cyclopædia*, that gold was to silver as the proportion of 12 to 1, we cannot make out that the price could have been more than five or six years' purchase on the unimproved value.

Giso is stated to have increased the number of canons, and appointed one Isaac, by the name of a provost, to be their governor. This officer was in later times called the Provost of Combe, and appears to have possessed Combe, Winsham, and other property (mentioned in Collinson, vol. ii. 475-6), subject to £6 13*s.* 4*d.* for each of the 15 Combe Prebendaries and his Vicar. He had then a seat in choir, not apparently one of much importance, but no seat, if I remember right, in Chapter. The property again improved, the Provostship became a very rich benefice ; and when, at the Reformation, the revenues of the deanery were dissipated, it was abolished, and the revenues, with those of the sub-chanter, used to re-endow the deanery. Up to the changes made 40 years ago, Wells was thought to be one of the best deaneries which an ill-endowed Bishop might well

(13). The reader will remark that the first Leofwine has no cross before his name, this is probably an omission of the transcriber in the Register.

hold in commendam. Mr. Freeman, in his discourse on the Antiquities of Wells, in volume XII. of our Proceedings, dwells on some of the perplexities concerning the office of Provost between Bishop Giso's time and 1234, when Bishop Jocelin completed the ordination of the Provostship. An attempt seems to have been made to treat it as a family estate, which was defeated after a great deal of trouble and some loss.

We are indebted to our associate, Rev. John Earle, Professor of Anglo-Saxon, for his learned emendations, and I in particular for the critical accuracy with which he detected two blunders which I had made in transcription, for which the only excuse that could be made was that, my time was limited.

Charter of William the Second, granting Bath to Bishop John de Villula.

BY F. H. DICKINSON, M.A., F.S.A.

THERE exists in our county a great store of MSS. Besides those of our oldest families, the boroughs of Wells, Bath, Axbridge, and Bridgwater, possess charters and other writings of great value. As a first effort to make them better known, some consideration has been given during the last six months to the MSS. of the Dean and Chapter. Professor Earle was so good as to examine them with Mr. Serel and me, and we selected those we thought most suitable for a volume, to be printed by means of photography. The assent of the Dean and Chapter was obtained, but it was thought by others best at first to give one specimen only in our annual volume; and as our meeting was held at Bath last year, it is reasonable that we should print the most important charter which concerns that city.

Whether we shall continue in subsequent numbers of our Journal the series we now begin, or publish the selection that has been made, with a view to follow it up by similar selections of our municipal charters and accounts, must depend on the opinion of our Members. This latter course is the more complete thing. The collection will be larger, and of various dates and specimens of hand-writing, nearly all local, and dated, and the copies, with proper margins, laid out flat, and not folded up into an octavo volume like this.

The charters and registers of the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter are described in the 1st and 3rd Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission, where their great value is pointed out. The

more important documents have been printed, and the most beautiful of them, the diploma of Pope Nicholas to Bishop Giso has been given in *fac simile* by Bishop Hickes, as has already been noticed in this Journal. But neither printing nor *fac simile* by engraving is enough. The printing which is done by means of photography is the only satisfactory method of giving the documents just as they are, and not as they are supposed to be by the copyist or artist.

As printing gave new power and new directions to literature generally, so the perpetuating and disseminating MSS. and inscriptions by photography are sure to help the more accurate study of ancient documents, and so to assist historical criticism. Because those who are engaged in it will have the documents in their own hands, and are no longer obliged to go to the MSS. and inspect them, often in libraries far apart. This charter has been printed first by Hickes in his *Dissertatio Epistolaris*, p. 47; and afterwards by Hearne, in the first volume of Adam of Domerham, p. 278; by Warner *History of Bath*, Appendix No. 9; and in the new edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Vol. 2, p. 266. In all the names are given, and the crosses against the names of those who signed the charters, not as now, by writing their own names, but by signing with the sign of the cross. It is remarked by Hickes that this charter marks a change in practice, in that the King both signs and seals, the earlier practice having been to sign only, the later not to sign at all, but to affix the great seal. William's seal is gone, and nothing remains but the tape by which it was fastened to the parchment. There are MSS. copies also of this charter in *Liber Ruber*, fol. 14, num. 32, and 2d *Liber Albus*, fol. 341.

It may be remarked that the printed copies do not do justice to the remarkable interlineation in the middle of the deed, about the influence of Lanfranc in procuring it, which gives a suspicion of falsehood to the whole. Though apparently subsequent to the rest, the writing shews itself to be of nearly the same time.

It is curious that Warner and the *Monasticon* follow Hickes,

in reading accessi instead of concessi. Hearne does not make the blunder. The following are the words of the charter:—

"Pax in perpetuum deicolis omnibus tam futuris quam præsentibus. Quoniam deo omnitenente tempora sæculorum ordinante. et his prout placuerit finem imponente cælum et terra. et omnia quæ in eis sunt suo fine transibunt. et vita nostra quæ ad tempus floret. et cito tanquam flos foeni decidit. videtur esse momentanea idcirco cunctis agendum. ut hic bonis actibus futuræ beatitudinis mercemur gaudia absque omni immutatione perenniter mansura. Quo circa ego Willelmus Willelmi regis filius. dei dispositione monarches britanniæ pro meæ meique patris remedio animæ. et regni prosperitate. et populi a domino mihi collati salute. CONCESSI JOHANNI EPISCOPO Abbatiam SANCTI PETRI BATHONIÆ cum omnibus apenditiis tam in villis quam in civitate et in consuetudinibus. illis videlicet quibus saisita erat ea die qua regnum suscepi. dedi inquam ad Summersetensis episcopatus augmentationem. eotenus presertim ut inibi instituat præsuleam sedem. Anno dominicæ incarnationis. Millesimo xc. Regni vero mei. iiii. Indictione. xiii. vi. Kalendas FEBRUARII. LUNA. iii. pepigi id in eorum optimatum meorum præsentia. + quorum NOMINA subtus sunt annexa. et ut per posteritates succedentes apud quosque homines veritatis amatores perseveret ratum. meæ regiæ auctoritatis annecto sigillum. sed et propria manu mea depingo crucis dominicæ signum."

"Lanfranco archipræsule machinante wintoniæ factum est donum hujus beneficii millesimo lxxxviii anno ab incarnatione dominicæ .secundo vero anno regni regis Willelmi filii prioris Willelmi Confirmatio autem hujus chartæ facta est apud doveram eo tempore quod superius determinatum est."

The witnesses are—Thomas, Archbishop of York (Canterbury being vacant four years); Maurice, Bishop of London; Walchelin of Winchester; Osmund of Salisbury; Osbern of Exeter; Remigius of Lincoln; Robert of Hereford; Robert of Chester (Lichfield had been removed to Chester in 1075, and was to be

taken to Coventry in 1102, by this Bishop); Gunnulf or Gundulph of Rochester; Wolstan of Worcester; Ralph of Chichester; Herbert of Thetford; Geoffry of Coutances (Earl of Northumberland); Hoel of Le Mans; Wido, Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury; Gilbert of Westminster; Turstin of Glastonbury; Symeon of Ely; Baldwin of St. Edmunds; Reginald of Abingdon; Robert of St. Peters at Winchester; Walter of Evesham; Paul of St. Albans; Odo of Chertsey; Geoffry of Malmesbury; Goisbert of Battle; Serlo of Gloucester. After the Abbots and before the Earls follows Geoffry *mala terra.* (I do not know who he was, and the position of this name is remarkable). The Earls are Roger (probably of Montgomery, Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, Dugdale's *Baronage*, p. 26); Robert (probably Earl of Cornwall and Mortain, brother to Odo and William the Conqueror, p. 24); Symon (of St. Liz, Earl of Huntingdon and Northampton, p. 56, 58); Hugh (of Avranches, Earl of Chester, nephew to William, p. 32); Alan; Henry (of Newburgh, Earl of Warwick, p. 69); Walter (Giffard, Earl of Buckingham, p. 60); and William (de Warren, Earl of Surrey, p. 73). Then follow Robert Fitz-Hamo (who had the Honour of Gloucester), Philip the Chaplain, Robert the Chancellor, and other Chaplains. Samson, Turgis, Gerald, Ansger, Herbert, William, Engoiran, Ranulph (possibly R. Flambard, who had land at Bath, who was afterwards made Bishop of Durham, after an ineffectual attempt of the king to raise him to Canterbury—see *Anglia Sacra*, 1-295); Peter and Turald, chaplains. Eudo, Ivo, Haimo, Roger, and William, dapifers; (seneschals or stewards), Robert de Oily (Lord of Oxford); Urso de Abetot of Worcester, Robert dispensator, Hugh de Port (of Basing), Roger de Bursley (afterwards of Bingham), Ralph and William Peverel (his son, said to have been really son of William). Aiulf the Sheriff, Aluerad of Lincoln, Ernulf of Hesding and Folco Crispinus.

The reader will no doubt remark that some only of the names have crosses to them. It is conceived that documents which

alienated the royal lands, or effected arbitrary transfers of rights like this, required the assent of an assembly equivalent to the Witan of earlier times and to Parliament now, that the document was prepared beforehand by the royal chancellor, in this case Robert Bloet, or one of his clerks, and that the names of all who were likely to be present were added to it, but that those only who were present and approved, subscribed. Documents like this which have but a few signs of the cross bear their authenticity on the face of them.

It may be as well to remark further concerning this document that William the Conqueror died Sept. 9, 1087, and Lanfranc, May 28, 1089. The agreement made at Winton must have been in the last quarter of 1088, and this deed must have been granted on the last quarter of 1090. Wharton's *Anglia sacra*, i. 560, throws doubt on the latter date, which is supposed to be really 1091, but it seems without reason. The indiction is right. If Luna means what Sir Harris Nicholas calls the concurrent (p. 28 of *Chronology of History*), 3 seems to be right according to the tables given in Ducange, edn. of 1840, but the Regular according to *L' Art de verifier les dates*, if the Regular is, as it seems, the same thing as the concurrent, ought to be 4.

William of Malmesbury, who knew Bishop John, speaks of him as a great practical physician, and fond of learned men, who by his skill had made much money, some of which was probably used to obtain his bishopric, if, as is most probable, he was appointed by William Rufus, and not by the Conqueror. He spent more money afterwards to remove the bishopric to Bath, which was done under the influence of Lanfranc, in conformity with the very proper view of those times, that the Bishops' sees should be removed from places of small importance to great cities. This view had guided the removal of sees from Crediton to Exeter, from Dorchester to Lincoln, and soon after caused the removal from Thetford to Norwich.

This charter then gives the Abbey of St. Peters of Bath to

the Bishop of Somerset, who was to be in future like the Archbishop, the Bishop of Winchester and others, in the place of Abbot, the monastery being governed by the Prior, as the cathedral was in after times to be ruled by the Dean. After the grant of the monastery the Bishop obtained for £500 a grant of the city also, which had recently been burnt. In Dugdale, ii. 267-8, charters are given, one of William Rufus making this grant, and three of his brother Henry confirming it, and I have found in the Register of the Dean and Chapter the following deed of confirmation by their elder brother Robert, Duke of Normandy.

Liber Albus, 220 verso.

R dux Normannie filius W. Regis et frater W. Regis necnon et H. Regis A. archiepiscopo cantuariensi et omnibus episcopis et primatibus Anglorum Regni Salutem. Sciatis quod Ego concedo donum quod fecerunt fratres mei W. Rex et H. Rex Deo et Beato Petro Apostolo suo et Johanni Episcopo de Civitate Bathonie et de rebus que ad ipsam pertinent civitatem. Sit ratum concessione mea et in eternum perseverans. Hoc autem facio pro anima mea et patris mei et matris mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum.

This deed is given by Hearne, Adam of Domerham, p. 286, but the book is rare, and, as I have not found the deed elsewhere, it may be well to republish it.

Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

1876-7.

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Smith, C. Roach, Esq., F.S.A., Strood, Rochester.

Stubbs, Rev. W., M.A., *Regius Professor of Modern History*, Oxford.

Williams, Rev. George, B.D., Ringwood.

Willis, Rev. R., F.R.S., F.G.S., *Jacksonian Professor*, Cambridge.

Wilson, Daniel, Esq., LL.D., *Professor of English Language*, Toronto, Canada.

Societies in Correspondence.

The Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland
The British Archæological Association
The Society of Antiquaries of London
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
The Royal Irish Academy
The Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland
The Cambrian Archæological Society
The Associated Architectural Societies of Northampton, &c., &c.
The Sussex Archæological Society
The Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History
The Surrey Archæological Society
The Lancashire Historic Society
The Chester Local Archæological Society
The Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society
The London and Middlesex Archæological Society
The Plymouth Institution and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society
The Kent Archæological Society
The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society
The Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club
The Geologists' Association
The Royal Dublin Society
The Bristol Naturalists' Society
The Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool
Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester
The Watford Natural History Society
Imperial and Royal Geographical Society of Vienna
The Royal Norwegian University, Christiana
Societie Vaudoise des Sciences Naturelles, Lausanne
University College, Toronto, Canada
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.
The Essex Institute, Salem, Massachussets, U.S.

Rules.

THIS Society shall be denominated "THE SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY;" and its object shall be the cultivation of, and collecting information on, Archæology and Natural History in their various branches, but more particularly in connection with the county of Somerset, and the establishment of a Museum and Library.

II.—The Officers of the Society shall consist of a Patron and Trustees, elected for life; a President; Vice-Presidents; General and District, or Local Secretaries; and a Treasurer, elected at each Anniversary Meeting; with a Committee of twelve, six of whom shall go out annually by rotation, but may be re-elected. No person shall be elected on the Committee until he shall have been six months a Member of the Society.

III.—Anniversary General Meetings shall be held for the purpose of electing the Officers, of receiving the Report of the Committee for the past year, and of transacting all other necessary business, at such time and place as the Committee shall appoint, of which Meetings three weeks' notice shall be given to the Members.

IV.—There shall also be a General Meeting, fixed by the Committee, for the purpose of receiving Reports, reading Papers, and transacting business. All Members shall have the privilege of introducing one friend to the Anniversary and General Meetings.

V.—The Committee is empowered to call special Meetings of the Society upon receiving a requisition signed by ten Members. Three weeks' notice of such special Meetings and its object shall be given to each Member.

VI.—The affairs of the Society shall be directed by the Committee (of which the Officers of the Society shall be *ex-officio* Members), which shall hold Monthly Meetings for receiving reports from the Secretaries and sub-Committees, and for transacting other necessary business; three of the Committee shall be a quorum. Members may attend the Monthly Committee Meetings after the official business has been transacted.

VII.—The Chairman, at Meetings of the Society, shall have a casting vote in addition to his vote as a Member.

VIII.—One (at least) of the Secretaries shall attend each Meeting, and shall keep a record of its proceedings. The property of the Society shall be held in trust for the Members by twelve Trustees, who shall be chosen from the Members at any General Meeting. All Manuscripts and Communications and the other property of the Society shall be under the charge of the Secretaries.

IX.—Candidates for admission as Members shall be proposed by two Members at any of the General or Committee Meetings, and the election shall be determined by ballot at the next Committee or General Meeting; three-fourths of the Members present balloting shall elect. The Rules of the Society shall be subscribed by every person becoming a Member.

X.—Ladies shall be eligible as Members of the Society without ballot, being proposed by two Members and approved by the majority of the Meeting.

XI.—Each Member shall pay Ten Shillings on admission to the Society, and Ten Shillings as an Annual Subscription, which shall become due on the 1st of January in each year, and shall be paid in advance.

XII.—Donors of Ten Guineas or upwards shall be Members for life.

XIII.—At General Meetings of the Society the Committee may recommend persons to be balloted for as Honorary or Corresponding Members.

XIV.—When any office shall become vacant or any new appointment shall be requisite, the Committee shall have power to fill up the same; such appointments shall remain in force only till the next General Meeting, when they shall be either confirmed or annulled.

XV.—The Treasurer shall receive all Subscriptions and Donations made to the Society, and shall pay all accounts passed by the Committee; he shall keep a book of receipts and payments which he shall produce whenever the Committee shall require it; the accounts shall be audited previously to the Anniversary Meeting by two Members of the Committee chosen for that purpose, and an abstract of them shall be read at the Meeting.

XVI.—No change shall be made in the laws of the Society except at a General or Special Meeting, at which twelve Members at least shall be present. Of the proposed change a month's notice shall be given to the Secretaries, who shall communicate the same to each Member three weeks before the Meeting.

XVII.—Papers read at Meetings of the Society shall (with the author's consent, and subject to the discretion of the Committee), be published in the *Proceedings* of the Society.

XVIII.—No religious or political discussions shall be permitted at Meetings of the Society.

XIX.—Any person contributing books or specimens to the Museum shall be at liberty to resume possession of them in the event of a dissolution of the Society. Persons shall also have liberty to deposit Books or Specimens for a specific time only.

XX.—In case of dissolution, the real property of the Society in Taunton shall be held by the Trustees for the advancement of Literature, Science, and Art, in the town of Taunton and the County of Somerset.

April, 1877.

*** *It is requested that Contributions to the Museum or Library be sent to the Curator, at the Taunton Castle.*

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1877.

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Kinglake, R. A. „
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Maynard, Walter, „
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Pinchard, J. H. B. „
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Plowman, T. *North Curry*
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Portman, The Hon. W. H. B. *Durweston, Blandford, Dorset*
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*Seymour, H. D. „ „
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Smith, Cecil, *Bishops Lydeard*
Smith, Clement, *Crescent, Taunton*
Smith, Fredk. J., B.A. „
380 Smith, Rev. Gilbert E. *Barton St. David*
Smith, J. H. *Taunton*
Smith, Richard, *Bridgwater*
Solly, Miss L. *Bath*
Somerville, J. C. *Dinder, Wells*
385 Sotheby, Rev. T. H. *Langford Budville*
Sparks, William, *Crewkerne*
Sparks, W. B. „
Speke, W. *Jordans, near Ilminster*
Spencer, J. H. *Galmington Lodge, Taunton*
390 Spiller, H. *Taunton*
Stanley, E. J. *Quantock Lodge, Bridgwater*
Stanton, Rev. J. J. *Tokenham Rectory, Wotton Bassett*
St. Aubyn, Colonel, 7, *Great Bedford-street, Bath*
Steevens, A. *Taunton*
395 Stephenson, Rev. J. H. *Lympsham*
Stoate, Wm. *Wembdon, Bridgwater*
Stock, B. S. *Cote Lodge, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol*
Strachey, Sir E., Bart. *Sutton Court, Pensford,* „
Stradling, W. J. L. *Chilton-super-Polden*
400 Stuart, A. T. B. *Mellifont Abbey, Wookey, Wells*
Stubbs, Joseph, *Grammar School, Langport*
Stuckey, V. *Langport*
Surrage, J. L. *Wincanton*
Surtees, W. Edward, *Tainfield, Taunton*
405 Swayne, W. T. *Glastonbury*
Symes, Rev. R. *Cleeve, Bristol*

Talbot de Malahide, Lord, *Evercreech, Shepton Mallet*
Tagart, W. H., *Parkfield, Weston, Bath*
Taplin, T. K. *Mount House, Milverton*
410 Taunton, Lady, *Eaton-place, London*
Tawney, E. B., *Clifton, Bristol*
Taylor, Peter, *Mountlands, Taunton*
Taylor, Thos. *Taunton*
Templeman, Rev. Alex. *Puckington*
415 Terry, Geo. *Mells, Frome*
Thomas, C. J. *Drayton Lodge, Redland, Bristol*

Thring, Rev. Godfrey, *Alford, Castle Cary*
Thring, Theodore, „ „
Tinley, G. A. *Watts House, Bishops Lydeard*
420 Todd Lt.-Col. *Keynston Lodge, Blandford*
Tomkins, Rev. H. G. *Weston-super-Mare*
Tomkins, Rev. W. S. *Castle Cary*
Trask, Charles, *Norton, Ilminster*
Trevelyan, Sir W. C., Bart. *Nettlecombe Court, and Wallington, Northumberland*
425 Trevelyan, Sir C. E., Bart., K.C.B., 8, *Grosvenor-crescent, Belgrave-square, London, S.W.*
Trevelyan, Arthur, *Tynehoin, Tranent, N.B.*
Trevelyan, Miss, *Nettlcombe Court*
Trew, Richard, *Axbridge*
Trower, Miss, *Gotten House, Taunton*
430 Tuckwell, Rev. W. *Taunton*
Turner, C. J. *Staplegrove*
Turner, Henry G. „
Tyack, S. C.
Tylor, Edw. Burnett, LL.D., F.R.S., *Linden, Wellington*
435 Tyndall, J. W. Warre, *Perridge House, Shepton Mallet*
Tyrwhitt, Capt. Philip, *Wyke, Gillingham, Dorset*

Vaughan-Lee, V. H. *Dillington House, Ilminster*

Wade, C. *Banwell*
Wade, E. F. *Axbridge*
440 Walker, W. C. *Shepton Mallet*
Walrond, Rev. W. H. *Nynehead*
Walrond, Clement, *Llandaff, S. Wales*
Walters, R. *Stoke-sub-Hambdon*
Walters, G. *Frome*
445 Ward, Rev. J. W. *Ruishton*
Warren, J. F. H. *Langport*
Warren, H. F. F. „
Warren, Rev. J. *Bawdrip*
Weatherley, Christopher, 39, *High-street, Wapping, London, E.*
450 Welman, C. N. *Norton Manor*
Welch, C. *Minehead*
Welsh, W. I. *Wells*
Welman, C. C. *Fitzroy, Taunton*
Westlake, W. H. „
455 Whidborne, G. T. *Chester House, Weston-super-Mare*
White, C. F., 42, *Windsor-road, Ealing, London, W.*
White, F. *Wellington*

White, Rev. F. W. *Crowle, Doncaster*
Whitfield, Rev. E. *Ilminster*
560 Wilkinson, Rev. Prebendary, *Broughton Gifford, Melksham*
Wilks, Rev. Theodore C. *Natley Scures, Hants*
Williams, Rev. Wadham Pigott, *Bishops Hull*
Winter, J. A. *Cricket Court, Chard*
Winterbotham, W. L., M.B. *Bridgwater*
465 Winwood, Rev. H. H. 11, *Cavendish-crescent, Bath*
Wise, Rev. W. J. *Shipham, Bristol*
Wood, Rev. J. 10, *Burlington-street, Bath*
Wood, Alexander, *The Laurels, Horsham, Sussex*
Woodforde, F. H., M.D. *Amberd House, Taunton*
470 Woodforde, G. A. *Castle Cary*
Woodhouse, Rev. F. T. *Otterhampton, Bridgwater*
Woodland, Wm. *Trull, Taunton*
Woodley, W. A. *Taunton*
Wotton, E. „

475 Yatman, Rev. J. A. *Winscombe, Weston-super-Mare*

Members are requested to inform either of the Secretaries of any errors or omissions in the above list; they are also requested to authorise their Bankers to pay their subscriptions annually to Stuckey's Banking Company, Taunton; or to either of their branches; or their respective London Agents, on account of the Treasurer.

Taunton Castle Purchase Fund.

Donations to March, 1876.

	£	s	d
Abraham, H., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Acland, Sir T. D. Bart., Killerton	10	0	0
Adair, Rev. H. J., Bradford ...	1	1	0
Adair, Mrs., Heatherton ...	1	0	0
Do. (2nd. Donation) ..	5	0	0
Adair, Miss " ...	1	0	0
Adair, Col. A. W., Windsor...	2	0	0
Adams, W., Taunton ...		10	6
Adlam, Mrs., Chew Magna ...	3	3	0
Adlam, Wm., " ...	5	0	0
Alford, H., Taunton ...	2	2	0
Alford, John, " ...		10	6
Allen, Col. Lyngford ...	1	0	0
Alleyne, E. H., Bishops Hull	2	2	0
Altham, Major, Timbercombe	2	0	0
Atton, R. J., Taunton ...	2	2	0
Badcock, H., Taunton ...	20	0	0
Badcock Daniel, Washford ...	5	5	0
Badcock, H. J., Taunton ...	5	0	0
Bagehot, E., Langport ...	5	0	0
Bagehot, Walter, Langport ...	10	0	0
Bailey, Robt., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Baker, Jno., Ilminster ...	1	1	0
Baker, C. G., Seaton ...	1	1	0
Bale, J. H., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Banfield, H., Sydenham ...	1	1	0
Barclay, A. C., M.P., London	25	0	0
Barnicott and Son, Taunton	5	5	0
Barnwell, Rev. E. L., Melksham	5	0	0
Barrett, W., North Curry ...	20	0	0
Barrett, Jonathan, Taunton ...	2	2	0
Batten, John, Yeovil ...	20	0	0
Bath and Wells, Right Hon. the Bishop of, Wells ...	5	5	0
Beadon, Edwards, Taunton ...	20	0	0
Beadon, R. J., Hatch ...	1	1	0
Bisset, M. F., Bagborough ...	10	10	0
Blake, Wm., South Petherton	20	0	0
Blake and Hatcher, Taunton	5	5	0
Blizard, J. " ...		10	6
Blomfield, Rev. L., Bath ...	2	0	0
Blommart, J., Willett ...	5	0	0
Boucher, Benjamin, Wiveliscombe	1	1	0
Bouverie, P. P., Brymore ...	20	0	0
Bownes, Rev. J., Creech St. Michael	1	1	0
Bragg, W., Taunton ...	2	2	0
Braikenridge, W. J., Clevedon	10	0	0
Bremridge, R.	2	2	0
Bridport, Viscount, Cricket Lodge	10	0	0
Broadmead, Jas., Langport ...	5	0	0
Brown, J. C., Taunton ...	2	2	0
Brown, Rev. F., Beckenham ...	1	0	0
Brown, T. A., Blagdon ...		10	6
Buckland, J., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Bullock, Geo., East Coker ...	20	0	0
Bullock, G. T., Shaftesbury	5	0	0
Burman, T., Taunton ...	2	2	0
Burridge Wm., Bradford ...	1	1	0
Burridge, C. B., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Burtt, G. R., Ilminster ...	5	5	0
Cadbury, Jas., London ...	2	0	0
Canning, G. T., Chard ...	1	1	0
Capel, A., Chipstaple ..	2	2	0
Carey, Sir P. Stafford, Guernsey	1	1	0
Carlingford, the Rt. Hon. Lord, Chewton Mendip ...	20	0	0
Carnarvon, Dowager Countess, Pixton	10	10	0
Do. (2nd. Donation) ..	10	10	0
Do. (3rd. Donation) ..	25	0	0
Chapman, W. and A., Taunton	3	3	0
Chapman, Rt. Rev. Bishop, Wotton Courtney	2	0	0
Chisholm-Batten, E., Thorn Falcon	5	5	0
Chorley, W. H., Taunton ...	5	0	0
Clarges, Lady, Trull ..	3	3	0
Clark, G. T., Dowlais ...	10	0	0
Do. (2nd. Donation) ...	5	0	0
Clarke, T. E., Long Run ...	2	2	0
Do. (2nd donation) ...	5	0	0
Clarke, C. A., Taunton ...		10	6
Clutterbuck, Rev. H., Buckland Dinham	5	0	0
Clutterbuck, Mrs. Peter, Clifton	2	2	0
Colfox, Thomas, Bridport ...	5	0	0
Collard, C. L., Wiveliscombe	20	0	0
Collier, E., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Collier, H. " ...	2	2	0
Colthurst, Small and Co., Taunton	5	5	0
Compositors *Somerset County Gazette* Office		10	6
Cooper Lady, Leversdown ...	2	2	0
Cornish, G. B., M.D., Taunton	1	1	0
Court and Sons, " ...	1	1	0
Cox, Mr. Serjeant, Hendon ...	10	0	0
Crease, H., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Cridland, J., " ...	2	0	0
Crosse Rev. J. D. O., Pawlett	1	1	0
Culverwell, J., Taunton ...	1	1	0

	£	s	d
Daniel, Rev. H. A., Stockland	5	5	0
Davey, Mrs. J., jun., Taunton		10	6
Davis, Maurice, Langport ...	1	1	0
Denham, Geo., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of	10	0	0
Dickinson, F. H., Kingweston	20	0	0
Digby, G. D. W., Sherborne Castle	5	0	0
Dobree, Saml., Wellington ...	2	2	0
Douch, B., Taunton ...	5	5	0
Douglas, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Percy, Bart., Henlade ...	2	0	0
Doveton, Capt., Taunton ...	3	3	0
Down, Arthur R., „ ...	1	1	0
Drayton and Tyte „ ...	1	1	0
Duckworth, Wm., Orchardleigh	5	5	0
Duder J., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Easton, Richard, Taunton ...	5	5	0
Easton, Wm. „ ...	2	2	0
Eden, C., Kingston ..	2	0	0
Edgell, Vice-Admiral H., C.B., Chichester	1	1	0
Egremont, Countess of, Orchard Wyndham	5	0	0
Elliot, W. F., Taunton ...	5	0	0
Elton, Sir A. H. Bart., Clevedon	10	10	0
Elworthy, S., Taunton ...	1	1	0
England, R., „ ...	1	1	0
Esdaile, Chas.	2	2	0
Evans, Misses. Taunton ..	1	1	0
Evered, A. G., Enmore ...	1	0	0
Falkner, Fredk., Bath ...	10	0	0
Fearncombe, T., Taunton ...	2	2	0
Field, W. C. „ ...	1	1	0
Field, F. E., „ ...	1	0	0
Fisher and Sons „ ...	5	5	0
Fiske, T. „ ...	2	0	0
Fitzgerald, Rev. W. G., Bridgwater	1	1	0
Fletcher, S., Taunton ...		10	6
Foster, J. „ ...		10	6
Fox, Sylvanus, Wellington ...	10	0	0
Fox, Chas. H. „ ...	5	0	0
Fox, J. H. „ ...	5	0	0
Fox, C. H., M.D., Brislington ...	2	2	0
Fox, C., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Fox, G. S., Wellington ...	3	3	0
Fox-Strangways, Hon. Mrs. Monty's Court ..	5	0	0
Freeman, E. A., D.C.L., Wells	10	0	0
French, H., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Gapper, Miss, „ ...	1	1	0
Gibson, J. „ ...	1	1	0
Gibbs, Antony, Nailsea ...	10	0	0
Giles, Capt., Wells ...	1	1	0
Goodland and Sons, C., Taunton	2	2	0
Goodland, Mrs. Wm. „	2	2	0
Goodman, Albert „	1	1	0
Goodman, E., Taunton „		10	6
Gover, H., LL.D., Courtlands	5	0	0
Griffiths, Miss, Taunton ...	2	2	0
Green, Robt. „ ...	1	1	0
Greenslade, W., Taunton ...		10	0
Grote, Arthur, London ..	1	1	0
Grosvenor, Rev. F., Dunkerton	2	2	0
Haddon, C., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Halliday, J., Chapel Cleeve ...	5	0	0
Hambly, C. J., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Hamilton, J., Broomfield ...	10	10	0
Hammett, A., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Hammet, John „ ...	5	5	0
Hancock, Jno. D., Halse ...	2	0	0
Handcock, — Taunton ...	1	1	0
Handford, H., „ ...		10	6
Hardstaff, Mrs., Hatch Court	3	3	0
Hare and Son, Taunton ...	2	2	0
Hare, C. „ ...		10	6
Harris, Charles, Ilchester ...	2	0	0
Harris, T., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Harris, R. „ ...	1	1	0
Harrison, Rev. O. S., Thorn Falcon	2	0	0
Harrison, Rev. C. R., North Curry	1	1	0
Hellard, W. B., Taunton ...	2	2	0
Hellard, R. „ ...	1	0	0
Helyar, W. H., Coker Court	20	0	0
Helyar, F., Combe Florey	5	0	0
Helyar, Mrs., Poundisford ...	2	2	0
Do. (2nd. Donation) ...	2	0	0
Henley, H. C., Leigh House	5	0	0
Herniman, R., Taunton ...	2	2	0
Hervey, Rev. S. H. A., Bridgwater		10	0
Heudebourck, — Taunton ...		10	6
Hewlett, J., Taunton ...	1	1	0
High Sheriff of Somerset, 1875	50	0	0
Hill, Rev. R., Timsbury ...	2	2	0
Hippisley, E., Wells ...	1	1	0
Hitchcock, S. W., Taunton ...	5	5	0
Hoare, Chas., London ...	2	0	0
Hockin, W., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Hood, Sir A. A., Bart., St. Audries	40	0	0
Hood, Col. the Hon. A. W. A. N., M.P., Cricket Lodge ...	5	0	0
Hodges, Miss Caroline, Taunton	2	2	0
Hodson, Rev. G. F., North Petherton	1	1	0
Hooper, J. J., Yeovil ...	5	5	0
Horner, Rev. J. S. H. (late), Mells	20	0	0
Hoskins, Thos., Haselbury ...	10	0	0
Hoskins, W. H., Hinton St. George	5	0	0
Howard, E. T., Taunton		10	6
Hughes, W. O H., College School	1	1	0
Hugo, Rev. Thomas, London	21	0	0
Hull, J., Taunton ...		10	6
Hulme, Henry, Blagdon ...	2	2	0
Hunt, Rev. W., Congresbury	2	0	0
Hunt, Rev. W., Weston-s-Mare	2	0	0
Hussey, Lieut.-Col., Exmouth	5	0	0
Hutchings, H., London ...	10	0	0
Isaacs, Geo., Milverton ...	1	1	0
Jacobs, M., Taunton ...	5	5	0
James, Sir Henry, M.P., London	25	0	0
Jeboult, E., Taunton ...	2	2	0

	£	s	d
Joliffe, the Hon. Hedworth Hylton, Charlton ...	20	0	0
Jones, Miss, Taunton ...	2	2	0
Kelly, W. M., M.D., Taunton	5	0	0
Kemmis, Mrs., Croydon ...	2	0	0
King, R. K. Meade, Walford	5	0	0
King, W. Meade, Taunton ...	1	1	0
Kinglake, A. W., London ...	5	0	0
Kinglake, J. H., M.D. „ ...	5	5	0
Kinglake, Rev. F. C., Monkton	1	1	0
Kingsbury, Jno., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Knyfton, T. T., Uphill ...	20	0	0
Lake, F., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Lance, Rev. J. E., Buckland St. Mary	2	0	0
Lance, Rev. W. H., Thurlbeer	2	0	0
Lang, Mrs., Taunton ...		10	6
Lang, Robt., Henbury ...	1	1	0
Langdon, J. C., Parrock's Lodge	3	3	0
Langton, Lady Anna Gore, Hatch Park	100	0	0
Langton, W. H. P. Gore, M.P., Hatch Park	50	0	0
Larkin, James, Taunton ...	1	1	0
Lawrence & Thompson, Taunton	2	2	0
Lean, G. S., Bath ...	5	0	0
Leigh, Henry, London ...	3	3	0
Lethbridge, A. G., Eastbrook	25	0	0
Lewis, Alfred, Taunton ...	2	2	0
Liddon, Edw., M.D. „ ...	10	10	0
Liddon, Henry „ ...	5	5	0
Liddon, Wm. „ ...	5	0	0
Long, William, Wrington ...	20	0	0
Lovell, Edwin, Dinder ...	1	1	0
Lubbock, Sir John, Bart., M.P., London	10	0	0
Luttrell, G. F., Dunster Castle	20	0	0
Macey, C., Taunton ...	1	0	0
Mackay, Geo., M.D., Wellington	1	1	0
Macleay, J. R., Tetton ...	5	0	0
Malet, Arthur, Pyrland ...	5	0	0
Malet, O. W., Haygrass ...	5	0	0
Manley, H. F., Bishops Hull	2	0	0
Mapleton, Rev. H. M., Badgworth	1	1	0
Marriott-Dodington, T., Dulverton	1	13	0
Martin, T. J., Taunton ...	1	1	0
May, F. „ ...	10	0	0
Maynard, A. and W., Taunton	5	0	0
Meade, Rev. R. J., Castle Cary	5	0	0
Medlycott, Sir W. C., Bart., Milborne Port	10	0	0
Meyler, T., Taunton ...	10	10	0
Midelton, W., „ ...	1	1	0
Miles, Sir W., Bart., Leigh Court	20	0	0
Mellor, Lady	2	2	0
Mitchell, Rev. Canon, Taunton	2	0	0
Mitchell, G. W. „	2	2	0
Moor, Rev. J. F., Bath ...	1	1	0
Morgan, P. H., Taunton ...		10	6
Moss, Rev. J. J., East Lydford	10	0	0
Moysey, H. G., Bathealton ...	6	6	0
Naish, W. B., Ston Easton ...	1	0	0
Napier, The Hon. Major, Ruishton	1	0	0
Newall, J., Taunton ...		10	6
Newnham, Capt., Blagdon Court		10	0
Do. (2nd. Donation) ...	1	1	0
Newton, F. W., Barton Grange	5	5	0
Nichols, Rev. W. L., Bridgwater	1	1	0
Norris, Hugh, South Petherton	1	1	0
Do. (2nd. Donation) ...	1	1	0
Norman, J. F., Staplegrove	2	2	0
Norman, W., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Ommanney, Rev. G. D. W., Brislington	1	0	0
Oram, G., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Paget, R. H., M.P., Cranmore Hall	10	0	0
Paine, James, Springfield ..	5	5	0
Palmer, Robert, Taunton ...	5	0	0
Palmer, R. W., Ilminster ...	2	0	0
Parsons, Robert, Taunton ...	20	0	0
Parsons, E. „ ...	1	1	0
Patton, Capt. T., R.N., Bishops Hull	5	5	0
Paul, W. B., Langport ...	2	2	0
Peachey, B. A., Taunton ...		10	0
Pearse, F. A., M.D., Wellington	1	1	0
Pearse, Rev. B. K. ..	1	0	0
Pemberton, Rev. C. L., Curry Mallet	1	0	0
Penny, Thomas, Taunton ..	2	2	0
Pinney, Col., Somerton ...	25	0	0
Plowman, T., North Curry ...	1	1	0
Pollard, G., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Pooley, Chas. Weston-s-Mare	2	2	0
Poole, Wm., Taunton ...	2	2	0
Popham, T. Leyborne, Bristol	5	0	0
Portman, the Rt. Hon. Viscount, Bryanstone	20	0	0
Portman, the Hon. W. H. B., Durweston	10	0	0
Portman, Rev. F. B., Staple Fitzpaine	2	0	0
Potter, — Taunton ...		10	6
Poynter, R. H., Taunton ..	1	0	0
Prankerd, John, Langport ...	2	2	0
Prankerd, P. D., Bristol ...	2	2	0
Pridham, John, Taunton ...	1	1	0
Prince, H. „ ...	2	2	0
Pring, J. H., M.D. „ ...	5	0	0
Prior, R. C. A., M.D., Halse..	50	0	0
Pyne, Rev. W., Charlton ...	2	0	0
Do. (2nd. Donation) ...	1	1	0
Quantock, Mrs., Taunton ..		10	0
Quekett, E., Langport ...	5	0	0
Ramsden, Sir J. W., Yorkshire	5	0	0
Rawlinson, W. G., London ...	1	1	0
Rawlinson, W., Taunton ...	2	0	0
Rayer, W. C., Holcombe Court	2	2	0
Redfern, Rev. W. T., Taunton	2	0	0

	£	s	d
Redman, Sidney "	1	0	0
Reed, Rev. W. "	1	1	0
Reed, W. "	1	1	0
Reeves, A. "	2	2	0
Reynolds, Vincent J., Taunton	10	0	0
Robberds Mrs. (née Blake) Cheltenham	20	0	0
Roberteon, H., Over Stowey ...	2	2	0
Rossiter, E., Taunton ...	5	5	0
Rowcliffe, Chas. Edward, Stogumber	5	0	0
Ruel, Major Herbert ..	2	2	0
Rutter, Jno., Ilminster ...	1	1	0
Sanford, W. A., Nynehead Court	40	0	0
Saunders, J. B., Taunton ...	5	5	0
Saunders and Son, "	3	3	0
Scarlett, J. "	1	1	0
Scarth, Rev. H. M., Wrington	2	0	0
Scott, Rev. J. P, Staplegrove	1	1	0
Sealy, W. R., Bridgwater ...	2	2	0
Sears, R. H., Taunton ...	10	10	0
Seller, Rev. H. C., Trull ...	1	1	0
Sercombe, G., Taunton ...		10	6
Seymour, H. D., Knoyle ..	5	0	0
Shepherd, J. W., Ilminster ...	1	1	0
Shepherd, G., Taunton ...		10	6
Shire, Mrs. " ...	1	0	0
Short, J. " ...	1	1	0
Sibly, T., " ...	21	0	0
Simmons, Mrs., Taunton ...		10	6
Skrine, H. D., Warleigh ...	10	10	0
Slade, Sir Alfred, Bart., London	5	5	0
Slade, Wyndham, Monty's Court	5	5	0
Slater, Rev. W. P., Taunton	1	1	0
Sloper, E. " ...	5	0	0
Smith, Lady, Somerton ...	10	0	0
Smith, Cecil, Bishops Lydeard	5	0	0
Smith, Rev. F. J., Taunton ...	2	2	0
Smith, D. " ...		10	0
Smith, J. " ...		10	6
Smyth, Sir J. H. Greville, Bart., Ashton Court ...	20	0	0
Sparks, Wm., Crewkerne ...	5	0	0
Speke, Wm. Jordans ...	5	0	0
Spiller, J., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Spry, R. W., Taunton ..	1	1	0
Spurway, J. P., Spring Grove	2	2	0
Stanley, E. J., Quantock Lodge	25	0	0
Stanton, Rev. J. J., Tockenham	2	2	0
Steevens, John, Taunton ...	2	2	0
Steevens, George " ...	1	1	0
Stephens, Mrs., Haines Hill	1	1	0
Stephenson, Rev. J. H., Lympsham	2	0	0
Stuckey's Banking Co.. ...	25	0	0
Surtees, W. E., Tainfield ...	20	0	0
Symes, Rev. Prebendary, Yatton	10	0	0

	£	s	d
Taunton, Jno., Taunton ...	2	2	0
Taylor, P. " ...	5	0	0
Taylor, Thos. " ...	3	3	0
Tazewell, W. " ...		10	6
Thomas, C. J., Bristol ...	10	0	0
Tinley, G. A., Bishops Lydeard	2	2	0
Tootell, H., College School ..	1	1	0
Trenchard, H. C., Taunton ...	2	2	0
Trevelyan, Sir W. C. Bart., Wallington, Northumberland	25	0	0
Trevelyan, Miss, Nettlecombe	5	0	0
Trevelyan, Sir C. E., Bart., London	5	0	0
Trevelyan, Arthur, Tyneholm	2	0	0
Trevilian, E. C., Curry Rivell	5	0	0
Trotman W., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Trump, J. H. Van, Taunton		10	6
Tuckwell, Rev. W., College School	1	1	0
Turner, C. J., Staplegrove ...	5	0	0
Turner, J. A., Stoke-sub-Hamdon	2	2	0
Tyack, S. C., Taunton ...	5	5	0
Tylor, E. B., F.R.S., Wellington	10	0	0
Tynte, Col., Cefn Mably ..	5	0	0
Upham, Wm., Taunton	2	2	0
Vaughan-Lee, Major V. H., M.P.	30	0	0
Walker, Alex., Taunton ...	1	0	0
Walters, G., Frome ...	2	2	0
Walters, Rev. W. W., Bishops Hull	1	1	0
Ward, Rev. J. W., Ruishton	2	2	0
Warre, Mrs. Frank, Taunton		10	0
Warre, H., Bindon ...	2	0	0
Warre, Mrs. H., Bindon ..	5	0	0
Warren, J. F. H., Langport ...	3	3	0
Welman, C. N., Norton Manor	20	0	0
Welsh, W. I., Wells ...	1	0	0
West of England and South Wales District Bank ...	10	0	0
Westlake, W. H., Taunton ...	1	1	0
White, F., Wellington ...	2	0	0
Wickham, Rev. H. D., Horsington	1	0	0
Williams, Rev. W. P., Bishops Hull	1	1	0
Winter, J. A., Taunton ...	10	0	0
Winterbotham, W. L., M.B., Bridgwater	1	1	0
Winwood, Rev. H. H., Bath	5	0	0
Withington, W., Taunton ...	1	1	0
Withycombe J. " ...	5	5	0
Wood, Alex., London ...	1	10	0
Wood, J., Taunton ...		10	6
Woodforde, F. H., M.D., Amberd	5	0	0
Woodhouse, Rev. E., Taunton	1	1	0
Woodley, W. A. " ...	5	5	0
Woodman, R., " ...		10	6
Wotton, E., Taunton ..	1	1	0
Wyatt, G. P. " ...		10	0
Yatman, Rev. J. A. Winscombe	5	0	0

Smaller contributions amounting to about £1 10*s.* 0*d.*

Amount of Debt remaining March, 1876, inclusive of the cost of the new purchase, £1,200.

Contributions received since that date, £363 16s. 10d.

	£	s	d
Badcock, H., Taunton ...	10	0	0
Badcock, H. J., " ...	5	0	0
Barnicott and Son, Taunton ...	5	5	0
Bourdillon, E. D., Poundisford	2	2	0
Easton, Richard, Taunton ...	2	2	0
Fox, Chas. H., Wellington ...	5	5	0
Long, Wm., Wrington ...	5	0	0
May, F., Taunton ...	5	0	0
Newton, F. W., Barton Grange	5	0	0
Sloper, E., Taunton ...	5	0	0
Stanton, Rev. J. J., Tockenham	1	1	0
Ward, Rev. J. W., Ruishton	1	1	0
Warren, J. F. H., Langport...	2	0	0
Bisset, M. F., Bagborough ...	10	10	0
Norris, Hugh, South Petherton	1	1	0
Palairet, Rev. R., Norton St. Philip	3	0	0
Ommanney, Rev. G. D. W., Draycot...	1	0	0
Marshall, W. G., Taunton ...	5	5	0
Walker, Alex. " ...	1	0	0
Thomas, C. J., Bristol ...	2	2	0
Portman, Rev. F. B., Staple Fitzpaine	2	0	0
Cox, E. W., London ...	5	0	0
Fox, J. H.	5	0	0
Collier, F. H., Taunton ...	2	2	0
Stoate, W., Wembdon ...	1	0	0
Digby, G. D. W., Sherborne Castle	5	0	0
Baillie, Mrs. A., Taunton ...	1	0	0
Taplin, T. K., Milverton ...	1	0	0
Meyler, T., Taunton ...	2	2	0
Chisholm-Batten, E., Thorn Falcon	2	2	0
Mr. Surtees on behalf of the Trustees of the "Jones Memorial Fund" ...	128	2	3
Butt, Capt., Street	1	0	0
Prior, R. C. A., M.D., Halse	25	0	0
Stanley, E. J., Quantock Lodge	20	0	0
Mainwaring, R. R., Somerton		10	6
Proceeds of Fancy Ball held at Taunton Dec. 19th, 1876 ...	53	1	1
Batten, H. B., Yeovil (further proceeds from his stall at the Bazaar)	20	0	0
Sanford, W. A., Nynehead Court, *annually*	10	0	0
Langton, J. C.	3	3	0

CHESTON AND CHEASLEY, PRINTERS, HIGH STREET, TAUNTON.

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